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FRANCE, RUSSIA, SPAIN, PORTUGAL, GERMANY, ITALY, TURKEY, DENMARK, SWEDEN, HOLLAND, SWITZERLAND, PRUSSIA, &c.

WITH

An Account of the riſe and Progreſs of NAVIGATION among the various Nations of the Earth, and of the Diſcoveries of the Portugueſe, Engliſh, Dutch, and French, in Africa and the Eaſt-Indies, and thoſe of Columbus in the Weſt-Indies, and the Continent of America,

With the Relations of MAGHELLAN, DRAKE, CANDISH, ANSON, DAMPIER, and all the Circumnavigators,

Including a moſt faithful Recital of the remarkable Voyages and Diſcoveries undertaken at the Expence of the PARLIAMENT of GREAT BRITAIN, and by Order of his preſent MAJESTY GEORGE III. in the SOUTH-SEAS, by thoſe great and experienced Navigators,

BYRON, WALLIS, ‖ CARTERET, FURNEAUX, ‖ COOK, PARKINSON, ‖ FORSTER, &c. &c.

TOGETHER WITH

An accurate Deſcription of NEW HOLLAND, ZEALAND, O-TAHEITEE, TANNA, the SOCIETY, FRIENDLY, and other *newly diſcovered* Iſles, and their Inhabitants.

Likewiſe the Voyage of Mr. de BOUGAINVILLE to the SOUTH SEAS, by Order of the FRENCH KING.

ALSO

An ACCOUNT of the Right Honourable LORD MULGRAVE'S EXPEDITION, for the Diſcovery of a Paſſage towards the NORTH-POLE.

AND

A ſuccinct Narrative of the VOYAGES and TRAVELS undertaken for Diſcoveries in the Northern Hemiſphere by Order of her Moſt Serene Highneſs the preſent EMPRESS OF RUSSIA;

With a particular Deſcription of the New Archipelago diſcovered in the Proſecution of that Plan:

Comprehending an Extenſive Syſtem of Geography,

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Every Place worthy of Notice, in Europe, Aſia, Africa, and America:

AND COMPRISING

A full Diſplay of the Situation, Climate, Soil, Produce, Laws, Manners, Cuſtoms, &c. of the different Countries of the Univerſe. A ſummary View of the various Revolutions of Government or changes of Nature which they have undegone. With a Diſcuſſion of ſeveral Phœnomena of Nature hitherto unaccounted for by Philoſophers.

The whole exhibiting a View of the *preſent State of the World*, and calculated to give the Reader a clear Idea of the Government, Policy, and Commercial Intereſts, of all the different Inhabitants: Being the reſult of unwearied Aſſiduity, aſſiſted by the beſt Authorities.

By JOHN HAMILTON MOORE,

MASTER OF THE ACADEMY AT BRENTFORD, AND AUTHOR OF THE PRACTICAL NAVIGATOR, &c.

Aſſiſted by ſeveral PERSONS who have made the SUBJECTS of VOYAGES and TRAVELS their particular STUDY.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

Prince Henry, third ſon of King John of Portugal, returning from the ſiege of Ceuta, conceived ſuch a violent deſire of making new diſcoveries that he ſpent near 10 years in cauſing attempts of that nature to be made, in the proſecution of which he appeared to have at heart, a ſcheme for reſtoring the trade with Aſia, by finding out a paſſage round Africa to the Weſt Indies, which muſt neceſſarily divert it from its old channel, and prove moſt beneficial to thoſe who firſt accompliſhed the arduous undertaking.

It ſeems that the prince was the more encouraged to proceed in his ſcheme by the information of certain Moors, concerning the ſituation of the Southern coaſts of Africa, of which no European adventurers had any knowledge, none of them having ventured beyond Cape NAO, ſo called from being conſidered as the utmoſt boundary of their navigation toward that quarter of the globe. But no obſtacles appearing ſufficient in the eyes of Prince Henry, who every day grew more bent upon his deſign, in the year 1417, he cauſed two veſſels to be fitted out for the purpoſe of diſcovery; they ran 60 leagues beyond Cape Nao to Cape Bojador, where being diſcouraged by a ſwelling ſea, breaking on the ſands, they returned, and the Prince ſent out, 1418.
Juan Gonzales Zarco, and Triſtan Vaz Teixeira, gentlemen of his houſhold, in a ſmall ſhip, with orders to coaſt along the coaſt of Barbary, till they had paſſed the Cape, and diſcover all the land which the Arabs ſaid reached beyond the equinoctial line: but their veſſel was driven by a ſtorm out of her courſe, till, accidentally, they made an iſland which they called Puerto Santo, or Holy Iſland, on account of their deliverance. The prince, on their return, pleaſed with their diſcovery, ſent them thither again, together with Bartholomew Pereſtrello, with cattle; as alſo corn and plants; but the intention was defeated by the fecundity of a couple of rabbits, thoſe animals multiplying ſo exceedingly, as to deſtroy what was planted; and thus a circumſtance ſo trifling, rendered the project of a ſettlement abortive. The year following, the ſame gentlemen made another voyage, in which they diſcovered the iſland of Madeira, where they found a chapel, tomb, and ſtone, erected by an Engliſhman, who, flying from his country with a woman whom he loved, was driven thither by ſtreſs of weather; the ſhip taking advantage of a favouring gale, having left the young couple behind them.* The land being covered with woods, the Portugueſe ſet fire to them, to clear it: theſe are ſaid to have burned for ſeven years, and when the iſland was at laſt ſettled, wood became one of the ſcarceſt articles in the country. —A courſe of time being neceſſary for furniſhing the new ſettlements, it was not till 15 years afterwards that Gilianez paſſed the dreadful Cape Bojador, beyond which he ſailed 30 leagues, and the year following, proceeded 12 leagues farther, returning with a quantity of ſea wolves ſkins, but, on their landing, the inhabitants fled for fear of them, and could not be perſuaded to return.

Prince Henry ſtill continuing to purſue his plan, Antony Gonzales, in the year 1442, by his order, coaſted as far as Cape Blanco. Nunho Triſtan paſſing ſtill further, diſcovered one of the iſlands of Arguim, called Adeget, and another, which they named De Los Garzas.

Dinis Fernandez, in 1447, diſcovered Cabo Verde, or Cape Verde; but venturing up the river which the Spaniards called Rio Grande, he was cut off by the natives, as were moſt of his followers.

Alvaro Fernandez afterwards ſailed 40 leagues farther; and thus Prince Henry had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his plans ſucceſſively executed, till death removed him in the midſt of them: after which they were purſued by his nephew, Alfonſo V. in whoſe reign Gonzalo de Vello, 1449.
diſcovered the iſlands called Azores, which are eight in number, viz. St. Michael, St. Mary, Jeſus, or Tereſa, Gracioſa, Pico, Fayal, Flores, and Corvo, lying nearly in the ſame latitude with Liſbon.

The next year the iſlands of Cape Verde were diſcovered by Antonio Nole, a Genoeſe, in the ſervice of Portugal. Theſe iſlands lie about 100 leagues to the Weſtward of Cape Verde, and are called Brava, Boaviſta, du Sal, S. Nicholao, S. Lucia, S. Vincent, and S. Antonio: he alſo found the iſles Maya, and S. Philip, and S. Jacob.

In 1471, John de Santeren and Peter de Eſcobar, went to the place called Mina, on account of the gold trade there, and proceeded from thence to Cape St. Catharine. The ſame year Ferdinand Po, found out an iſland which he called Hermoſa, a name which it has ſince loſt, but retains that of him who diſcovered it. About the ſame time the iſlands S. Thomas, Anna Bom, and Principe, were diſcovered.

It was at this period the King of Portugal took upon him the title of *Lord of Guinea*.—It had heretofore been the cuſtom to ſet up wooden croſſes in the new diſcovered countries, but this prince ordered that ſtone ones ſhould be in future erected by the captains, whereon his own name and theirs were to be inſcribed. The firſt of theſe captains was called Cam: paſſing Cape Catharine, he came to the river Congo, ſailing up which, he found by the ſigns of the blacks, 1484.
that they had a king, who lived at a diſtance from the ſea coaſt. This being all the information he could get, he returned home; where being arrived, and bringing ſome of the natives with him, King John gave them many preſents, and ordered Cam to proceed again to Congo, and endeavour the converſion of the people, who were all heathens.—In this he happily ſucceeded, and returning to Congo, being admitted to the King of that place, perſuaded him to ſend

* The lady died ſoon afterwards, and Macham, with his companions, having paid this tribute to her memory, made a boat out of the trunk of a tree, in which without ſails, or oars, he paſſed over to Africa: the Moors preſented him to their king, who ſent him to the King of Caſtile.

ſome of the ſons of his chief men to Portugal, to be baptiſed and inſtructed in the principles of the chriſtian religion.

Some time after, the King of Benin, a territory ſituate between fort St. George and Congo, pretending a deſire to be converted to chriſtianity, ſent an embaſſy to the King of Portugal, deſiring to have prieſts for their inſtruction: the ambaſſador, among other things informed King John, that 250 leagues beyond their country, reigned a powerful prince, called Ogane, by whom the kings of Benin were confirmed in their royalty, their meſſengers receiving from him a ſtaff, with a head and a croſs, like that of Malta; but added, that the perſons receiving theſe, never were allowed to behold his face, his foot only being put out from behind a curtain, in token of his granting their requeſt.

The wonderful accounts of a certain prince called Preſter John, reigning in thoſe parts, being at that time current in Europe, King John concluded this muſt be that very extraordinary perſonage.—To ſatisfy himſelf in this particular, as well as to get ſome account of India, Peter de Covillam, and Alonſo de Payva, were ſent over land for intelligence: by way of Grand Cairo, they went to Tor on the coaſt of Arabia, where they ſeparated, Covillam ſetting out for India, and Payva, for Ethiopia, both agreeing to meet again at Grand Cairo, by a certain appointed time: the former proceeded to Cananor, Calicut and Goa, paſſing from thence to Sofala, and afterwards to Aden, at the Mouth of the Red Sea, on the ſide of Arabia; when, coming at laſt to Grand Cairo, he found the companion of his travels was no more; from hence he ſent the king an account of his proceedings by a Jew come from Portugal, and afterwards went into Ethiopia, where he was kindly entertained, but from whence he was never permitted to return.

At the ſame time that theſe ſet out by land, Bartholomew Diaz put to ſea, with three ſhips: he diſcovered the mountains called Serra Prada, and paſſed on in ſight of a bay, which he named *De los Vaqueros*, on account of the great herds of cattle, that he ſaw there; he touched afterwards at the iſland of Santa Cruz, entered the mouth of the river del Infante, and at laſt came to the famous Cape which is the utmoſt Southern boundary of Africa: to this Cape he gave the name of Tormentoſo, on account of the ſtorms which he there met with. But King John changed the appellation to that of Cabo de Buena Eſperanza, on account of the hopes he entertained of diſcovering a paſſage round it by ſea to the Eaſt Indies: however this (which was of more conſequence than finding out Preſter John's dominions) did not take place in the reign of King John, who, having fixed the Portugueſe dominion in Guinea, died, and was ſucceeded by King Emanuel.

It was in the reign of this monarch that Vaſquez de Gama, being intruſted with the command of three ſhips and a tender, paſſed the Cape, and made his way to India by ſea: previous to which, Chriſtopher Columbus, had ſailed to the Weſt Indies; the new world was thus diſcovered, and the conqueſt of Mexico and Peru followed in conſequence of that diſcovery.

In 1494, Sebaſtian Cabot diſcovered North America, in the reign of King Henry VII. of England.—In the year 1500, Braſil was firſt found out by Peter Alvarez Cabral, who was ſent on an expedition with 1200 men, to gain footing in India, but was driven by a ſtorm on that part of the coaſt of South America; and, in 1519, Ferdinand Maghellan found a paſſage from the Weſtern to the Southern ocean, by thoſe Straits which have ever ſince borne the name of their unfortunate diſcoverer.

The way thus opened, each ſucceeding period furniſhed new diſcoveries of the Engliſh, the Dutch, the French, and in effect, all the nations of Europe, whoſe ſituation would permit them; eagerly followed the example of the ſucceſsful Portugueſe and Spaniards, who, equally jealous of them, and of each other, took all manner of pains to preſerve their dominion where they had gained footing, and as much as poſſible to thwart all thoſe who adopted the plan of making new diſcoveries. But notwithſtanding this, we find the Dutch, at various periods, buſy in ſettling themſelves in India, and ſecuring the poſſeſſion of the ſpice trade. In 1600, an Engliſh Eaſt-India company, was eſtabliſhed by Queen Elizabeth; ſettlements in Aſia were alſo obtained. A great part of the continent of North America, firſt diſcovered by Sebaſtian Cabot, was alſo peopled after that time by Britiſh ſubjects: nor were the French idle, they alſo got footing in Aſia, the Weſt-Indies, and North America, in ſpite of all the obſtacles that at firſt appeared to hinder them; while the Portugueſe and Spaniards, eſpecially the latter, often found themſelves much embarraſſed to preſerve their new poſſeſſions. A paſſage being opened from the Atlantic to the South Sea, by Cape Horn, and the Straits of Maghellan, and the poſſibility of circum-navigating the globe, which before exiſted in idea, confirmed by experience, the ſettlements on the coaſts of the Pacific Ocean were expoſed to aſſaults from enemies whom the Spaniards little expected to viſit them in thoſe ſeas, the riches of the new world being alone ſufficient to excite them to ſuch an undertaking. Drake, Candiſh, and others, following the track, afterwards ſailed round the world, and to their diſcoveries much has been added by more modern navigators. But as all theſe, together with all that is found remarkable in the relation of voyagers and travellers will be found at large in the following ſheets, we forbear to dwell upon them here, having already given the reader a view of the riſe and progreſs of the art of navigation, and a ſummary account of the undertakings of thoſe firſt adventurers, whoſe names will ever be had in remembrance.

Having finiſhed this ſketch, we ſhall now proceed with the work itſelf, beginning with the voyages of Chriſtopher Columbus and Vaſquez de Gama, whoſe diſcoveries form an æra the moſt remarkable in the hiſtory of navigation, as they firſt poured the treaſures of the Eaſtern and Weſtern world into the lap of Europe, and thereby laid the foundation of her preſent grandeur and refinement.

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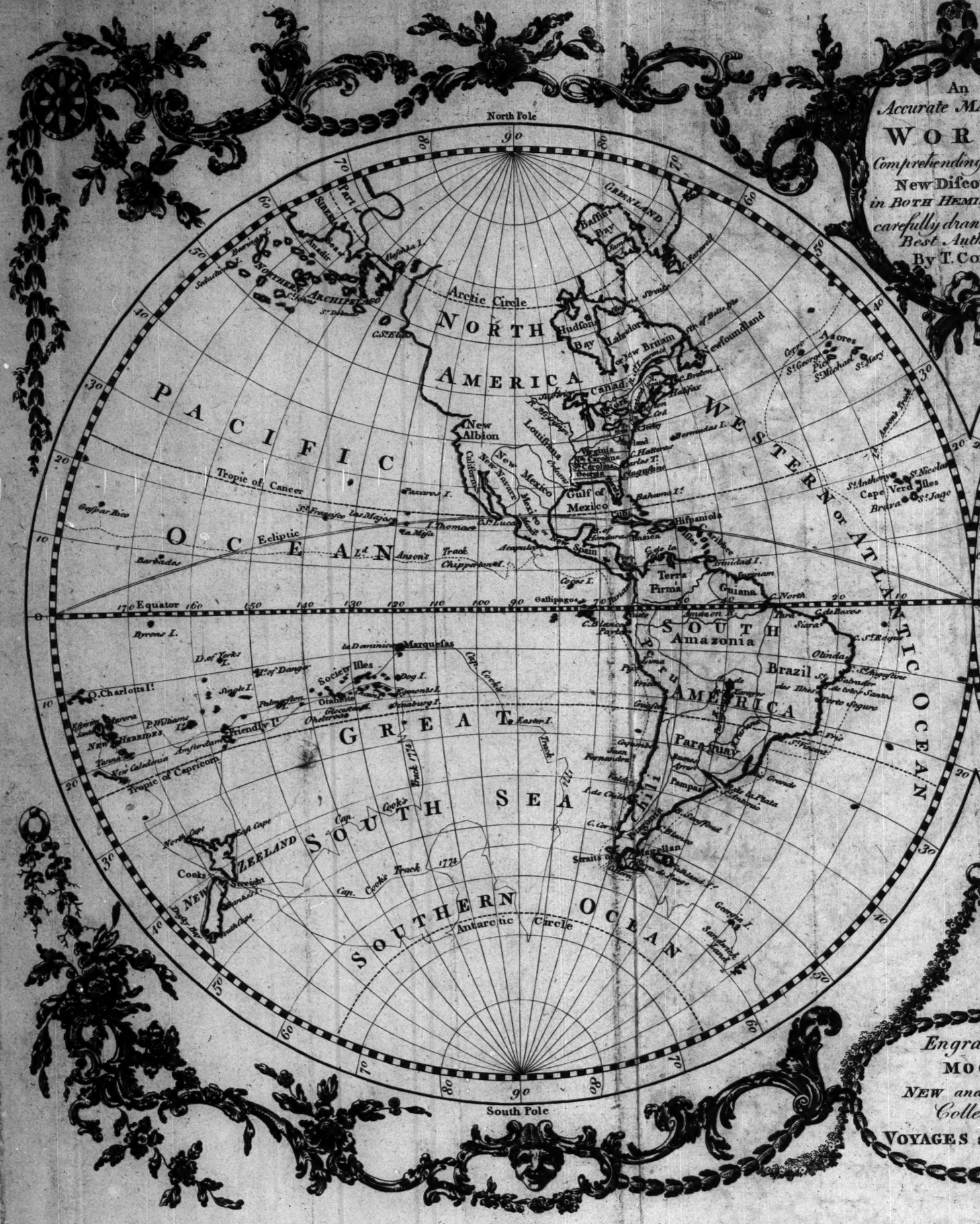
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INTRODUCTION.

MANKIND being intended by Providence for ſocial as well as rational creatures, it ſeems to have been the grand deſign of God and Nature, that after having multiplied and repleniſhed the earth, they ſhould hold intercourſe with each other, and thereby derive ſuch mutual advantages as without a miraculous intervention could never otherwiſe ariſe to any ſeparate community. It may poſſibly, be objected that if this were really the deſign of Heaven, men would not have been ſcattered at a diſtance from each other with intervening wilds, deſarts, mountains, and vaſt oceans to divide them. But, upon an examination of the diſpenſations of Providence, this ſeeming weighty objection will vaniſh. Man is a Being capable of improvement, and intended to be conſtantly employed in exertions either of his corporeal or mental faculties. It is for the brute creation alone, to remain, from their firſt period of exiſtence, in their wilds and foreſts, till death aſſimilates them with their original duſt. Man has a nobler claim, by arts enabled to remove the apparent obſtacles of nature, to viſit diſtant lands, and from experience to reap advantage and uſeful improvement, and, in all the various changes of the world, ſtill to find employment for his rational faculties, and means to occupy his induſtry.

The ſtate wherein we now ſee the terraqueous globe is not that which it always exhibited: beſides the general deluge ſo fully deſcribed in ſcripture, we have authentic accounts of partial deluges, dreadful earthquakes, and other phœnomena, which from time to time have wrought amazing changes on the face of the earth, levelling mountains, elevating valleys, rending aſunder vaſt continents, producing new iſlands, burying vaſt tracts of land beneath the ocean, and cauſing the ſea in other places to retire, and the dry land to appear. How far theſe changes may have conduced to the ſeparation of mankind in ſome places, and to the aſſociating them in others, is a matter, perhaps worthy the diſcuſſion of the philoſophical enquirer. Whether the various nations of the peopled earth were ſeparated by ſuch vaſt tracts of ocean in the antediluvian world, is more than we can take upon us to determine; but it ſeems clear that after the general deluge, men were fearful of truſting themſelves upon the world of waters even for ages, till by ſlow degrees they were convinced of the utility, when numbers had experienced the advantages of a certain confined navigation peculiar to thoſe ages.

It would be as tedious as uſeleſs for us to take up too much of the readers time with a detail of the expeditions of all the deſcendants of Noah, and the chiefs of fabulous times, of which all the accounts are ſo mixed with fable, that it is ſcarcely poſſible for the moſt accutate inveſtigator to diſtinguiſh and ſeparate truth from error. Of this ſort are the expedition of the Cretan Jupiter againſt the Sidonians, of Perſeus into Africa againſt Meduſa, with others, too tedious here to mention. The relation of the voyage of Jaſon in the ſhip Argo, ſaid to be the firſt large veſſel built by the Greeks, is likewiſe immerſed in fabulous obſcurity: it is only to be concluded that the Argonauts ſailed under a brave commander of the name of Jaſon, to clear the ſeas of pirates, and to eſtabliſh ſome branches of uſeful commerce at Colchis and elſewhere.

From all authentic hiſtory, ſacred and profane, we have reaſon to believe that the Phœnicians were the firſt, and for a long period of time the moſt ſucceſsful of the antient navigators. We find the King of Tyre, whoſe ſubjects were of that nation, aſſiſting King Solomon with gold and curious materials for building the famous temple at Jeruſalem.—Though the virtue of the magnetic needle was totally unknown in thoſe days, yet it is morally certain that theſe bold navigators not only coaſted along the neighbouring ſhores of the Mediterranean, but ſailed Southward to Africa, and North as far as Britain, trading for tin to the coaſt of Cornwall, at a time when the exiſtence of this iſland was not known to the greater part of the nations inhabiting the continent. The Aſſyrians, Ægyptians and other antient ſtates are reported to have had great fleets before the days of David or even of Moſes.—The accounts of the naval power of Semiramis are to be ſuſpected as fabulous; that the Ægyptians and ſome other nations have been repreſented as covering the ſeas with their fleets, may probably have ariſen from the numbers of Phœnician veſſels employed in their ſervice.—The Greeks who learned other arts from them, acquired that of navigation among the reſt, and almoſt as ſoon as they were formed into ſtates, began to think of making themſelves reſpectable for their fleets, with which they repeatedly defeated thoſe of the Perſians, and while the Phœnicians were employed in trading and planting colonies in various other parts of the world, made themſelves maſters of the Eaſtern coaſts of the Mediterranean.

Carthage, a colony from Tyre, from ſmall beginnings roſe to high eſtimation for her naval power, by which means, in a great meaſure ſhe was enabled to contend with Rome for the empire of the world. But the indefatigable induſtry, unwearied application, and boundleſs thirſt of conqueſt which marked the character of the Romans, cauſed them at laſt to triumph. Though at firſt they were little ſkilled in maritime affairs, to which their ancient genius had not led them, yet finding themſelves thus powerfully oppoſed by a people whoſe great reſources were in trade, and whoſe naval ſtrength contributed chiefly to their ſupport; they reſolved on manning great fleets, in which, though at firſt they were unſucceſsful, they were at length enabled to combat their enemies, as it were upon their own element, and finally gave them ſuch a terrible overthrow as induced them to accept of ſuch a peace as the conquerors were diſpoſed to grant.—The fleets at this time conſiſted of galleys of various ſizes, with ſeveral benches of rowers, and were filled with ſoldiers who fought with their uſual weapons of war, to which were added various engines peculiar to their ſituation, and ſome of the galleys had towers, from whence they ſhot or threw darts, ſtones and other miſſiles. By the help of theſe, they could make ſafe approaches to the walls of towns in *offenſive* war, and when attacked in their own veſſels could carry on a *defence* as from land caſtles.

But though the Romans by their aſſiduities had overcome great obſtacles, and were become the maſters at ſea, yet we do not find that their genius led them towards *diſcovery*.—Conqueſt engroſſed their ideas, and as the then known world had furniſhed ſufficient employment for their arms, and put them in poſſeſſion of an empire, which was at laſt too extenſive for them to preſerve entire, they were little ſolicitous of penetrating farther, and exploring unknown regions in the manner of the more modern Europeans.

The power which the Romans had thus wreſted from the Greeks and Carthaginians they preſerved till the diviſion of the empire, after which, it began to decline.—The diſtant provinces revolted.—The nations ſhook off the yoke of the conquerors; barbarians whoſe names were almoſt unknown, poured in upon the various parts of the divided empire; Rome ſinking under her own weight, was at laſt ſacked by the Goths, and Conſtantinople taken by the Saracens, in the reign of Michael Palæologus, which event put an end to the Eaſtern empire.

From this period the Arabs began to date their conſequence.—Though at firſt apparently enemies to learning and the arts, yet as they extended their power, they became encouragers of them, and, while the deſtruction of the Weſtern empire had involved Europe in ignorance and diſtraction, theſe people began to cultivate uſeful knowledge, and to carry on an extenſive trade with divers nations, though in ſhips of a very ſlight conſtruction. Nor did the diviſion of the Arabian Empire prove the extinction of this commerce, which long ſurvived the deſtruction of the Khalifate, and the remains of which, were yet viſible to the Portugueſe when they entered the Indian ſeas, along whoſe coaſts the pilots, it is ſaid, were found to have the uſe of ſea charts, and even that of the compaſs, the diſcovery of which, was then ſo recent in Europe.

In the mean time the rival Republics of Genoa and Veniee, were almoſt the only powers that attended to trade and navigation in the Weſtern World, the cruſades abroad, and the feudal ſyſtem which prevailed amongſt the moſt reſpectable powers at home, joined to their inteſtine diviſions, proving moſt unfavourable to the arts, and prolonging that night of ignorance, whoſe ſhades began to be diſpelled about the fifteenth century. The conqueſts of Jenghiz Khan, and the wars of the ſucceſſors of Saladin, as well as thoſe of Tamerlane, had ſucceſſively kept Aſia in a ferment; and the two Republics maintained their naval conſequence, till the Venetians at length prevailed, and ſecured to themſelves the ſovereignty of the inner ſeas.—Before a way to India was opened by the Cape of Good Hope, the great market for ſpices, drugs, and other valuable commodities of the Eaſt, was fixed at the city of Malakka, from whence they were fetched for the uſe of the Weſtern nations as far as the Red Sea.—But the diſcoveries of the Portugueſe turned the channel of this trade, and in effect proved fatal to the wealth and power of the Venetians, which had for a long ſucceſſion of years been at once the wonder, and the envy of Europe.

It is to the directive power of the magnetic needle, firſt diſcovered about the year 1300, that this change may properly be attributed. Who was the author of this diſcovery is uncertain; but it is generally aſcribed to an inhabitant of Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples, of whoſe name there is no authentic account.—Indeed, whoever the perſon was, his claim could be only as a mere diſcoverer of this property, which was not applied till about the year 1405, by the Portugueſe for the purpoſes of navigation. *

Prince

* The load-ſtone or magnet, as ſome ſay, was firſt found in Magneſia, a country of Lydia; according to others, the Magneſians were only the firſt who diſcovered its property of attracting iron. It is well known to have two poles, which conſtantly incline to thoſe of the world, if nothing intervene to alter their direction. This property is found to be communicable, and hence the nautical needle once properly touched points conſtantly towards the pole, unleſs ſome maſs of interpoſing iron, or ſomewhat of a magnetic nature, interpoſes to prevent its direction. The cauſe of this wonderful effect is one of thoſe ſecrets which it has pleaſed Heaven hitherto to conceal from the prying ſearchers into nature's volume. This wonder is augmented by another, namely, the different variations of the compaſs, which are found by obſerving the ſun and ſtars, and appear not to be guided by parallels of latitude, nor regulated by meridians; ſome have attributed this to certain magnetic qualities in certain mountains; ſome to a principle of magnetiſm in the earth communicable from the pole in different degrees, at different diſtances.—But what tends to overthrow theſe various opinions, and ſeems almoſt to mock conjecture, is a variation of the variation itſelf, as it continues not the ſame at all times even in the ſame ſituations. On the whole, from whatſoever hidden powers in nature the cauſe of magnetiſm originates, it is to its effects, as employed in framing the mariners compaſs, that mankind owe the diſcovery of a new world.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

THE FIRST VOYAGE OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, who added a fourth quarter to the world by his discoveries towards the latter end of the fifteenth century, was a native of Genoa, of uncertain parentage, but of confessed abilities. He had a strong propensity to the study of navigation, early in life he discovered an inclination to mathematical researches, and had been employed in trading voyages to divers parts of the world before he attempted to set out upon this grand discovery. His motives to the undertaking, according to his own account, were the following: First, The figure of the earth suggested to him the probability that there must be some counterbalance of land, to answer to the vast tract of ocean which appeared to surround the habitable world. Secondly, He greatly relied upon some hints of this kind, which he thought he traced in several ancient writers, as well as on the observations which he himself had made in the course of some of his own voyages. These were confirmed by those of other navigators, among whom was one who mentioned a large island, which he said he had discovered to the westward of Ireland, since supposed to be Newfoundland. One Martin Vincent, who used to sail to the Azores, is said to have told Columbus, that being 450 leagues to the westward of Cape St. Vincent, he took up a piece of timber which seemed to be wrought by some artisan, but apparently, without the help of iron. Peter Correa, who had married Columbus's wife's sister, reported that he had seen another piece of the same sort at Puerto Santo, and that there had also been canes found so thick that every joint would hold a gallon of wine, which were shewn to the king of Portugal. Such canes being generally found in India, concurred with other circumstances to inspire Columbus with the notion of sailing westward to the East Indies; which, if no intervening lands obstructed, he concluded there was a moral certainty of accomplishing. The casting up of pines and dead bodies at the Floras, which latter, by their features, seemed to have been the inhabitants of some remoter region, tended still farther to confirm him in his opinion.

Possessed with the resolution of making the experiment, he first proposed the matter to his countrymen the Genoese, by whom it was rejected. He then addressed himself to the King of Portugal, in whose dominions he lived, and where he had married and intended to settle. But that monarch seemed extremely backward to engage in such an extensive undertaking. The reasons urged were, that his Majesty had already been at great expence in sending persons to make discoveries along the African coast, and to find out an eastern passage to the Indies by sea, without having reaped the expected advantages; and that there appeared little prospect of attaining the end by an expedition to the westward where fresh difficulties and dangers would arise, since after all the labour that had been bestowed on the favourite scheme of the Portuguese, carried on since Prince Henry's time, there had not been found any navigators yet successful enough to weather the Cape of Good Hope, and spread their sails upon the Indian Ocean.

However plausible this reasoning might seem, it appeared in the sequel, that his Portuguese Majesty was not so much bent against a expedition of this sort, as he was averse to employing Columbus; for, by the advice of some who shared his confidence, the king secretly caused a vessel to be fitted out, which was sent to discover what some, in jest, had termed Columbus's world; but for want of constancy and a proper idea of what course to take, the scheme miscarried, and those who had thus been sent to circumvent the first proposer, returned without having effected any thing, and fully convinced that there could be no lands to the westward beyond those already discovered; because they had not the fortune to find them out.

Columbus being informed of what had passed, was so much disgusted at this duplicity, that (his wife being already dead) he determined to leave Portugal, and accordingly departed privately from that kingdom, taking with him his son James, and proceeded to Castile. Then, having left the child in a monastery at Palos, he went to Cordova, where the Spanish court then was, and where he recommended himself by his knowledge and abilities to the notice and friendship of several persons whom he thought most likely to favour his scheme, which he intended to propose to the reigning princes King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. Columbus leaves Portugal.

But lest he should meet with another repulse in Spain, in order that no time might be lost, he dispatched his brother Bartholomew to England to make proposals to King Henry VII: but his messenger falling into the hands of pirates, and afterwards not getting a speedy audience of the king, these and other circumstances occasioned Columbus no longer to rely upon the English, who might otherwise have insured to themselves the West India islands and most probably a lasting English establishment in South America.

The application at first intended was now made to their Catholic Majesties, but the matter being referred to certain Spanish cosmographers, by the prior of Prado, afterwards archbishop of Grenada, whom the king had thought fit to consult upon the occasion; these men whose ideas were by no means so extensive as those of Columbus, gave their opinions against the

1492 expedition, urging a variety of futile reaſons, * which however, had ſo much weight with the court, that after a tedious and fruitleſs attendance, he received for anſwer, that their Majeſties were then ſo much engaged in their wars with the Moors, that they could not attend to any new undertaking: and in the end it was ſignified to him, that they would not liſten to the propoſals which the projector of the ſcheme offered them.

In effect, after many conferences, Columbus, for that time, received a flat refuſal, though the Dukes Medina, Celi, and other perſons of note were by this time become his advocates: five years having been thus waſted in ſolicitations, he at laſt reſolved to leave Spain as he had quitted Portugal. He therefore ſet out for the monaſtery of Palos, to take his ſon from thence; but there F. John Perez perſuaded him once more to apply to their Catholic Majeſties, then carrying on the ſiege of Grenada. He was prevailed on to do ſo; but his terms † being diſapproved, he reſumed his reſolution of leaving the country, and was got two leagues on his way, when the queen ſent to recal him. He obeyed the ſummons, and her Majeſty having reſolved to gratify his deſire, even to the pledging of her jewels, an agreement fully to his ſatisfaction was drawn up, at the camp of St. Faith, before the town of Grenada, on the 17th of April in 1492.

All things being thus adjuſted, it was not long before the proper preparations were made for that voyage, which was to determine whether the opinion of Columbus were the reveries of an enthuſiaſtic dreamer, or were ſuch as originated in a depth of comprehenſion, and deſerved the encouragement of the princes of the earth.

Columbus embarks on his expedition.

With a fleet conſiſting only of three caravels the admiral ſet out from Palos, on Friday the 2d of Auguſt, himſelf commanding the St. Maria, and Martin Alonſo Pinſon the Pinta, of which his brother Franciſco was maſter, the third veſſel, called the Ninna, was under the conduct of Vincent Yannez Pinſon; and all the three caravels contained not above 120 men. They arrived at the Canaries on the 11th of the ſame month, without any other accident except that of the Pinta's rudder breaking looſe; and having refreſhed themſelves at Gomera, on the 6th of September departed from thoſe iſlands. Moſt of the ſailors loſt their ſpirts when they loſt ſight of the land; Columbus, however, re-aſſured them, and whenever they talked of danger, diſcourſed of riches and honours, by which means, together with making it a conſtant rule to falſify the reckoning in ſuch a manner as that the mariners might not imagine themſelves ſo diſtant from home as they really were, he contrived from time to time to keep them quiet. On the 14th of September he firſt obſerved the variation of the compaſs; two days after they ſaw weeds floating on the water, and ſome ſmall animals alive among them, and as they proceeded, obſerved ſeveral flights of birds holding their courſe weſtward.

The ſeamen murmur.

Theſe favourable ſigns continuing for ſome days, but no land appearing, the mariners were loud in complaints againſt the admiral, who, they ſaid, in the vain expectation of gratifying his own avarice and ambition had brought them thither to be ſtarved to death or ſwallowed up by the mercileſs ocean. They added, that having already done more than could be expected, in venturing ſo far, it were better they ſhould return, and in caſe of oppoſition from Columbus, ſome of them were of opinion, that, like another Jonas, he ſhould be thrown overboard to facilitate their project.

The admiral, who was not ignorant of their murmurings, ſtill carried himſelf with ſteadineſs and reſolution, ſometimes uſing ſoothing words, ſometimes more ſternly reproving them, with a ſecret determination of proceeding at all events upon the expedition, which he doubted not in the end would anſwer his expectations. He failed not always to put them in mind of the good ſigns which they had ſeen, but theſe had ſo frequently diſappointed the ſailors, that they began to give little credit to ſuch tokens.

On the 25th, Pinſon, whoſe veſſel was a-head of the reſt, thought he diſcovered land, but this proved an illuſion. On ſtanding all night towards the quarter where he thought he had perceived it, in the morning it was found the fleet had been only purſuing a ridge of clouds, which greatly added to the admiral's embarraſſment, as well as to their vexation.

At laſt, when the patience of the ſeamen was exhauſted, and Columbus himſelf, to pacify them, talked of returning, in caſe land was not diſcovered in three days, at the ſame time offering thirty crowns a year to the diſcoverer; juſt at this criſis, on the night of the 11th of October, the admiral being then in his cabin, thought he ſaw a light, and called two of his men to obſerve it, but it diſappeared preſently, and left them in ſome uncertainty, till about two the next morning, when Roderic de Triana, of the Pinta, gave the ſignal agreed on, being then at the diſtance of two leagues from the ſhore. When day-light appeared, they found it to be an iſland about 15 leagues in length, the ground level, covered with trees and verdure, a lake of good water in the middle, and well inhabited. This proved to be one of the Lucayos, which was called Guanahani by the natives, but to which Columbus gave the name of San Salvador: landing here with his men in ſight of a multitude of the natives, who ſtood on the ſhore in ſilent admiration: he took poſſeſſion of the place in the name of their Catholic Majeſties.

The admiral diſcovers land.

San Salvador diſcovered.

Perceiving the people to be of a peaceable and friendly diſpoſition, he made them ſome ſmall preſents, and afterwards began to barter with them, exchanging glaſs beads and ſuch toys, for fruits, parrots, ſpun cotton, and more valuable things. The Indians were naked, of a middle ſize, and olive complexion, but painted according to their particular fancies. They had ſmall plates of gold hanging at their noſtrils, which they ſaid came from a land to the ſouthward, where that precious metal was to be found in abundance. Theſe Indians took the ſhips for living creatures, reverenced the Spaniards as ſuperior beings, and being totally ignorant of the uſe of iron and ſuch kind of weapons as their new gueſts wore, they innocently laid their hands on the edges of thoſe ſwords that were afterwards employed in the deſtruction of ſuch numbers of their countrymen.

The intelligence the Spaniards had received concerning a country where gold abounded, contributed to haſten their departure from San Salvador, from whence they accordingly ſet ſail on Sunday the 15th of October, and at the diſtance of ſeven leagues, diſcovered an iſland which they called St. Maria de la Conception, where every thing ſo nearly reſembled what they had ſeen at St. Salvador, that they did not think fit to make any long ſtay there, but weighing anchor on the 17th proceeded weſtward, where they found another iſland, which was bigger than the two former,

Conception.

* One of the reaſons alledged was, that if any man ſhould ſail ſtrait away weſtward beyond the known hemiſphere, he would go down, on account of the rotundity of the earth, and would never return again, ſince to attempt it would be like a veſſel's climbing a hill, which could not be done by the ſtrongeſt gale.

† Theſe terms were, "That he ſhould be admiral on the "ocean, that all civil employments as well of government as "adminiſtration of juſtice in all the lands diſcovered ſhould be "wholly at his diſpoſal, and that all governors of provinces "ſhould be choſen out of one of three perſons whom he ſhould "name, and that he ſhould appoint judges in all ports of "Spain trading to the Indies, to decide matters relating to thoſe "parts. And that he ſhould have one tenth of all that was "bought, bartered for, or found within the limits of his ad"miralty, over and above the ſalary and perquiſites of his em"ployment." But to ſhew that he was willing to venture ſomething on his own account, on condition of having the eighth part of what he might bring home in his fleet, he agreed to be at the eighth part of the expence of the undertaking. Theſe were high demands, but the hazard ſeems to have been adequate to theſe, moſt of which are found recited and granted by their Catholic Majeſties to their admiral after his return from his firſt voyage.

former, where the women wore ſhort coats of cotton, reaching from their navels to the mid-thigh, which was the whole of their dreſs. To this the admiral gave the name of Fernandina; and departing from thence, diſcovered another, which he called Iſabella; theſe two latter appellations being given in honour of the king and queen of Spain. And he ſet ſail as ſoon as he had learned its product and the manners of the people, not chuſing to ſpend any more time amongſt iſlands which he found ſo nearly ſimilar to each other.

Fernandina.

Iſabella.

Cuba.

The fleet next proceeded to Cuba, where the Spaniards expected to get farther intelligence concerning the gold which was the principal object of their ſearch. Two Chriſtians were ſent with two Indians, the one from St. Salvador, and the other from that country, to ſearch the iſland. On their return they reported that they had ſeen a town conſiſting of about fifty houſes, where they were well treated, the new gueſts being reverenced as deities by the people. Here they ſaw cotton growing, as alſo many ſtrange birds and trees, and an animal reſembling a dog, but which could not bark. The Indians being queſtioned whether they had any gold or pearls in their country, made ſigns that plenty of thoſe commodities was to be found in a place called Bohio, and Columbus following their directions as well as he could underſtand them, having ſeized twelve of the natives, to carry them with them to Spain, ſteered eaſtward till he reached the iſland which is now called Hiſpaniola, from the Spaniſh appellation of Eſpagnola, given it by the admiral.

Hiſpaniola.

This iſland is about ſixteen leagues diſtant from Cuba, the firſt port of which Columbus called St. Nicholas, becauſe he anchored there on the feſtival of that ſaint. Here he took a young woman, whom they treated well, and who proved very ſerviceable to them afterwards, and the natives having a high opinion of the Spaniards, who had hitherto treated them well, the new comers ſtill found themſelves honoured and reſpected wherever they came A principal cacique, called Guacanagari, conceived a ſtrong affection for his new gueſts, which he diſplayed on ſeveral occaſions, eſpecially by ordering all poſſible aſſiſtance to be given to Columbus when ſome of his mariners through ignorance had run one of the caravels upon the flats. Another veſſel, which was commanded by Alonſo Pinſon, had left him while at Cuba, and gone in ſearch of Hiſpaniola before him, underſtanding that there was gold to be found there, the greateſt ſhare of which he thought to ſecure to himſelf by this proceeding. Nevertheleſs the admiral, when he met him afterwards at ſea, did not hold it prudent to take notice of what had paſſed, but choſe to accept excuſes which he could not believe, rather than to enter into any altercation with him upon the ſubject. In the mean while both parties had carried on a gainful traffic, receiving gold and other things of value in exchange for glaſs beads and ſuch ſort of toys, with which theſe people were particularly delighted.

As the iſlanders had expreſſed great fears of the neighbouring Caribbees, whom they repreſented as fierce cannibals, the Spaniards formed a good excuſe for building a fort in their country, which was garriſoned with 38 ſoldiers, who were left there by way of protecting them againſt the invaſions of theſe ſavages; and thus this firſt colony was planted at the port which they called the Nativity, becauſe they had firſt landed there on Chriſtmas day.

The firſt Spaniſh colony in the Weſt Indies.

On Friday, the 4th of January, the admiral ſet ſail from the iſland, and being joined by the Pinta, proceeded to ſome other capes and harbours, and among the reſt, being near the place called the Lover's Cape, he met with ſome fierce Indians, with whom his men had a ſkirmiſh, which terminated to the advantage of the Europeans, whoſe weapons could not be reſiſted by a people armed only with clubs and bows and arrows, and ignorant of the uſe of iron. To this place they gave the name of Golfo de Flechas, or the gulf of arrows, but the Indians called it Samana.

Golfo de Flechas.

From hence Columbus departed on the 16th day of the ſame month, ſetting ſail for Spain, but before he could reach the Azores was overtaken by a violent ſtorm, in which, on the 24th of February, the caravel Pinta was ſeparated from the admiral, whoſe men began again to murmur, proviſion falling ſhort, and his veſſel being ſcarcely able to weather the tempeſt which a few days afterwards drove him to St. Mary's, one of the Azores, where he caſt anchor, on the 18th, after having ſuffered as much by diſeaſe as by the violence of the ſtorm, during the continuance of which he had thrown his papers over board, in order that the account of his diſcoveries might not be loſt though the veſſel which carried him might have foundered. The admiral and his men remembering that they had made a vow in their diſtreſs to go barefooted in their ſhirts to ſome church dedicated to the bleſſed virgin, at the firſt land they made, were all reſolved to perform it at this iſland. To this they were yet more induced by the friendly profeſſions of the people who were ſubjects to a prince in alliance with the king of Caſtile. Half the ſhip's crew embarking in one of the boats for this purpoſe, had but juſt landed, when the governor attended by a number of people, who had lain in ambuſh for that purpoſe, ruſhed out upon them, and, contrary to honour and the laws of nations, ſeized and made them priſoners, taking care alſo to ſecure the boat to prevent the poſſibility of their return. But the admiral brought his ſhip round to a point from whence the church might be diſcerned to which the Spaniards had intended to make their proceſſion. Here he came to an anchor, and demanded his men and boat, which were refuſed him; but as he perſevered in his reſolution, and, though forced out to ſea by the wind, returned, uſing threats as well as perſuaſions, he at laſt obtained them, with many aſſurances of friendſhip from thoſe diſſemblers, on his producing their catholic majeſties commiſſion.

1493

The admiral lands at the Azores.

His people ſeized at St. Mary's.

From hence he ſailed on the 24th day of February, and was ſoon after overtaken by another ſtorm as dreadful as the former, on which account the Spaniards made a ſecond vow, in caſe of being delivered, to ſend one of their people on pilgrimage to our Lady de Cinta, at Guelva, and the lot fell upon the admiral. In the end they were forced upon the rock of Liſbon, and he found himſelf obliged to put in at that port, where the Portugueſe much admired at the preſervation of his veſſel from the fury of the fighting elements. Here the captain of a guard-ſhip interrogated him very cloſely, but at laſt was ſatisfied with ſeeing the letter which he brought from the king and queen of Caſtile, to whom he had immediately diſpatched an expreſs, giving an account of what had happened ſince his departure from Palos. In the mean time the king of Portugal ſent for the admiral, and obſerved, that having been formerly in his employ, the diſcoveries newly made belonged of right to him. Columbus anſwering that he knew of no ſuch agreement, the king ſaid he doubted not but juſtice would be done, and ſo the matter dropped; and the admiral was afterwards moſt courteouſly entertained, and had the offer of being ſafely conveyed over land to Spain, which however he choſe to decline. Setting ſail from Liſbon on Wedneſday the 13th of March, he arrived on the Friday following, at the Port of Palos, from whence, as the reader may remember, he had departed on the 23d of Auguſt in the foregoing year.

Arrives at Palos.

Thus did Columbus accompliſh his firſt voyage, lay the foundation of the Spaniſh empire in the Weſt Indies, and mark out a way for the diſcovery of that New World, to which he had not even the honour of giving a name. Marked out as he was by providence and nature for a perſevering and much enduring man, he had ſcarce arrived in Spain before he perceived the firſt appearance of that malice which afterwards purſued him for a ſucceſſion of years, and contributed to render uneaſy the life which he was ſo willing to ſpend in promoting the honour and advantage of a proud and thankleſs nation.

1493 Thoſe very people who had laughed at his project and affected to treat him as little better than a madman, as ſoon as they heard of his ſucceſs, pretended to make extremely light of it, ſaying that he had done no more than any pilot might have performed, and that on the whole, he was rather forwarded by chance than ſkill in his boaſted expedition.

But their Catholic Majeſties at this time appeared to have adopted another opinion. They received him in the moſt honourable manner, and ſhewed him every poſſible mark of diſtinction*. Yet, that he had ſecret enemies about the court, was a circumſtance which he ſtill ſuſpected, and which proved too true in the ſequel. Among theſe was the biſhop of Burgos, a man of a narrow mind and envious diſpoſition. This eccleſiaſtic, having from the firſt ſhewn himſelf inimical to Columbus and his undertaking, was ready to burſt with malice at his ſucceſs, and reſolved for ever to thwart the man whoſe genius was ſuperior to his own†.

Theſe diſcoveries, however, were even then deemed of ſo much importance that their Catholic Majeſties thought proper to apply to the Pope for a bull to confirm their right in them, which was accordingly granted in a very ample manner, though not without occaſioning the king of Portugal to ſignify his diſpleaſure. But at length, certain articles were agreed on, and eaſtern and weſtern limits fixed by the conſent of both crowns, and the approbation of the court of Rome; the circumnavigation of the globe, which muſt neceſſarily render all ſuch limits vain, being a matter of which neither party had an idea, though it ſeems ſomething of this kind ſuggeſted itſelf to the more extenſive genius and underſtanding of Columbus.

Letters-patent were now granted to the admiral in the name of Ferdinand and Iſabella, confirming his privileges, and it was reſolved that he ſhould return with a fleet to Hiſpaniola, to reinforce the Spaniſh colony planted there, and to complete the reduction of the iſlands.

THE SECOND VOYAGE OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

PREPARATIONS neceſſary for the undertaking being made, Columbus ſet ſail from Cadiz on Wedneſday the 25th of September, on his ſecond voyage; and, on the 2d of October came to Gran Canaria, from whence the ſame night he ſailed for Gomera, where he arrived on the 5th, and two days afterwards proceeded on his voyage to the Indies, having appointed the general rendezvous, in caſe of ſeparation, at the port of the Nativity, in Hiſpaniola.

Marigalante, Guadalupe, and Antigua diſcovered.

In his way he diſcovered Marigalante, Guadalupe, Antigua, and other of the Weſt India iſlands, and heard news of the continent before he reached Hiſpaniola, though that was the firſt port at which he intended to land.

But when the admiral arrived there, he found affairs in a ſituation far different from that wherein he had left them. On the Spaniards firſt ſending their boat on ſhore, they found by the anſwers returned to the enquiries it was natural for them to make concerning their countrymen, that the colony of the Nativity was no more; on this they ſuſpected ſome treachery; but Columbus choſe to take no notice of what was told him, till there ſhould be proof ſufficient either to confirm or overthrow his ſuſpicions.

The fleet coming to an anchor in the port on the Thurſday following, they found their ſettlement abandoned, the town burned, and the dead bodies of ſeveral Chriſtians lying in the neighbouring fields; nor could they for ſome time find any Indians from whom to gain intelligence, as the natives conſtantly fled, till at length they met with the brother of Guacanagari (the friendly cacique already mentioned) at the head of a party, from whom they learned, that ſoon after the departure of the admiral, the Spaniards began to quarrel among themſelves, being almoſt all equally covetous of gold, and deſirous of having as many women as poſſible; that two of them having ſlain one of their fellows, went over to Caunabo, a fierce cacique, who killed them, together with nine others that had accompanied them in their flight; that ſome time after Caunabo, by night, ſurprized the fort, burning the houſes of the Chriſtians, who fled towards the ſea-ſhore, and ſome were drowned and others died by famine or diſeaſe on ſhore. As a confirmation of the truth of this report, they found the cacique himſelf ſo ill that he could not leave his houſe, he and ſeveral of his men having been wounded in defence of the Spaniards. Theſe misfortunes determined Columbus to ſeek ſome other place upon the iſland, where he might plant a colony, being little ſatisfied with ſuch a diſaſtrous beginning.

* The Spaniards left at Hiſpaniola deſtroyed.

With this reſolution, he left the Nativity in the beginning of December, after having completed the converſion of Guacanagari to the Chriſtian faith; and anchoring at Monte Chriſto, ſoon after proceeded to a place where there was a town of Indians. Landing on a plain near a rock, where he thought a fort might conveniently be erected, he founded a town, which he called Iſabella, in compliment to her Catholic Majeſty. Soon after the admiral fell ſick, and ſome of his men entered into a conſpiracy to revolt from him, but the intended conſpiracy was diſcovered, and the ringleader ſecured. In the mean time having received intelligence of the gold mines of Cibao, he ſent Alonſo de Hojeda with a party to explore them. This indefatigable man brought a favourable account of the country, confirming that report, on which, when Columbus recovered from his ſickneſs, having taken proper precaution for preventing the diſorders which might otherwiſe ariſe in his abſence, he himſelf ſet out at the head of as many men as could be ſpared from the charge of the town and the defence of the ſhipping, in order to penetrate into that province, and happily effected his deſign, meeting with much civility from the Indians. Paſſing over the mountains in the middle of March, Columbus entered Cibao, and, in a ſtrong and pleaſant ſituation cauſed a fort to be erected, which he called the Caſtle of St. Thomas, where he placed fifty-ſix men in garriſon, under the command of Don Peter Margerite. Then he ſet out upon his return to Iſabella, which he reached on Sunday the 29th of March, where the Spaniards found melons already ripe, though it was but two months ſince the ſeed was put into the earth. Within twenty days cucumbers came up, and a countryman gathered wheat ears the the next day, though the corn had been ſown only in the latter end of January.

A conſpiracy.

The Spaniards enter Cibao.

In April that year, the admiral ſent a re-inforcement to St. Thomas's Caſtle, it being reported that the natives meditated an attack upon the fort. But this ſuccour prevented them; and in the mean time ſeveral

* When Columbus came to Palos, Pinſon (whoſe veſſel had been ſeparated from the admiral's in a ſtorm) being arrived at Gallicia, would have attended on the king and queen, but they abſolutely forbad him to come to court without his commander, on which he returned to his native country, where he is ſaid to have died of grief for his ſo much deſerved diſappointment.

† The ſtory which is related of Columbus's experiment with an egg, which, when none could ſet upright on its little end, he accompliſhed by cracking the ſhell, may ſerve to ſhew that he did not want for ready wit. This being accompliſhed, all in the company laughed, crying that it was no more than any body might have done, "Yes, (ſaid the admiral) as any body can "find the way to the new world—but it is becauſe I have firſt "ſhewed it them."

several Indians being taken prisoners, were put in irons and sent to Isabella, for having plundered the Christians, but Columbus released them at the intercession of a friendly cacique, in order to conciliate the affections of his countrymen. In the mean time he also appointed a council to govern the island, at the head of which he placed his brother James, and then sat out upon fresh discoveries.

His first object was Cuba, for which he proceeded on the 24th of April in the afternoon, and after having sailed along the coast, went over to Jamaica, where the Spaniards being threatened in a hostile manner by the Indians, repulsed them with missile weapons from their boats, after which some canoes coming on board, furnished them with provisions in a peaceable manner. Nevertheless, the admiral thought proper again to return to Cuba, which all this while had been mistaken for the continent; and the fleet came to a point, which they called Cabo de Santa Cruz, or of the holy cross, after which, sailing along the coast they met with very tempestuous weather, and were not a little incommoded and endangered by the flats and small islands. The admiral still held on his course, without stopping till he came to one of them rather larger than the rest, where he landed, naming it St. Mary. Here was a town which all the Indians deserted on the arrival of the Christians, so that finding nothing remarkable there except some parrots, and certain birds, of which none knew the name, as was the case on most of the other islands, they resumed their course, and arriving at Cuba, took an Indian, who came in a canoe to barter for provisions. This man told them it was an island, and gave them some farther account of the country. From hence, provisions running short, Columbus intended to sail immediately for Hispaniola, but after enduring much sickness and fatigue, was forced back to Jamaica, where he was obliged to stay some time before he could accomplish his design. At last, however, he attained his end, and arriving at Isabella, there found his brother Bartholomew Columbus, who had been sent to the English court to treat with King Henry VII. concerning the discovery of the Indies, which, as he was on his return to Spain, he found had already been discovered. The admiral appointed him governor, in order to relieve himself in some measure from the great fatigue which his charge occasioned; but notwithstanding this measure, he found himself involved in much trouble, for the Indians had revolted, and Don Peter Margerite, who had been left with near 400 men to command St. Thomas's Castle, and keep the province of Cibao in obedience, had returned to Spain, because he could not bring the council left by the admiral at Isabella, under the controul of his absolute authority. On his departure all the men under his command separated, every one going whither he thought proper, and committing such outrages, that the Indians who found themselves oppressed beyond measure, began to esteem those as infernal dæmons, whom on their first arrival, they had honoured as divinities. The consequence was, that wherever the natives could conveniently light on a single Christian, or surprise a small party, they put them to death without mercy. Columbus indeed at his return punished many who had been concerned in such proceedings, but this measure was so far from answering the end proposed, that a general revolt ensued. Of four caciques, by whom the island was governed, three declared against the Christians, but the fourth (Guacanagari) continued in the interest of

Outrages of the islanders.

the Christians. It was natural to think that Columbus cultivated his friendship at this critical juncture, and indeed he took him with him when he sat out to give battle to the Indians. The latter met the Spaniards as men secure of conquest, their number amounting, according to the Spanish account, to no less than 100,000 men, while Columbus had with him but 200 Christians, 20 horses, and 20 dogs. This small body of Spaniards being divided into two battalions, the one commanded by the admiral, and the other by the lieutenant, attacked the enemy in different places at the same time, and soon having broken them with a discharge of their cross-bows, immediately the horse charged them, and the dogs fell furiously upon the unwieldy multitude, and put them entirely to the rout. What followed was only the pursuit of a number of poor fearful wretches, whom the victorious Spaniards killed or took prisoners at pleasure. Caunabo, who had surprised the town of the Nativity on Columbus's first departure from the island, being among the captives was sent to Spain together with his brother; and this defeat so much dispirited the Indians, that the country was soon reduced to obedience, and all the inhabitants promised to pay tribute to their Catholic Majesties.*

1493

The Indians defeated.

The Spaniards say, that when they had reduced the island, and become thoroughly acquainted with the natives, they found their religious opinions to be made up of a heap of absurdities. Columbus observes, that all the devotion he could perceive they paid was to their Cemies, or household gods, each of their chiefs having a house apart, in which nothing was to be found but certain wooden images so called, and what was devoted to their service.

Indian worship in the islands.

Thither they used to repair, as to a temple, to perform certain ceremonies. There they had a round table formed like a dish, on which lay a kind of powder that they put on the head of the Cemi, afterwards snuffing it up their noses and muttering something to themselves. When they resorted to the Cemies, they shunned the Christians, and frequently buried their idols in the woods, lest they should be destroyed. These images they were reported to steal from each other, and by means of some of them, the caciques practised many impositions. Once it happened that some of the Spaniards rushing into a house where there was a Cemi, the idol on a sudden seemed to make a loud exclamation in their language: but the Christians suspecting some fraud, immediately overthrew it, when they found it was hollow, and by means of a trunk which entered it, a man from a dark corner of the house spoke whatever the cacique ordered him; the latter finding the fraud detected, desired the Christians not to mention the matter to his subjects, as he confessed that by means of frauds like this he was best enabled to secure their obedience, and collect a tribute from the people. These caciques thus assuming in some measure the priestly character, were accordingly reverenced in a double capacity. The islanders had also their jugglers and necromancers who pretended to talk with the dead, and held a number of strange fables relative to the origin of mankind, with many others concerning metamorphoses, which they believed to have happened in former ages; but all in general believed the immortality of the soul, which they suppose, after death to go to a certain neighbouring country, from whence it frequently returned and haunted those persons and places with which the deceased when living was best acquainted.

The superstition.

All things being settled at Hispaniola, Columbus

* All the inhabitants of Cibao upwards of fourteen years old, where the gold mines were, engaged to pay a large horse-bell full of gold dust, and all the rest twenty-five pounds of cotton each, tickets being given to such as performed the condition, in order that punishment might be inflicted on those who refused or neglected to submit to this imposition. It may be remarked here that however moderate the conduct of Columbus might appear in comparison with that of some succeeding conquerors in the new world, yet as it was plain that his aim was conquest, this circumstance, together with the insolence of the Spaniards, might well justify the islanders in the resistance of which the conquerors complained. Indeed if we refer to Columbus's character of the Indians he first met with on this island, we shall incline to think they had hard measures dealt them. After many other encomiums on them, he adds, "They "love their neighbours as themselves; and their conversation is "the sweetest in the universe, being pleasant, and always smil-"ing." Surely it must require a great degree of provocation to render people of such a disposition implacable enemies. This character given of them by the first discoverer, will ever remain a lasting testimony against the Spaniards, who at last treated them with a barbarity that even savages would blush at.

1498 set sail for Spain on the 10th of March, touching at Guadalupe in his way, where the Spaniards had a skirmish with some fierce Indian women; and from what they saw when they came on shore, concluded the islanders to be canibals; so making no stay there, they departed for Spain, where they arrived in the beginning of June, when provisions were grown so scarce on board the fleet that some proposed eating the Indians, and others were for throwing them overboard; all this the admiral by his prudence prevented, and brought them all safe to land, together with Indian birds, beasts, and plants, various kinds of instruments and ornaments, and what was still more valued, samples of gold which the new world produced, and which was the source of so much misery to the wretched natives, thousands of whom the Spaniards afterwards obliged to work in their own mines to satisfy the avarice of their imperious masters.

The admiral arrives in Spain.

Columbus immediately on his landing prepared to set out for Burgos, where he was received with every mark of respect by their Catholic Majesties, who had indeed the greatest reason to confer honours and favour upon the man that had been thus indefatigable in their service, and already laid the foundation of their empire in countries, the very existence of which had been questioned.

His reception at court.

The admiral having satisfied the king and queen of the state wherein he left Hispaniola, pressed to be sent out again with all convenient speed, which was promised accordingly. Yet it was not till February, in the year 1498, that he obtained two ships to be sent out under the command of Peter Fernandez Coronel, while he himself stayed behind soliciting for a fleet proper for his return, and waiting the necessary orders relative to the government of the Spanish acquisitions in the West Indies.

THE THIRD AND FOURTH VOYAGES OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

THOUGH Columbus spared no pains either in his solicitations at court, or his preparations for sea, he could not get all in readiness till the month of May, when he set sail from the Bay of St. Lucar de Berrameda with six ships loaded with necessaries of all sorts for Hispaniola. On his way he retook a Spanish vessel from three French ships which had made a prize of her: he afterwards sailed to Madeira, and the Cape Verd islands. In his course from thence to Hispaniola, he discovered an island which he called by the name of the Trinity, and afterwards the Continent itself, where his men going on shore found the natives to be a civil and obliging people, but staid not long enough to come intimately acquainted with their manners, the admiral being in haste to stand over for Hispaniola, whither he had already dispatched three ships with orders to make the best of their way, and where on his arrival, he found that his presence was much wanted.

Roldan's rebellion.

In his absence one Francis Roldan, whom he had left chief justice, but subservient to his brother the lieutenant James Columbus, growing jealous and envious of James's authority, took advantage of the ill temper of the people when the Spanish provisions failed, and they who were not accustomed to what would well support the Indians were seized with divers diseases, to demand the launching of a caraval which was left ready to send to Spain, in case of necessity. This Don James would not consent to, urging the want of tackling and other very weighty objections, on which an open insurrection was raised, and the Indians were invited to join the revolters. At one time they plotted to stab the lieutenant, at another to massacre the christians; and thus the island was once more thrown into such confusion as much astonished the admiral, who on his arrival found not the three ships which he had dispatched before him. These vessels had put in at Xaragua, where the insurgents were who had inveigled many of the Spaniards to join them, that coming afterwards to St. Domingo, Columbus got intelligence of all that had passed, and taking care to put all things there in a state of defence, set on foot a treaty with the chief rebel, as he found his party very powerful, and was willing if possible to restore peace in his government. This treaty met with many obstructions, as Roldan was continually altering his mind, at one time demanding vessels to carry him and his followers to Spain, at another resolving to remain on the island. Affairs, however, were at last settled by the prudence of the admiral, who having made many concessions * to his opponent, the latter returned to his duty.

But scarcely was this matter concluded, when Alonso de Ojeda, who had been out upon discoveries, arrived and began stirring up the people again to a revolt, which was suppressed by Roldan, who now acted for the admiral, and this revolter was forced to quit the island, after which one of his partisans, who had laid a plot to stab Roldan, was hanged, and others imprisoned. Thus all things promised the restoration of peace, the Indians submitting, and the Spaniards finding the mines so rich, that a private man was known to dig up 40 ounces of gold in a day, one third of which was reserved for the use of their Catholic Majesties.

But while these things were passing in Hispaniola, the court of Spain was perpetually urged by the murmurs of the people at home to supersede the admiral in his command. These murmurs were excited by the false accounts the rebels had sent of Hispaniola; and at length their design succeeded so well, that their Majesties sent thither Francis de Bovadilla, a poor knight of the order of Calatrava, with full power to enquire into all things, and if he found Columbus guilty of what he was charged with, to send him to Spain, and remain there himself as governor. Arriving at St. Domingo at the latter end of August, when the admiral was absent, he took up his quarters in the palace, superseded him in the government before he saw his face, and then commanded him to repair to him immediately; at the same time, to strengthen his summons, sending him their Majesties letter, which was in form as follows:

Their Catholic Majesties letter.

"To D. Christopher Columbus, our Admiral
"of the Ocean.

"We have ordered the Commendary D. Francis
"de Bovadilla, the bearer, to acquaint you with
"some things from Us: We therefore desire you to
"give him entire credit, and to obey him. Given
"at Madrid, the 21st day of May, 1499.
By command of their Highnesses,
Mich. Perez de Almazan. I, The King,
I, The Queen."

Columbus who was about returning to Spain, attending according to this summons, came with his brother James to St. Domingo, when Bovadilla, without any legal information, immediately ordered them both to be put in irons, and after having drawn up the form of a process, in which all witnesses were heard

* The terms agreed upon, were, "I. That fifteen of the revolters should be sent to Spain by the first ships. II. That "lands and houses should be given to those that remained, for "their pay. III. That proclamation should be made that all "that had happened was caused by false suggestions, and through "the fault of ill men. IV. That the admiral should again appoint Roldan perpetual judge."

heard on the one ſide, and none on the other, cauſed them to be put on board ſhip in their fetters, and thus ſent back to Spain; where Columbus, on his arrival, wrote to their Majeſties from Cadiz, who cauſed him to be releaſed, and fully cleared him from all the imputations thrown upon him by his enemies.* Yet they did not think fit to re-inſtate him in his government, but ſent the commendary Nicholas de Obenda to ſuperſede Bovadilla, and to do right to the admiral who was to be diſpatched to make new diſcoveries.

For this purpoſe all due diligence was uſed in preparation, and the admiral having requeſted that their Majeſties would be pleaſed to ſhelter him from all future malicious proceſſes they re-aſſured him by letter; obſerving that his impriſonment had been very diſpleaſing to them, and promiſing him all privileges and prerogatives granted before, which they offered to renew, if neceſſary, concluding, "And "be aſſured that we will honour and favour you in "greater matters. And be ſatisfied that we will "take due care of your ſons and brothers which "ſhall be done when you are departed. We there-"fore pray you not to delay your departure."

Theſe were the fair words and promiſes which Columbus was obliged to receive inſtead of a re-eſtabliſhment in his government, and the puniſhment of thoſe men who afterwards proved themſelves to have deſerved as ill of the ſtate as they had done of him. However, being ſtill willing to ſerve the king, and more particularly the queen of Spain, he ſet ſail from Cadiz on the 9th of May, to make further diſcoveries on the coaſt of the great American continent, which the Spaniards then called Paria. The wind proving favorable, the fleet reached almoſt as far as the Caribbee iſlands without handing their ſails. Then ſtanding immediately for Hiſpaniola, with a view of changing one of his ſhips which was leaky, when Columbus ſent his boat aſhore to inform the commendary, who had been diſpatched to ſuperſede Bovadilla, of his purpoſe, he found himſelf refuſed entrance into the harbour of that very town which he had cauſed to be built on an iſland that he had diſcovered and taken ſo much pains to bring into ſubjection to the crown of Spain.

The admiral's third voyage.

He is refuſed entrance into the harbour of St. Domingo.

As he foreſaw an approaching ſtorm, being thus excluded from the harbour, he ſcreened his veſſels by lying as cloſe under the land as poſſible, notwithſtanding which, three broke from him, and were much endangered, yet all met again the Sunday following. But of the fleet then prepared to carry Bovadilla home, which conſiſted of eighteen veſſels, not above four were ſaved, Bovadilla himſelf periſhing on board the admiral's ſhip, the governor having been imprudent enough to let them put to ſea, though Columbus, by his meſſage had ſignified his apprehenſion of the approaching tempeſt.

Having repaired the ſhips at Port Azuga, the fleet holding on their courſe were carried by the force of the currents among ſome ſandy iſlands near Jamaica, and afterwards came to the iſle called Guania, where Columbus took a canoe as long as a galley, eight feet wide, covered in the middle with an awning of palm-tree leaves, calculated to keep out the ſun and rain. He took what he thought moſt curious out of this canoe, and afterwards diſmiſſed the people all but one old man, whom he kept till he had got what intelligence he could, and uſed him to converſe with the Indians wherever they came, after which he was likewiſe ſent away with preſents.

Inſtead of ſailing towards the country ſince called New Spain, the admiral now convinced that the continent, called Paria, muſt be ſeparated from the extremity of the Eaſt Indies by a vaſt ſea, concluded from the courſe of the coaſt, that it was likely there might be ſome ſtreight which would ſerve as an inlet to that ocean: he therefore ſteered towards Veragua and Nombre de Dios, where he conceived that ſtreight muſt be. There was not, however, the ſtreight ſought for, but an iſthmus or narrow neck of land, which diſappointed him in his deſign; yet his curioſity was greatly ſatisfied in ſailing along the coaſt, where he found the people, in general, friendly, tractable, and modeſt, but ignorant of the uſe of letters, running away when they ſaw any one make uſe of a pen and ink, and ſeemingly much addicted to the belief of inchantments, and ſuch ſuperſtitions. 1498

After having made ſome diſcoveries of this kind upon the continent, coming at laſt to the river Belem, which the Indians called Yebra, where he was informed the gold mines of Veragua were, of which he had heard much during the voyage, Columbus ſent his brother up that river with the boats to the town of Quibo, an Indian prince, who came down in his canoe to meet them, and afterwards ventured on board the admiral's ſhip. This cacique ſent men to guide a party of the Spaniards to ſome gold mines, with which they were well ſatisfied, but it afterwards appeared that theſe mines were not thoſe of Veragua but of Urira a neighbouring town in enmity with Quibo, for which reaſon he had cauſed the chriſtians to be conducted thither.

At length, after having viewed the country, the admiral reſolved to build a town, and to plant a colony on the banks of the river Belem.

The great rains, which had ſufficiently incommoded the Spaniards, being over, the mouth of the river was ſo choaked with ſand, and ſuch a ſwell occaſioned by that circumſtance, that they were in the greateſt danger of being daſhed in pieces by the waves. And, to add to their misfortune, they juſt then diſcovered, that Quibo, being diſpleaſed at their deſign of planting a colony in thoſe parts, had reſolved to deſtroy them all. To prevent this deſign, the lieutenant going on ſhore with 76 men, ſurpriſed him at his own houſe, and took him, together with 30 perſons, conſiſting of his wives, relations and dependents, but the cacique being put into a boat bound, eſcaped by plunging ſuddenly into the ſea, before the Chriſtians could reach the ſhip; and being now more ſtrongly ſet againſt them than ever, as ſoon as he perceived the Spaniards ſailing out of the river, he cauſed an aſſault to be made upon the town. The new ſettlers were forced to retire to a place, where by throwing up works, and planting a few cannon they could better defend themſelves than in the ſlight houſes which they had built in that country. In the mean time the crew of a boat which was ſent on ſhore for freſh water was cut off, one man only excepted, who had eſcaped to the town with the unwelcome tidings.

The ſhips in diſtreſs.

While Columbus waited till the ſea, which had again been ſwelled, ſhould ſettle, hoping for an opportunity of ſending another boat on ſhore, to know what had been the fate of the former, ſeveral of the Indian priſoners, who had been ſafely conveyed on board the ſhip, eſcaped by ſwimming, through the careleſſneſs of the ſailors, and the reſt hanged themſelves in deſpair, becauſe, being diſcovered, they were hindered from following their companions. No hoſtages being now left on board, the admiral had every reaſon to conclude that things went ill, but was ſomewhat comforted when he found that ſome of his men ſaid there would not be wanting thoſe who would follow the example of the Indians, and ſwim to the ſhore, if the remaining boat were permitted to carry them as far as where the water did not break. This being granted, one Peter de Ledeſma, a pilot, offered himſelf, and completed the undertaking; and Columbus, by his means, being informed of the deſtruction of the boat's crew, and the ſad ſituation of the remains of his colony, reſolved to remain till the weather would permit his relieving them. While he waited thus, it grew ſo favourable, that within eight days, by the help of the boat and ſome

A pilot ſwims on ſhore.

* It appears that Columbus ſtill retained a ſenſe of the unworthy treatment he had received, as he uſed to ſay he would always keep thoſe fetters which had been put on him at Hiſpaniola, as a reward of his ſervices; and actually ordered them to be hung up in his chamber, and to be buried with him at his deceaſe.

1505 some canoes, those on shore were got safe off. And thus the new colony was abandoned, nothing being left behind but the hulk of an old ship, which was so worm-eaten as to be unfit for service.

The admiral designed for Hispaniola, but by reason of winds and currents, could not make that island. He passed by the Tortugas, so named from the tortoises frequenting those shores, after having weathered a storm, and with much trouble kept his vessels above water, came to an anchor first at Cuba, and afterwards at a port named Puerto Bona, in Jamaica; finding no town there, nor any fresh water, he proceeded to another harbour eastward, where he ran the leaky ships a-ground, which were propped and shored up. The water coming almost as high as the upper decks, the admiral caused sheds to be built on the planks for the better security of himself and his people in a country which was not subdued, nor at all inhabited by Christians.

The fleet forced into Jamaica.

In this situation he dispatched two persons to Hispaniola to desire a ship might be sent him with ammunition and provisions fit to transport his people to old Spain. As this voyage was undertaken in a canoe built for the purpose, the event of it on those seas was very uncertain. Some time after the messengers were gone, numbers of the Spaniards fell sick, many of those who were in health mutinied, and departed in canoes upon the very same voyage to Hispaniola. But for want of skill these latter were obliged to return, after having thrown most of the Indians overboard whom they had taken to row them.

In want of provisions.

While the admiral lay thus deserted, to complete his misfortune, the people of the country began to be very slack in bringing in provisions, which, when he observed, he had recourse to a stratagem that extricated him and his men from that difficulty. Recollecting that on a certain evening there would be an eclipse of the moon, he sent to call together the principal persons among the Indians, who being arrived, he ordered the interpreter to tell them, that the God of the Christians who had driven these rebellious Spaniards back that had deserted him, was now angry with them for not furnishing his people provisions, a token of which would appear the next night in the heavens, when the moon would rise of a bloody colour, and her brightness would be obscured, as a sign of pestilence and famine, with which he intended to chastise them. The Indians suspended their belief of this prediction, till the time appointed, when perceiving the eclipse beginning as the moon rose, and the darkness still increasing, they came from all parts loaded with provisions, and beseeching the admiral to intercede for them with his God. Accordingly he shut himself up while the eclipse lasted, and when he perceived it was going off, came out and told them he had prayed to God for them, who would cause the moon to shine forth again, and avert the threatened judgments, if they would take care never to offend again in like manner. This had the desired effect, and there was no longer any reason to complain of the Indians want of care to supply the Christians with provisions while they remained upon the island.

Relieved by an eclipse.

In the mean time Mendez and Fiesco, who had been dispatched to Hispaniola, after suffering many hardships reached a little rocky island, where they could find nothing but rain water, which, however, so far relieved them who were just perishing for thirst, that in the evening of that day they completed their voyage to Hispaniola, which they knew to be no more than eight leagues distant. When they arrived at the nearest port, Mendez, though ill of an ague, went directly to the province of Xaragua, where the governor then was; and Fiesco would have returned, as he had in charge to acquaint the admiral of the success of the voyage, but the difficulties and dangers which they had suffered were such, that neither Indians nor sailors could accompany him. As to Mendez, all that he could obtain of the governor, after long waiting and much solicitation was only leave to go to St. Domingo, and there to purchase a ship and fit it out, with the admiral's own money, which was accordingly done, and the vessel sent to Spain, to give an account to their Catholic Majesties of all that happened.

Voyage of Mendez and Fiesco.

A small caraval which arrived one evening, casting anchor near the place where Columbus's ships were run a-ground, brought the above account written by Mendez. The captain coming in his boat to visit the admiral, presented him with two flitches of bacon and a cask of wine from the governor of Hispaniola, but declined to take any of the men on board, and excused himself by saying that he could not take them all; then weighing anchor, he stood off to sea again the same night. The mutineers, whom Columbus thought the arrival of this vessel might have quieted, were sent to on this occasion, and the messenger carried some of the bacon with him by way of proof. Terms were offered them; but they pretended to believe nothing of what was told them; they went even so far as to say, in their wisdom, "That the appearance of the caraval was nothing but a phantom, "as it was well known, that the admiral dealt in enchantments, for if it had been a real vessel he and "his brother would doubtless have embarked in her." In effect these unreasonable men would not hear of any terms, till at last, coming down towards the ships, they were engaged and defeated by the lieutenant; then, by compulsion, they submitted, and were pardoned, and permitted to range abroad on the island, Columbus sending them a commander to restrain them within proper bounds, and detaining Porras, their leader, prisoner.

A caraval arrives from Hispaniola.

Thus matters stood when the ship fitted out by Mendez with the admiral's money arrived, which took on board, indiscriminately, all the Christians, and carried them to Hispaniola, where the governor shewed, as before, evident marks of the duplicity of his conduct. On the 2d of September the admiral left the island, and after experiencing much danger from storms, arrived at length at the port of St. Lucar de Barrameda, from whence, in May 1505, he sat out for the court, where (Queen Isabella his patroness being dead) he found the Catholic King endeavouring to abridge those privileges which were once so freely granted him. But before any new terms could be settled, Columbus wearied out with toils, and vexed with repeated disappointments, expired at Valladolid, on the 20th day of May, in the year, 1506.

THE FIRST VOYAGE OF VASQUEZ DE GAMA,

For the Discovery of a Passage by Sea to the East Indies.

HAVING given a recital of all the voyages of Columbus, which we thought it not proper to interrupt by any other relation, as the motives of them were so evidently connected, we shall now proceed to those of Vasquez de Gama, who was sent out in the reign of King Emanuel of Portugal, to effect a passage to the East Indies by sea, his grand object being to double that Cape which Diaz had so luckily discovered.

Gama was already known for a man of resolution and abilities, and one who possessed a great fund of knowledge in the art of navigation. With three small ships,

ſhips, and 160 men, he ſailed from Belem, on Saturday the 8th of July, 1497; his little fleet which was ſeparated ſome time after, in a dark night, all happily meeting again at Cape Verd. Bartholomew Diaz, in a ſmall caraval deſtined for La Mina, bore them company till the 3d of Auguſt, when he returned towards Spain, and Gama proceeded on his voyage of diſcovery, and after meeting with very tempeſtuous weather, on the 4th of November came to anchor at an iſland which they called St. Helena.

But finding that the inhabitants of that iſle, who had at firſt allured them to land, had hoſtile intentions, having wounded the general and ſome of his men, the Portugueſe returned the compliment with a diſcharge of croſs-bows from their boats, and departed. They came in ſight of the Cape of Good Hope in the evening of the 18th, but the wind being contrary, they ſtood out to ſea, turning again towards the ſhore at night. And thus they tacked till the 20th, when at laſt they doubled that cape, and found themſelves at large in the Indian Ocean, ſailing along a pleaſant and not unfruitful coaſt.

Angra del Blas.

Landing, on the 24th, at a place called Angra del Blas; they were at firſt kindly received by the people, who, notwithſtanding, meditated miſchief, and lay in ambuſh againſt them, which the party on ſhore perceiving, marched towards their boats, from whence being ſuccoured, an engagement would have enſued, but the Portugueſe not deſigning to hurt any of the natives, went on board, and only fired two pieces of ordnance, which ſo much affrighted them, that they dropped their weapons; ſome of the men, however, ſetting up a pillar with the King of Portugal's arms, it was immediately pulled down by the negroes, who would endure no ſuch monument of that prince's claims to be erected in their country.

After their departure from hence, they met with ſtormy weather, and on the 11th of January, being near land, along which they coaſted for ſome time, at length two of the company (one of whom was Martin Alonſo) were ordered to go on ſhore. Here they preſented the king of the country with a cap, a jacket, and a pair of ſtockings, with which, being all red, his majeſty was highly delighted; they gave him alſo a copper bracelet, though the country abounded with that metal. The king having diſplayed this amazing finery to his ſubjects, invited Alonſo to ſupper with him on a boiled hen and millet, and, in effect, he and his people were ſo obliging to the Chriſtians, that the general gave the place the appellation of *The land of good people*. They appeared extremely fond of linen, which they were willing to purchaſe at a high rate. Their weapons were iron darts, and bows with arrows of that metal, and copper, as has been already obſerved, was plentiful among them. Their houſes were but ſtraw-thatched ſheds, yet not ill furniſhed. The proportion of the females to the males was two to one in favour of the former, and both ſexes appeared to be equally obliging and tractable.

Having refreſhed themſelves at this place, they proceeded 50 leagues beyond Sofalda (eſteemed the ancient Ophir) where Gama and Captain Coello, on the 24th of January, went up a wide river in their boats: here they found a people of a free and civil diſpoſition, ſome of the women were tolerably handſome, and none ſeemed at all ſurpriſed at the conſtruction of the European ſhips, aſſerting, that they had ſeen veſſels of as large ſize, and giving their gueſts to underſtand that they were of a diſtant country. Two of their chief men came on board Gama's ſhips, where they were well regaled. On their return, they ſent down ſome pieces of callico to be ſold, ſeemed very willing to traffic, and held a friendly correſpondence with the Chriſtians. Here Gama erected a mark, and his ſhips were repaired, in order to proceed on their voyage. But while they were thus employed, numbers of the men fell ſick, their bodies being bloated, and their gums ſwelling and rotting with an intolerable ſtench. As cutting was the only cure, many died of the conſequences of that operation. Nevertheleſs from the good reception the Portugueſe met with here, which Gama looked upon as a good omen of his future ſucceſs, he called this river *Rio de Buenos Sinays*, or *The river of good ſigns*, which he left on the 24th of January. 1498

Sickneſs of the Portugueſe.

Afterwards they fell in with ſeveral iſlands, near one of which they came to an anchor, when many of the natives came off in their boats. They were of a black complexion, and cloathed in callico, having turbans of ſilk wrought with gold on their heads, their weapons and manners reſembling thoſe of the Moors, though they did not ſeem at all willing to paſs under that denomination. They ſpoke the Arabic language, in which they informed the Portugueſe, that the country belonged to a great king, and that the iſland was called Mozambique, adding, that the people carried on a trade with the Moors of India, for precious ſtones, ſpices, and other articles of eaſtern trade. Mozambique.

On this information, Coello, with the ſmalleſt ſhip, ſailed up the harbour, to which he was conducted by the natives, and anchored before the principal town of Mozambique, which is ſituate in 15 deg. ſouth lat. Gama found it inhabited by Moors, trading to the Red Sea, in large ſhips without decks, and conſtructed without nails, being ſewed together with the filaments of the cocoa tree. The houſes were built with hurdles, and that of their chief had mud walls. The inhabitants were Mahometans, the natives of the continent blacks. The Portugueſe were amazed to find that the mariners here had charts, and made uſe of a compaſs of a ſquare figure, to direct them in their trading voyages.

As ſoon as all the ſhips had entered the harbour; the Schiek and his principal people came to viſit the Chriſtians, whom they miſtook for Moors, and were aſſiduous in ſending them proviſions and preſents; but when Gama, in return, ſent him braſs baſons, coral, and hawks bells, he ſeemed much diſſatisfied becauſe he had not been preſented with any ſcarlet. However, the Moors continued to treat the Portugueſe with reſpect, till by ſome queſtions that the Schiek put to them, he found out his error, after which he and his people thwarted them in every thing. They had promiſed Gama two pilots, but having ſent him only one, when he went in his boat to demand the other, they endeavoured to entrap him by perſuading him to come cloſe into the harbour; but the general ſuſpecting treachery, fired upon them, and retreated to his ſhips, which were coming forward to his aſſiſtance. Nor would the Schiek afterwards permit the ſhips to take in water, till at laſt the men landed and took it away by force, and the general being aſſured by a white Moor who came on board, that the Portugueſe muſt not expect any favour now they were known to be Chriſtians, Gama ſailed up, and bringing his guns to bear, cannonaded the town, to the great terror of the inhabitants, after which he departed thence, intending for Quiloa, but the currents carrying him beyond that place, went to Mombaſſa, an iſland cloſe in with the continent, where he arrived on the 7th of April. Treachery of the Schiek. Mombaſſa.

He found the country fertile, abounding with orchards, and ſtored with the moſt delicious fruits which grow in thoſe latitudes. The city was ſeated on a rock, the houſes were well built, and the ſtreets conveniently diſpoſed. The produce of the land was ivory, wax, and honey, with a great port for merchandiſe. The dreſs of the inhabitants in general was rich; the women were arrayed in ſilks, ornamented with gold and jewels.

Gama, who had already ſeen a ſpecimen of Moorish treachery, being viſited in the night, as his ſhip lay without the bar, by a boat, in which were 100 armed men, who demanded to be brought to the general, he permitted only four to come on board after having left their weapons behind them. Theſe men told him there were Chriſtians at Mombaſſa, ſaid their king would cauſe the Portugueſe ſhips to be loaded with ſpices, and offered to take ſome of them on ſhore

1498 and ſhew them the city. The offer was accepted, and certain Portugueſe were ſent to view the place, with preſents for their prince, who received them kindly, ſending them back with ſamples of ſpices and corn, and promiſed to traffic with them for theſe and other commodities.

The general thinking them ſincere in their profeſſions, ſailed up the harbour the next morning, but his ſhip ſtriking on a ſhoal, he was obliged to caſt anchor again. The Moors on board and the pilots immediately jumped into the ſea, nor could the natives by any means be perſuaded to deliver up the latter. This raiſing ſuſpicions, two of the people brought from Mozambique being put to the torture, confeſſed that the deſtruction of the ſhip had been reſolved upon, and that the pilots fearing they were diſcovered, had leaped overboard to avoid puniſhment. The Moors in the night attempted to cut the ſhip's cable, which they failed of accompliſhing, and when ſhe was got off the ſhoal, Gama had no inclination to remain any longer at Mombaſſa. He was now convinced that the Mahometans in that place muſt have heard what the fleet had done at Mozambique, he therefore weighed anchor on the 13th, and on the ſame day came before Melinda, having taken in his way a little pinnace, with 17 Moors and a quantity of gold and ſilver on board.

Melinda. Melinda lies in 3° of ſouth lat. The city was found to be ſeated on a rocky coaſt, but the country about it pleaſant and fruitful. The natives from the waiſt downwards were cloathed with ſilk and cotton ſtuffs, with turbans of ſilk and gold. They were good horſemen and archers, though moſtly left-handed, and the women, in general, beautiful, and richly dreſſed. The produce of the country conſiſts of gold, ivory, pitch and wax, which were exchanged with the merchants of Cambaya and Guzârat for ſpices and other Indian commodities.

When Gama came to an anchor here, he found nobody would venture to ſend out any boats from the town, which he attributed to the ſight of the pinnace he had taken; he therefore took an old Moor from among the priſoners he had made, and cauſed him to be left on a ſhoal, in ſight of the city, in order that he might be fetched off by ſome off his countrymen. This ſtratagem ſucceeded, for a boat was immediately ſent for him, and he being properly inſtructed, carried preſents from the general to the king, with orders to ſay that the deſign of the Portugueſe was to enter into a treaty with him, and the next day Gama came up towards the city, anchoring near ſome ſhips which ſeemed filled with Indian Chriſtians. Theſe men were brown, well ſhaped and wore long white callico gowns, had large beards and long hair, which was plaited up under their turbans. They paid their devotions to a picture of the Virgin Mary and ſome Apoſtles, which the general ſhewed them to try if they were really Chriſtians. They had ſome little knowledge of the Arabic language, and came from Cranganor, but could give no account of Calicut, which was the principal object of the general's enquiry. The king of Melinda came the next day in a great boat to viſit him richly attired, a ſcarf being rolled round his head, while a hat of crimſon ſattin lay on a cuſhion by him. Twenty Moors richly dreſſed attended him, he had alſo his ſword-bearer and muſicians, and in every reſpect kept much ſtate and grandeur. Gama went in his boat to meet him, when he was invited on board the royal barge, where the king having aſked him many queſtions, and learned his country and the place of his deſtination, promiſed him a pilot to conduct him to Calicut; after which he invited him to court, but this favour the general declined for the preſent, promiſing to call in his return. While he ſtayed there, however, he was witneſs to ſome mock fights, which ſhewed him the nature of making war in that country. Being provided with a pilot, and all things neceſſary, he proceeded on his voyage on the 22d of April, having left with the king the thirteen Moors, whom he had taken priſoners, a preſent which proved very acceptable to his Majeſty.

We have already obſerved, that Gama's deſignation was for Calicut, which lies on the coaſt of Malabar. In order to give an idea of that part of India, it may be proper to obſerve, that it is 93 leagues from Mount Dehli to Cape Comorin, including the Malabar coaſt, which compriſed ſeven gentile kingdoms. The firſt of theſe was Cananor; the ſecond Calicut, of which the city of the ſame name was the metropolis; the third Cranganor; the fourth Cochin; the fifth Porka; the ſixth Coulan; and the ſeventh Travankor, near Cape Comorin. The kings of Cananor, Calicut, and Coulan were the only independent monarchs in theſe parts; the reſt were only petty princes. Coaſt of Malabar.

The king of Calicut was called The Samorin, or emperor, for which diſtinction there were various reaſons aſſigned. The ſtory generally believed at that time among the native Indians was, that the Arabians having diſcovered India about 600 years ſince, when a prince named Perimal, reigned over all the Malabar kingdoms, theſe ſtrangers, who were Mahometans, coming to Coulan which was then the capital, perſuaded the king to change his ancient for their more modern ſuperſtition, and this bigotted monarch going on a pilgrimage to Mecca, divided among his kindred all his dominions except Calicut, which he bequeathed to his page (who was alſo related to him) giving him the title of Samorin (or emperor) which the princes of Calicut ſtill retained when Gama grrived on their coaſts.

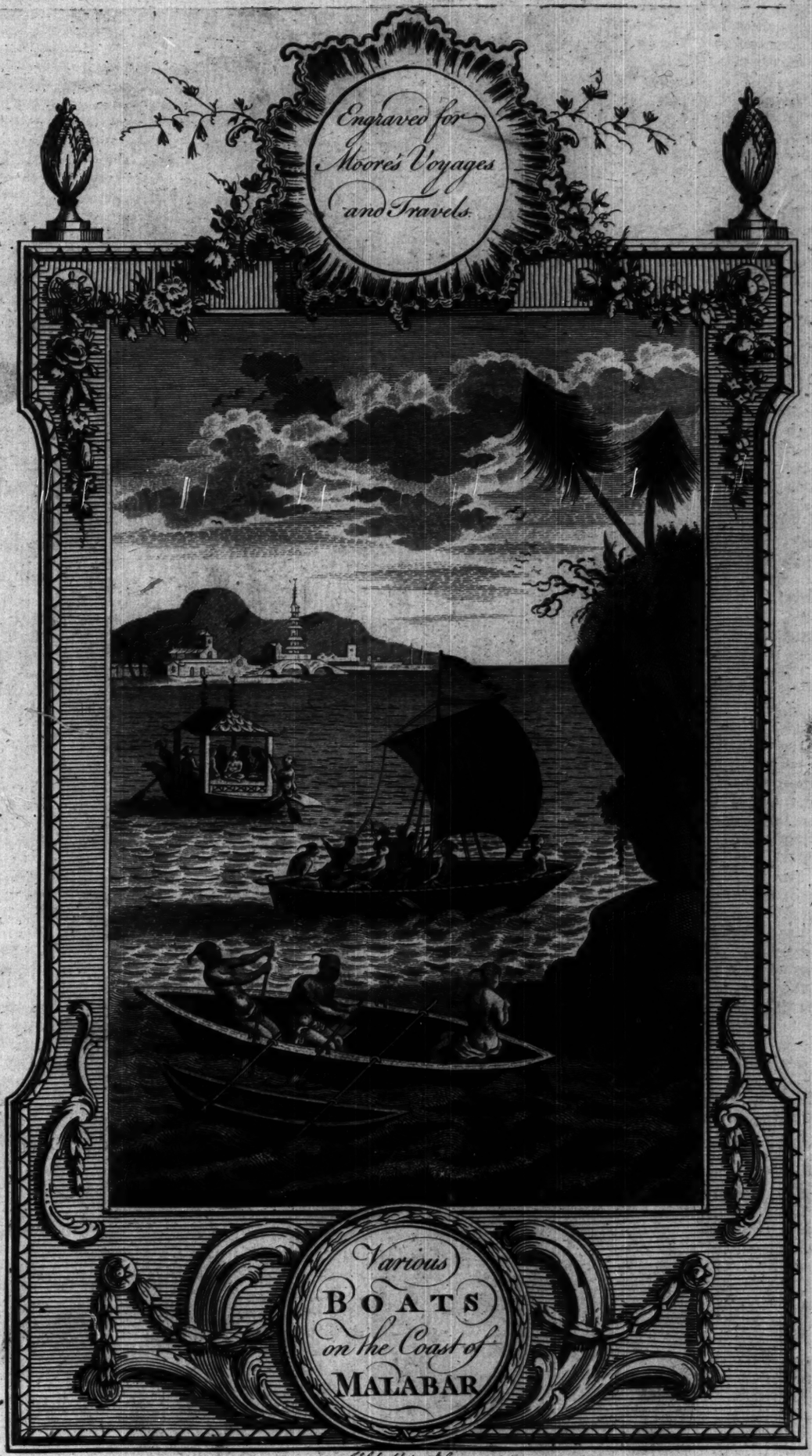
He found the city of Calicut ſituate on an open ſhore; by which means there was no harbour, but only an open road for the ſhipping. The town was large, but the palaces and temples were the only ſtone buildings in the place, the houſes being generally compoſed of hurdles. Gama came to anchor on the 20th of May, about ſix miles from the city, to which he was afterwards conducted, and caſt anchor again on the outſide of the bar. As ſoon as he found it convenient he ſent his boats on ſhore with one of his baniſhed men, who found in the city a Moor called Bontaybo. This man knowing him for a Portugueſe immediately demanded with tokens of great aſtoniſhment, What brought him and his countrymen into thoſe ſeas? Being afterwards conducted to the general, Bontaybo gave aſſurances of his friendſhip, and congratulated him on having diſcovered a new paſſage to ſo rich a country. City of Calicut, Where Gama anchors.

By the advice of this friendly Moor, Gama ſent immediate notice of his arrival to the Samorin, who was then at a village about five leagues diſtant, inſpired with the expectation that his commercial deſigns would be favoured by a prince, the chief part of whoſe revenues, as he underſtood, aroſe from trade.

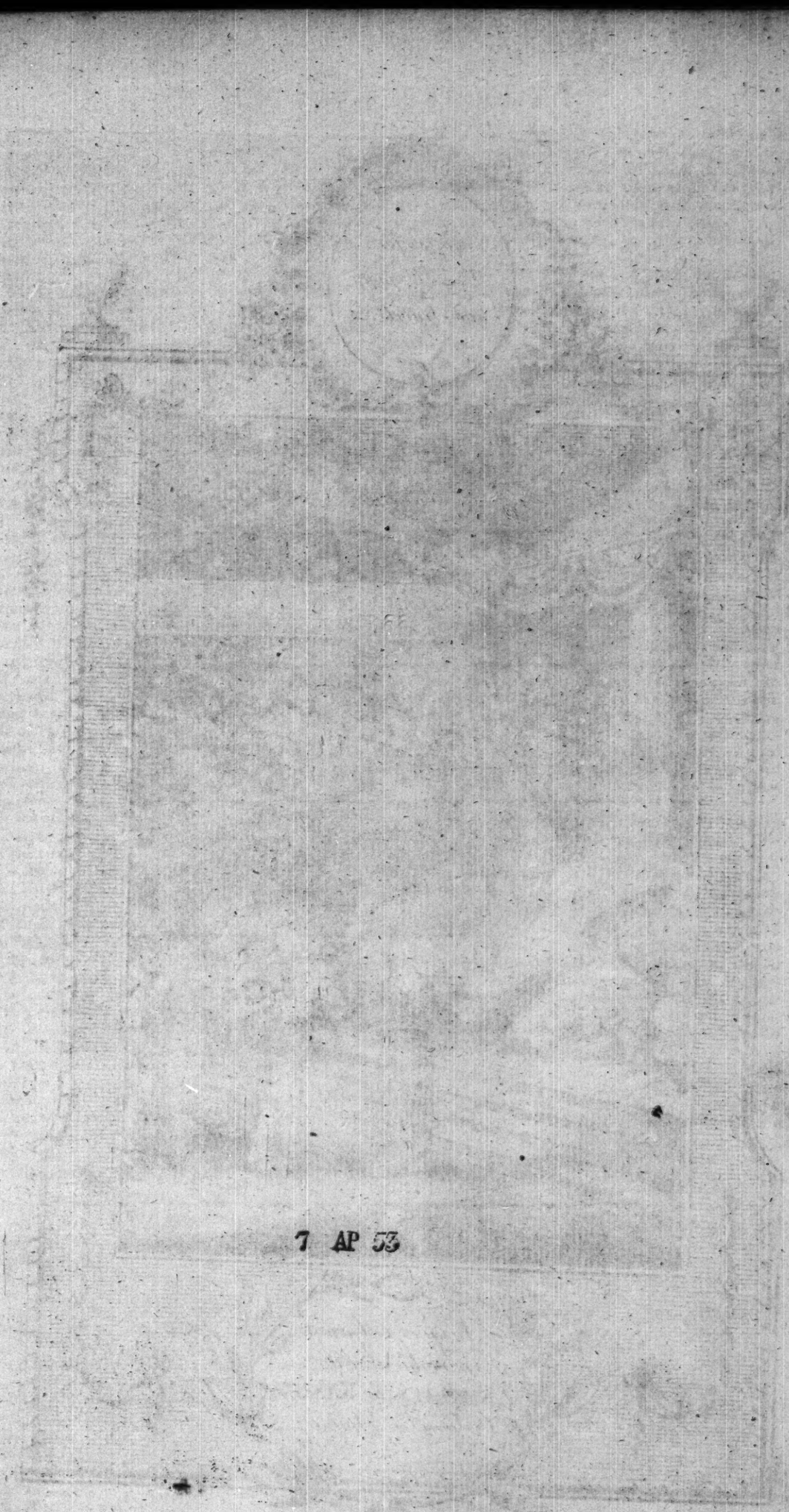
In the mean time the Samorin being informed of all that was paſſing, and poſſibly at that time well enough inclined towards the Europeans, ſent a pilot to bring the general to Padarane, who being cautious how he truſted to ſtrangers, at firſt was not very willing to enter far into the port. Having received permiſſion to land wherever he pleaſed, Gama called a council, in which he ſignified to the members his intention of going to the emperor (whom he conceived to be a chriſtian prince) and ſettling a treaty of commerce with him. He was adviſed by his brother to ſend ſome other perſon in his ſtead; but in this matter he ſuffered his earneſt deſire of bringing his project to bear, to get the better of his caution, though whatever opinion he might entertain of the prevalence of the Chriſtian religion at Calicut, he had been forewarned of the inimical diſpoſition of the Moors that came to traffic in thoſe parts. He is invited to Padarane.

On the 28th of May, Gama landed in as great ſtate as his circumſtances would permit, and ſet out for the Samorin's palace. On their way thither, the ſtrangers were followed by great crowds, and a miniſter of the emperor, called the Cutwal, ſhewed them The Portugueſe land.

much


Engraved for
Moore's Voyages
and Travels.
Various
BOATS
on the Coast of
MALABAR

7 AP 53



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Engraved for
Moore's Voyages
and Travels.
Vasquez de Gama
introduced to the
ZAMORIN (or KING) at
Calicut in India.

much respect. By him the general and his people were persuaded to enter a temple, which (having their heads full of the idea of Christianity in India) they conceived from certain expressions and ceremonies of the Indians, to be dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In this apprehension they fell down and worshipped there, though the place was full of frightful idols: One of the company however observed, "That if the adoration was meant to be paid by the natives to the devil, yet he meant to pay his devotions to God."

Being arrived at the palace, they found it large, well situated, and accommodated with delightful gardens. Gama was received at the gate by an old high priest, who conducted him in through a guard that pressed so hard as to squeeze several of the natives to death, and greatly to incommode the Portuguese, though the latter had officers appointed on purpose to clear the way for them. When they were admitted, they found the hall of audience somewhat to resemble a theatre in its interior form, the floor being covered with velvets, the walls hung with silk, and the seats rising above each other in regular gradation. The king was a man of an olive complexion advanced in years, and of a commanding aspect. He reclined, under a canopy, on a settee of white silk, embroidered with gold. His cloathing was of white callico, wrought with flowers of gold, the buttons being all large pearls. He had rings set with jewels in his ears, and his fingers and toes were ornamented in the same manner. His arms and legs though otherwise naked, were likewise adorned with gold rings; and he was served with betel nut (which he chewed with salt and areka) in a golden bason, having another ready for him to spit into, which was made of the same metal, and a golden fountain that furnished him with water to wash his mouth after his chewing. This prince wore a crown in shape of a mitre, which was ornamented with precious stones of various colours and sizes.

Samorin's palace described.

In the midst of all this state, Gama having made his reverence, was ordered to advance, and was seated near the emperor,; his followers, who entered afterwards, being placed on the opposite side. When they called for drink, water was served them out of a golden cup with a spout from which they were obliged to pour it into their mouths without touching their lips, (which the Moors there reckoned an indelicate custom) but in endeavouring to use this method, some of the Christians wetted their cloaths, and caused diversion to the courtiers; whilst others overcharging their throats, began to fall into fits of coughing or to throw it up again, which greatly embarrassed them, as they had been informed the Samorin kept such state that it was reckoned an affront to let any one's breath reach him, or to cough, spit, or sneeze in his presence.

Gama was desired to declare his business to the emperor's officers, but he refused in quality of an ambassador, to make it known to any but that prince himself, and a few selected from his council. This being agreed to, Gama and Fernan Martinez, were conducted into another apartment, where the Indian interpreter, the chief bramin, the betel server and the comptroller of the household, were the only persons present when the Samorin received the embassy, which the general delivered in the name of the king of Portugal, who, he said having heard of Christian princes in the Indies, of whom he conceived the emperor of Calicut to be the chief, was desirous of corresponding with him. The general received a favourable answer; and not chusing to lodge among the natives, when it grew late, was conducted to an apartment provided for him by the Samorin's command.

Gama delivers his embassy.

Thus far all went well; but the next day when Gama resolved to send the emperor a present, which consisted of scarlet, coral, brass, sugar, oil and honey, the Cutwal would by no means allow it to be carried to court, as not being rich enough; observing that his master expected gold from so great a monarch as the king of Portugal: the general excused himself by saying that these things ought rather to be considered as a present from himself, than from his prince, who doubtless would send something more suitable as soon as he should be informed of the greatness of the emperor, and his resolution of corresponding with him and trading with his subjects.

Objections to the present.

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But all this availed nothing, the Moors having already prejudiced the court against him. For fear, the arrival of these strangers at Calicut should prove a hindrance to that trade, which they themselves had monopolised, they related with many exaggerations all that had happened at Mozambique and along the African coast: in conclusion, observing that these things being considered, together with the smallness of the present which Gama brought, he ought rather to be considered as some pirate or needy adventurer than as the ambassador of a great king.

Artifices of the Moors.

The general was however admitted again to the Samorin's presence, who received him at first with an angry countenance complaining of his delay of resorting to court, which, in fact, had been occasioned by the dispute with the Cutwal and others about the presents. Afterwards this prince demanded, Whether so extraordinary an adventurer had been sent to discover stones or men? because he observed that if the latter was the object, presents ought to have been sent to him. At last this great king descended so low as to ask of the general a Saint Mary that he conceived to be gold, and which, though Gama asserted it was only gilt wood, yet he refused to part with on a supposition that it had preserved him from the dangers of the sea. After having used all his endeavours to find out whether his guest was really a pirate or a fugitive, the emperor seemed well pleased, on hearing a letter from the king of Portugal read and interpreted, as it related to the establishing a commercial connexion between his subjects and the merchants of Calicut, which had all the appearance of a mutual benefit.

The Samorin's suspicions.

His avarice.

But notwithstanding this interview seemed to have produced favourable effects, the Moors equally influenced by considerations of interest and of religion, ceased not to plot against Gama, whom at first they would have persuaded the Cutwal to assassinate. Though this scheme did not take effect, yet that officer confined the general, and used every artifice to seize the Portuguese ships; but the firmness of the prisoner defeating this design also he had recourse to another method of proceeding, namely that of urging him to cause all his goods to be landed, which he thought by those means secretly to secure; and therefore on that condition promised to let him go on board his vessel in safety.

Gama is confined

Though little confidence was to be placed in such a man, yet Gama promised to send for the merchandise in case some almadias or pinnaces of the country were dispatched to bring them on shore, as he said his brother (whom he had previously instructed) would never trust the ships boats to land men or goods without being authorised by his presence. The matter being thus settled, he wrote word, That he was confined, but otherwise well enough used. In this letter he ordered his brother to send part of the goods, observing, that should he afterwards be detained, it must be looked upon that the Samorin meant to keep him prisoner; in which case he commanded the ships to sail back without him, and to solicit the court of Portugal immediately to dispatch a strong fleet to his relief.

Part of his cargo sent on shore.

The goods were sent accordingly, and the general being set at liberty, returned to his ships; but the hatred of the Moors, who now saw their enemy removed out of their reach, increasing with their disappointments, they contrived to hinder the sale of his commodities; and though the emperor, on being informed of these proceedings by Gama, appeared much offended with the Cutwal, yet that officer was not punished, nor was this insolence of the Moors at all restrained. The goods being however removed to Calicut, the sale was opened, and the Portuguese, by their

Gama returns to his ships.

1498 their commander's permiſſion, viſited the city; but not without being frequently inſulted by the Mahometans who were heartily vexed that the general would not land again; from which he was diſſuaded by the friendly Moor Bontaybo.

Sends a meſſage to the Samorin.

Gama, who had little reaſon to be ſatisfied with his ſituation, preparing to depart, ordered Diaz to go with a preſent to the emperor, deſiring, that if the latter had any intention of ſending an ambaſſador to Portugal he might be diſpatched immediately, as the fleet was about to ſail.

The preſent was delivered to the factor, and the Samorin only anſwered that if Gama was reſolved to depart, he ſhould expect 600 ſharifins to be paid according to the cuſtom of that port. Diaz was alſo detained, and a proclamation made, forbidding any one from the city to go on board the fleet; yet Bontaybo went, and having obſerved upon the fickle temper of the emperor, warned Gama of the hazard he muſt run, in caſe he ſhould ſtay till the arrival of the fleet from Mecca, which would doubtleſs take him. There needed no more to ſet a prudent man upon his guard. Gama contrived ſoon afterwards to ſecure ſome principal men that came on board, and then ſent a letter demanding his factor and ſecretary, but theſe not being returned as he expected, he put to ſea immediately.

The meſſenger confined.

The general makes reprizals.

The Indians perceiving his reſolution ſent a boat after him, the crew of which told him that his people were ſafe in the king's palace, and that they would be ſent to him the next day. Gama anſwered, That it might be ſo, but he expected to ſee them or receive letters from them, otherwiſe he would ſink the next boat that ſhould dare to approach him; adding, That if they were finally reſolved not to reſtore his men, he would put to death thoſe of theirs that he had in poſſeſſion.

This threat had the deſired effect; for the next day the perſons demanded were brought, and put on board the ſhip's boat at the place where Gama came to an anchor, not daring to come near his ſhip. By them a letter was alſo ſent to the king of Portugal, which was to the following purport:

His plan ſucceeds.

"Vaſquez de Gama, a gentleman of thy houſe, "came to my country, of whoſe coming I was glad. "In my country there is plenty of cinnamon, cloves, "pepper and precious ſtones. The things that I am "deſirous to have out of thine are ſilver, gold, "coral, and ſcarlet."

The inſincerity of the emperor's profeſſions however appeared ſo plainly that Gama ſent back only the * Nayres, and when, after many endeavours uſed to deceive him, he found he could not get his merchandiſe returned, he declared he would take the reſt of the natives of the country with him, to confirm his having diſcovered the paſſage to India, ſince the Samorin had refuſed to ſend ſuch commodities as he had deſired for a confirmation.

He had not got above a league from Calicut, before he was ſurpriſed by the appearance of a number of boats which purſued the fleet, but by means of his ordnance and a freſh gale that ſprung up, he avoided the danger. Previous to this, Bontaybo's goods being ſeized on ſhore, he had fled to the general for ſhelter, and he was now employed to write a letter to the emperor, expatiating on the advantage that would reſult to his ſubjects from trading with the Portugueſe who, as he promiſed, would return as ſpeedily as poſſible to thoſe coaſts with the wares and merchandiſes that were required.

An attack intended on the fleet.

* Or nobleman.

† This man was afterwards baptiſed, became a good catholic, and was carried to Portugal. He ſaid the deſign of the Lord of Goa was to make the Portugueſe when he had taken them, ſerve him in his wars againſt the neighbouring princes.

Some days afterwards another attack was made upon them by pirates, one of whoſe veſſels they took, (after having driven the reſt cloſe to ſhore) and found it laden with cocoas and molaſſes, having alſo a quantity of weapons on board. Arriving at a little iſland with four others in the neighbourhood, called Anſandiva, the Portugueſe were in danger of a ſurpriſe from ſome of the ſame viſitants; but being warned by the natives, the ordnance was fired at the free booters, and they retreated with precipitation. 1499

Another attack defeated.

Gama now received a meſſage from one Zabaius the lord of Goa, who invited him in a very friendly manner to his country. But the meſſenger being ſuſpected for a ſpy, and accordingly put to the torture, he confeſſed that this invitation was meant only as a ſnare to entrap and ſeize the Portugueſe, which they thus luckily avoided falling into, by the warineſs of their commander †.

Intended treachery of the Lord of Goa.

Contrary winds, alternate ſtorms and calms, and a ſickneſs which proved epidemical, rendered the voyage from Anſandiva very troubleſome, till, at length a favourable gale, brought the fleet in ſight of Mogadoxo, at the 2d of February, at a time when they had reaſon to believe they were near Mozambique.

The city appeared large and well built, ſurrounded with walls. In the middle ſtood a large palace on a riſing ground; but the inhabitants being Moors, Gama was ſo far from having an inclination to land there, that he cauſed his great guns to be loaded and fired at the walls as he paſſed along, which did them conſiderable damage, and then purſued his courſe for 113 leagues towards Melinda, as he had at firſt intended.

Mogadoxo.

Here the general and his men met with very kind entainment, but ſtayed only five days, leſt the winter ſhould overtake them at the cape; in their way to which they touched at the iſland of Zanzibar, where he found the inhabitants, though Moors, well diſpoſed towards the Portugueſe, who had been obliged by this time to burn one of their veſſels, named the St. Raphael, becauſe ſickneſs had ſo much leſſened their numbers, that there were not hands ſufficient to man the ſhips and bring them home in ſafety.

Zanzibar.

Having again refreſhed his men at St. Blas; the general proceeded, and doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the 25th of April, after which a favourable gale ſprung up, which continuing for twenty days, brought him to St. Jago, one of the Cape Verd iſlands, where a tempeſt ſeparating the ſhips, Coello's veſſel was the firſt that reached Liſbon‡, while Gama, after having weathered the ſtorm, leaving his ſhip at St. Jago, hired a veſſel to carry him home. He put in at the Terceras in his way, where his brother Paul who had long been in an ill ſtate of health expired. Having paid the laſt tribute to his memory, the General departed from the Terceras, and ſteering directly for Portugal, arrived at Belem in September, after having been two years and two months upon a voyage full of perils and difficulties, by the accompliſhment of which he acquired the honour of being regiſtered as the firſt adventurer that ever diſcovered a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies by ſea, and of opening a freſh channel of commerce to the nations of Europe with thoſe rich and plentiful countries. Other voyagers of the ſame nation following his track eſtabliſhed factories in thoſe remote regions, and Gama himſelf returned thither in 1502. Of theſe expeditions we ſhall ſpeak hereafter; but ſhall now proceed according to the plan laid down to give an account of the circumnavigators; beginning with the unfortunate Maghellan, who periſhed in the undertaking.

St. Blas.

The General's arrival at Belem.

THE

‡ He was ſuſpected of deſign in this ſeparation, which ſome affirmed he effected only on purpoſe to be the firſt that ſhould bring the court of Portugal the news of this important diſcovery.

THE VOYAGE OF FERDINAND MAGHELLAN.

1517 MAGHELLAN was a native of Portugal, a gentleman by birth, and a ſoldier by profeſſion. He had ſerved his country in the Indian as well as African wars; having been employed in thoſe expeditions which ſucceeded Gama's diſcovery, and which at length brought Malacca, Goa and Ormuz under the Portugueſe dominion.

Though the paſſage from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean which Columbus went in ſearch of, had never been diſcovered, yet Vaſquez Nunez de Bilboa having diſcovered the laſt mentioned ſea from the mountains of Pancas, in the province of Panama, Maghellan from hence conceived an idea of undertaking the circumnavigation of the globe, which he firſt communicated to his court, but being ſlighted in that particular, and meeting with ſome other diſappointments *, he reſolved to quit Portugal, and make his propoſals to Charles V. then king of Spain and emperor of Germany.

Maghellan's propoſals rejected in Portugal.

Maghellan failed not to obſerve to this prince that all the Banda and Molucca iſlands muſt of right fall to his lot, according to the diviſion mutually conſented to by king John II. of Portugal, and Ferdinand, and Iſabella of Caſtile. Theſe iſlands he propoſed to diſcover by a weſtern navigation. And the project was ſo pleaſing to the king, that he gave orders for making the neceſſary preparations with as much expedition as the nature of the ſcheme would allow.

Accepted in Spain.

Charles ſtopped not here, for beſides ordering five veſſels to be fitted out with every convenience neceſſary for the purpoſe, notwithſtanding the oppoſition made by the Portugueſe ambaſſador, his majeſty conferred upon Maghellan and his companion Ruy Falero, the order of St. Jago, as a ſpur to this arduous undertaking.

He is envied by the Spaniards.

Yet, however honoured, the former was at court there were not wanting thoſe who greatly envied him, and wiſhed to retard the expedition. He received many inſults on account of his country, and when all was juſt ready for the embarkation, it had nearly been prevented by Ruy Falero's conteſting with the admiral the honour of bearing the royal ſtandard; but this matter being ſettled, and his rival perſuaded to ſtay at home, his health not being in a ſtate that rendered it prudent for him to proſecute ſo long and uncertain a voyage, Maghellan took the ſole command of the ſquadron, and the buſineſs proceeded.

Sets out on his expedition.

The ſquadron which conſiſted of the admiral's ſhip, the S. Antonio, Juan de Cartagena, vice admiral; the S. Jago, Juan Rodriguez Serrano, and the Conception, Gaſpar de Quezada, maſter, ſet ſail from Cadiz on the 10th of Auguſt for Teneriff, where they arrived in ſafety on the 2d of September, and proceeded from thence to Rio Janeira on the coaſt of Braſil. There they refreſhed themſelves, taking in ſuch neceſſaries as they ſtood in need of, and on the 27th continued their voyage.

Diſcontents among his men.

At this time many diſputes aroſe concerning the courſe which it was beſt for them to purſue, and, the fleet being anchored on Eaſter day in St. Julian's river, which they had entered the preceding evening, when maſs was ordered to be ſaid on ſhore, the three captains, Luys de Mendoſa, Gaſpar de Quezada, and Juan de Cartagena did not appear †, a circumſtance which much diſquieted Maghellan, becauſe from their diſobedience, as well as other circumſtances, he inferred that a ſpirit of diſcontent reigned among the majority of the ſquadron. And thus, like Columbus, he found it very difficult to adapt a proper line of conduct. To return with diſgrace was what he could not brook; to proceed was to encounter a variety of perils, at the ſame time that he had every thing to apprehend from his own people. In this ſituation, the weather growing ſevere, the murmurings increaſing, and a conſpiracy of the three captains being ſuſpected, the general called his own ſhip's crew to arms. In the mean time, as Mendoſa was reading a letter he had ſent him, this captain was ſtabbed to the heart. At that inſtant a boat was manned with about 30 of the admiral's friends, who boarded the Victoria, and took 40 priſoners ſuſpected of being concerned in the conſpiracy out of that and the other ſhips. But Quezada only was executed, and Mendoſa's dead body was ordered to be quartered.—Thus the oppoſition ended for that time, and the proper meaſures were taken for the fleet to proceed as ſoon as the weather would permit; for which purpoſe Serrano was ordered to examine the American coaſt along which they were to ſail, in order to make the intended diſcovery.

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A conſpiracy ſuppreſſed.

While they had been thus detained on the Braſilian coaſt, according to the Spaniſh account, they ſaw men of a vaſt ſtature, and whoſe voice, eſpecially if enraged, reſembled the roaring of bulls. One of theſe came on board, whoſe voice and face were equally frightful, and whoſe height was ſuch, that the head of a middle-ſized Spaniard ſcarcely reached to his waiſt. There may be reaſon to think this account rather exaggerated; however that might be, it ſeems that he behaved himſelf very peaceably, and was well enough ſatisfied with every thing about him, till by way of preſenting him with toys, the Spaniards put ſhackles upon his legs, which as ſoon as he diſcovered to be intended to deprive him of his liberty, ſtriving in vain to get rid of them, he raved and roared moſt hideouſly. His apparel conſiſted of the ſkin of a ſtrange beaſt, and the ſame ſkin covered his legs and feet as well as his body, which notwithſtanding they deſcribe as being painted all over; and each of his cheeks was drawn on the figure of a ſtag, with two red circles round his eyes, which contributed to render his appearance more frightful.

Account of giants.

Maghellan's people ſaid they found moſt of the inhabitants of the coaſt apparrelled much in the ſame manner as this man, and deſcribe them as a race of giants, ignorant and ſuperſtitious, believing their country to be haunted by evil ſpirits, at the apprehenſion of which they ſeemed to be extremely terrified. Their weapons were bows and arrows, the bow-ſtrings being made of ſome guts or ſinews, and the arrows headed with ſharp ſtones. Their moveable cottages which, like their bodies, were covered with ſkins, they carried with them from one place to another as occaſion ſerved; they devoured their meat, which they did not ſeem to have any method of dreſſing, with the voraciouſneſs of canibals, eating with it a certain ſmall ſort of root, in their language called *Caper*, which ſerved them for bread, and drank vaſt quantities of water at their meals.

The only religious ideas theſe people entertained centered in the belief of two beings, one of whom they termed *Setebos*, who ſeemed to be ſuperior, and the other whom they called *Chelcule*, and whom they looked on as an inferior deity. In this barren country (the inhabitants of which the Spaniards termed Patagons) they however ſet up a croſs, and took ſolemn poſſeſſion of it.—But to return to the narration.

One of the veſſels loſt.

Serrano who as we have obſerved before, was diſpatched on an expedition to reconnoitre the coaſt, found a river which was about a league broad at the entrance, to which he gave the name of S. Clare, having firſt diſcovered it on that Saint's day. He was

* He is ſaid to have been denied by the court ſo ſmall an augmentation of his pay as half a ducat per month, which unkindneſs he could not but remember.

† The laſt was already under an arreſt for diſreſpect ſhewed to his commander.

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six days examining it, and fishing for seals, and was afterwards exposed to a violent tempest, which split the sails of his vessel, and in the end wrecked him upon the shore, while the boats crew were saved from the fury of the elements, but reduced to great extremities by famine on these barren coasts. In their distress they sent two of their people to their commander to give him notice of their situation, who dispatched a vessel to their assistance, and thus prevented that fate which must otherwise have been inevitable.

Maghellan leaves Port Julian and sets the convicts on shore.

The general left the port of St. Julian where he stayed so long with little satisfaction, on the 24th of August, setting Juan de Cartagena on shore, and the same punishment was inflicted on Pedro Sanchez Revora, the priest who had been found guilty of being concerned in the conspiracy. They were supplied with a quantity of provisions but were never heard of more.

Sailing from hence, on St. Ursula's day, in the latter end of October the fleet came to a promontory which Maghellan called Cape Virgin, and perceiving an inlet, sent to examine the coast. Upon the different reports of the people of the vessels and boats detached for this purpose, a council of the chief officers and pilots was called, in which Estevan Gomez, pilot of the Antonio, declared for returning home, and was followed by all the members, the general only excepted, who declared that though tempest and famine should threaten the strongest opposition, he was resolved to persevere. The Antonio being afterwards sent to find out a nearer passage than any which they had yet a reason to expect, the pilot before-mentioned, together with the purser having stabbed the master, carried home the ship; and the general himself having gone in pursuit of her in vain, proceeded on his voyage, and at length fell in with the passage which he had so long been in search of, and in 52° of south lat. entered those streights which have ever since born his name. He was transported with joy at this discovery, and named the point of land from which he first had this agreeable prospect, Port Desire. After sailing through this new-discovered passage with all the caution necessary in such a situation, they entered the great South Sea on the 28th day of December, being one year four months and eighteen days, from his first departure from Spain, and four months and four days from his leaving Port Julian.

He discovers the passage into the S. Sea.

On this wide extended ocean the fleet wandered between three and four months without sight of land, except two uninhabited islands. Their distresses in the course of this time were so great, that the men were reduced to the necessity of eating the hides which covered the ships rigging, which they steeped in salt water in order to render them fit for chewing. To this partial famine, it was not wonderful that sickness should succeed. And those who were not seized with immediate fits of illness, had the misfortune to be disabled from subsisting on these hard viands, by their gums growing over their teeth, whereby they were starved to death. It was happy for the rest that they sailed all this while upon a peaceful sea, impelled by gentle breezes, from whence it was denominated the Pacific Ocean. It was not till the 6th of March that they fell in with a parcel of islands justly named the Ladrones, or isles of thieves. Here they landed, and found them possessed by a people that exhibited not the least appearance of having any order or form of government prevailing among them. The men went entirely naked, their complexion olive, their hair black and long, reaching to their waists. The women were more modest in their manners, wore a sort of covering of palm-tree leaves, and were generally found to be industrious. But while

Ladrones.

these were busied at home, their husbands and male relations employed themselves in thieving abroad; and soon became so troublesome to their new guests, that the Spaniards having endeavoured by threatening, firing upon them, and burning some of their houses, (which were built of wood, and covered with palm-tree leaves) to deter them from such practices, perceiving that all this was to no purpose, departed from thence and landed at Zamul, 30 leagues distant, Zamul. on the 10th of the same month, and the next day came to Hummuna, which island they found to be Hummuna. pleasant, and the people full of humanity, ready to accommodate them with all the refreshments which the place afforded.

They afterwards sailed between several islands, and on the 28th came to one called Buthuan, where they Buthuan. were honourably entertained by the king. The people here, though not acquainted with christianity, were observed [or supposed] by Maghellan and his company to make the sign of the cross at their meals. The king's palace somewhat resembled a hay-loft, being built so high upon large posts, that it was not to be entered without ladders. The islanders greatly admired their new guests, and treated them with a kind of veneration. The earth here was said to be so rich, that large pieces of gold, some of the size of hazel-nuts and others as large as eggs, were procured by sifting the common mould of the country.

The king appeared to be a well featured man, of an olive complexion, was clothed in cotton, wore a dagger with a gold haft by his side, and was adorned with a profusion of gold rings. Maghellan presented his majesty with cloth of various colours, and his attendants with glasses, knives, and crystal beads*. The islanders, who were a very lively people, seemed to have no other religious rites than a certain ceremony which they practised, of lifting their hands and eyes towards heaven, and calling on their god Abba.

After passing among several islands, most of which afforded barley, figs, oranges, goats, poultry, and doves, and proved pleasant enough to the sailors, the fleet came to Zubut on the 7th of April, where their Zubut. salute when they anchored in the port, at first put the inhabitants into great terror, till the manner of the compliment was explained to them.

Here the king at first demanded tribute, but this the general absolutely refused to pay; and his Majesty being told that these strangers were Portuguese, whose countrymen had before this time stormed Calicut, and were renowned for their atchievements in India, he thought fit to drop that demand, and entertained them with great kindness and hospitality. Maghellan had influence enough to prevail upon this prince, his brother, and the queen to be baptized; a total abolition of idolatry through the whole island was the consequence, so that in eight days all the inhabitants embraced Christianity.

In the isle of Mathan, which lies not far from Mathan. Zubut, Maghellan found his fate. The island was under the government of two kings, from whom the Christians demanded the acknowledgement of tribute. This being refused, an open rupture ensued, and the general, with only 60 Spaniards, gave battle to the natives, whose numbers, as they say, amounted to above 6000 men. After a long and sharp dispute, in which however, the Indians lost not above fifteen, and the Spaniards only nine men, Maghellan, being too far engaged, was wounded with a poisoned arrow, and a thrust in the head with a lance, put a period The general slain. to his life: nor was even his body recovered from the enemy.

Greatly disconcerted at the loss of so able a commander, they chose Odoardo Barbosa, a Portuguese, and Juan Serrano to succeed him, who, with others, was

* It is related that one of the islanders offered a Christian a crown of gold and a collar, for six threads of crystal beads, but Maghellan would not permit a bargain so unequal to take place. If this be true, it was a proof of a moderation which the Spaniards, in most of their expeditions, were little inclined to imitate. We are told that the inhabitants suffered their guests to erect a cross and a crown of thorns, being however induced to it by a pious fraud of the general's, who persuaded them that this cross would protect them from the dangers by lightning and tempests to which those countries are subject.

was invited to an entertainment on ſhore, where all the company was maſſacred, himſelf excepted. He was reſerved by the Indians in hopes of obtaining a ranſom for him, but the reſt of the Spaniards refuſing to treat with ſuch an enemy on any terms, ſailed away and left this victim entirely in their power.

The company which remained, to the number of 80, held on their courſe towards the Moluccas, of which Maghellan before his death had heard tidings. Sailing to Behol, they there burned one of their ſhips, named the Conception, in order for the better manning and furniſhing the other two. From hence they came to Paviloghan, inhabited by blacks, and a large iſland called Chippit, where there was gold, with plenty of goats, rice, poultry, and ſpices. Here they were received in an amicable manner, and at parting the prince of the country marked his body and limbs with blood, by way of a covenant of peace.

Caghuian, Puloan, Borneo.

After coming to Caghuian, and Puloan, they arrived at Borneo, having weathered a tempeſt which overtook them juſt as they were at the entrance of the port.

They found the iſlanders to be numerous, and devoted to their king, who was a Moor, and kept great ſtate. The iſland lies in 5° 15′ north lat. and 176° long. from the meridian of London. The capital city contained no leſs than 25,000 houſes. Camphire, cinnamon, oranges and lemons were the chief produce of the country. They ſaw elephants here and ſtore of cattle and poultry. The Spaniards were attacked in this port by an Indian fleet which they defeated, taking priſoner a prince of the country, who however, through negligence or deſign was ſuffered to eſcape out of their hands, and preſently after the Spaniards ſet ſail, ſtill holding on their courſe for the Moluccas.

Other iſlands.

From Borneo they came to Cimbubon, Zolo, and Taghima, and ſailing north-eaſtward, arrived at Mangandano, where they took ſome Indians in a canoe, who gave them directions which way to ſteer for the Moluccas; and after paſſing by ſeveral other iſlands, they reached the chief of them, called Tiridore, or Tidore (after weathering another ſtorm) on the morning of the 8th of November.

Moluccas.

They found theſe iſles, which were five in number, abounding in oranges, lemons, pomegranates, rich ſpices; and Gilolo, near Tiridore, was well peopled by Moors and Pagans; the latter of which were reported, among other abſurdities, to adore the firſt object they met with in the morning, though in their manners in general, they were otherwiſe leſs ſuperſtitious than the Mahometans.—Here a warehouſe was opened, and the Spaniards traded very advantageouſly with the natives, exchanging cloth, glaſs, and quickſilver, for cloves and other products of the country. At the Moluccas, they were well ſupplied with proviſion, as thoſe countries abounded with ſheep, goats, poultry, ſago, ſugar, pomegranates, figs, and oranges. They were attended on their departure by the kings of ſome of the iſlands, as far as Mare, at which place they took their leave, ſteering SW. their company being now reduced to 46 Spaniards and 13 Indians; and paſſing by many other iſles, came to Timor where they found there was plenty of ginger, and white Sanders wood, and no want of neceſſary proviſions.

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Mare.

Timor.

From hence they ſhaped their courſe for the Cape of Good Hope, after having waited long for the advantage of the wind, and run down as far as 42°, though the Cape itſelf lies only in 34° ſouth lat.

Having reſolved not to put in at Mozambique, though in want of proviſions when they paſſed near that coaſt, for fear of the Portugueſe who were there, theſe adventurers found themſelves in extreme diſtreſs: on this account before they reached St. James's, one of the Cape Verd iſlands, where, notwithſtanding there was as much to be apprehended from the ſame enemy, yet their ſituation was ſuch, that they determined to run all hazards rather than to periſh with hunger. On this account they put in there, and were at firſt ſupplied with proviſions, but 13 of their crew being detained priſoners by the Portugueſe at the ſecond time of landing, the reſt weighed anchor, hoiſted ſail, and made the beſt of their way home without them. Theſe being wafted on by briſk and favourable gales, arrived in ſafety at the port of St. Lucar, near Seville, on the 7th day of September, under the conduct of John Sebaſtian Camo*; the whole voyage having taken up the ſpace of three years and thirty-ſeven days.

In diſtreſs for proviſions.

Put in at St. James's

Where 13 are made priſoners.

THE VOYAGES OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE,

The Firſt Engliſh Circum-navigator.

FRANCIS DRAKE, was one of the twelve children of Mr. Edmund Drake, of Taviſtock in Devonſhire. This gentleman being much inclined to the proteſtant religion, and living in the reign of Queen Mary I. was obliged to retire from his native place and fix himſelf in Kent, in order to avoid the perſecutions of that prejudiced princeſs. In the reign of her ſiſter and ſucceſſor, affairs taking a different turn both in regard to religion and politics, he was made a chaplain in the royal navy.

There appears to be a kind of cloud of uncertainty generally hanging over the origin of celebrated perſons. The patronage given to Francis Drake (like the birth of Columbus, whoſe very name was in diſpute) ſeems to be a matter not eaſy to be traced†. We can only find that he was one of four brothers bred to the ſea, and took an early delight in attending to nautical ſtudies, and practical navigation.

Account of Drake's voyage with Sir John Hawkins,

The firſt voyage in which he has been noticed was that in which he acted as captain of a ſhip called the Judith, bound to the Weſt Indies, under the command of Sir John Hawkins, whom we find ſet down to be his near relation.

Some of the viceroys and governors, though they were expreſsly forbidden to encourage the trade of theſe diſcoverers who ſailed towards the new world, were yet found often ſecretly to aſſiſt them, and ſometimes after that aſſiſtance given, when they had obtained all they could expect, are reported to have ſeized on what had been acquired by this contraband trade—which is no more than an additional proof of the abuſes incident to power when intereſted men are in poſſeſſion of it.

Sir John Hawkins's little fleet, among which was the Judith (as we have before taken notice) being forced by ſtreſs of weather into the port of S. John d'Ulloa in the Bay of Mexico, where they waited to take in proviſions, twelve ſail of Spaniſh veſſels arriving ſoon after from Europe, the harbour was divided by agreement between the ſhipping of the two nations, and hoſtages‡ given on either ſide, for the preſervation of peace between them.

But

* He was greatly honoured by the king on his return, who gave him for his arms the terreſtrial globe, with this motto, *Primus me circumdediſti.*

† Camden ſays that F. Drake was put apprentice to the maſter of a trading veſſel, who dying left him his ſhip. Stowe ſays that his great patron was Francis Ruſſel, afterwards Duke of Bedford. Chriſtopher Columbus has generally been ſaid to be originally of the name of Colon, but how he came by his other appellation, is uncertain, and ſeems to have remained a myſtery even to his own family.

‡ It appeared afterwards that though the Engliſh ſent ſix gentlemen, the Spaniſh hoſtages were only ſix common men, dreſſed up for the occaſion.

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But this continued not long; for the viceroy, ſome weeks after, regardleſs of an agreement which he might be inclined to conſider as a matter of neceſſity, the Engliſh being in abſolute poſſeſſion of the harbour on his arrival, ordered a ſudden attack to be made on Sir John Hawkins's fleet, while the officers were at dinner, and cauſed the Engliſh on ſhore to be maſſacred. In the ſea-fight, out of four trading veſſels 3 were ſunk. The Minion, Captain Hampton, was boarded, but the aſſailants were repulſed, and the Spaniſh vice admiral blown up, after which two veſſels were ſet on fire, and turned adrift in order to burn the Engliſh admiral's ſhip the Jeſus, and alſo the Minion, from which they had before ſuffered a repulſe; the former was deſtroyed, after having ſhifted the commander and the crew on board the Judith; and the latter put to ſea and got clear of them.

Treachery of the Mexican viceroy.

But this eſcape inſured not ſafety to Sir John Hawkins who was diſtreſſed with the crews of two veſſels on board a ſingle one, which had not proviſions for them, at the ſame time that there was every thing to apprehend from the enemy, along whoſe coaſt they ſailed; yet 100 of theſe men choſe to be landed on this hoſtile ſhore, all of whom except five, periſhed by ſword, famine, ſickneſs, or fatigue*.

Great part of the crew landed on the American coaſt.

The Judith, however, with the remainder of the crew arrived in England, Mr. Drake having had the credit of contributing greatly by his prudent management to the lucky eſcape of thoſe who were removed from the Jeſus on board his own veſſel, and conducting her under favour of the night from the ſcene of action.

This misfortune of Sir John Hawkins, could not but be felt by his relation, who made this period the æra of his reſentment to the Spaniards, from whom no reparation could be gotten, as they alledged the Engliſh carried on an illicit trade to their coaſts, which could not be juſtified by the queen of Great Britain †.

Beſides his reſentments to Spain, Drake had his private intereſts to gratify, which we ſhall find he never loſt ſight of in all his undertakings, and to which he ſometimes even ſacrificed juſtice as will appear in the ſequel.

Other voyagers.

Thus ſtimulated, he made a voyage in 1570 with two ſhips under his command, called the Dragon and the Swan, and in 1571 with the Swan only. Both theſe voyages were undertaken chiefly on his own account, but it ſeems that (experience excepted) they did not turn out much to his advantage.

The next year, when the nation was on the eve of a war with Spain, this adventurer however fitted out the Paſcha a letter of marque of 70 tuns, together with the Swan of 50, commanded by his brother John, having 73 men on board the two veſſels, and embarked on another expedition. They cleared the Land's End on the 12th of May, having favourable winds they paſſed between Dominica and Guadalupe at the end of June, and, on the 6th of July came in ſight of Santa Maria.

Theſe veſſels whoſe deſtination was for Nombre de Dios, came on the 15th day of the month to Port Pheaſant, which lay at a convenient diſtance for the deſigns they had formed, and where Drake intended to build two or three ſmall pinnaces, the materials and frame-work of which he had had the caution to take with him.

Going on ſhore here, he was ſurpriſed to find a plate of lead nailed to a tree, with a few lines engraven on it by an Engliſhman, of the name of Garet, who had left that place the day before. The ſubſtance of what he found ſet down there, was to adviſe him to make no ſtay, as the Spaniards had by ſome means found out that he intended to viſit them in thoſe parts.

Is warned to quit that coaſt.

Notwithſtanding this friendly advertiſement, Drake, fortifying himſelf as well as he could, reſolved to compleat the building of his pinnaces. Here he met with one Captain Rauſe, who informed him of the ſituation of the Symerons, a ſet of revolted negroes who had ſettled themſelves on each ſide of the neck of land which ſeparates Nombre de Dios from Panama, and had become a terror to the Spaniards. This captain being invited by the Engliſh commander, agreed to ſhare with him the dangers and advantages of the enterprize wherein he was engaged. Accordingly they ſet ſail together, and having touched at the Iſle of Pines on the night of the 28th of July, caſting anchor unperceived under the ſhore. Fearing that his men ſhould be diſpirited from the notions which they had conceived of the Spaniards being prepared for them, Drake reſolved on an immediate attack, landed without oppoſition, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the quay, which though fortified with ſix large pieces of ordnance, had but one gunner to ſerve them. He preſently afterwards engaged and defeated the forces drawn together to oppoſe him, obliging ſuch as he had taken priſoners to conduct him and his people to the governor's houſe, and to the ſtorehouſe, where they found treaſures to an amazing amount ‡. Yet the General, in the midſt of his ſucceſs was not without his apprehenſions that the retreat of the conquererors might be cut off, if they were not ſpeedy in executing and well prepared to enforce it. Their greedy deſire of emaſſing wealth was plainly an obſtacle to his plan; but at laſt, by promiſing to lead them to the king's treaſury, where there was more in amount, and yet leſs cumbrous in conveyance; he thus perſuaded them every one to return with his bar of ſilver to the market place, where a body of men had been left, who expreſſed their fears that the enemy might get poſſeſſion of the boats; but this proved a vain apprehenſion, and the commander led his troops forward, ſtill entertaining the deſign of plundering the royal treaſury, which was preſently entered by this adventurous company.

Lands at Nombre Dios.

But a wound which Drake had received in his leg at the beginning of the engagement, and which he had hitherto concealed, being now diſcovered, he was conveyed, to all appearance dead, on board of one of the boats; the plunderers ſeeing him in this ſituation, were glad to embark at break of day with what treaſure they could beſt carry off, and taking with them a ſloop they found laden with wines in the harbour, with which and the fruits of the country, they refreſhed themſelves at the Iſland of Baſtimento. From hence the Engliſh reſolved to return to the Iſle of Pines, were they had left their ſhips, and parted from Captain Rauſe, the latter not judging it proper to be any longer in their company.

Drake diſappointed by a wound.

But Drake, who had been cured of his wounds, notwithſtanding this reſolution of his colleague, ſteered along the coaſt, and endeavoured to ſurpriſe Carthagena, but convinced by the voluntary information of an old man whom he found alone in a frigate, and by the firing of warning guns, that the enemy was aware of him, he deſiſted from this dangerous enterprize, but took a ſhip of Seville, and two ſmall frigates, with letters of advice relative to his expedition, the intercepting which could not but be uſeful to him in his deſigns.

The coaſt alarmed.

Being now deſirous of deſtroying the Swan, as he feared that the project would be diſagreeable to the officers, who muſt be deprived of their commiſſions, being ſeldom at a loſs for artifice, he perſuaded the carpenter to bore holes in her bottom one night, and the next morning having rowed up to her and invited his brother on board, he pretended to be ſurpriſed at the hold filling ſo faſt with water, and in the end, urged

The Swan deſtroyed.

* Sixty-five fell into the Spaniards hands, and were put to the torture, and three burnt alive in the inquiſition. Only two of theſe lived to return home.

† Sir John Hawkins eſtabliſhed the ſlave trade to the coaſt of Guinea.

‡ It is ſaid that the ſilver was piled up in bars, the pile in length 70, in breadth 10, and 12 feet in height. It was here that the mules bringing the treaſure from Panama were uſually unloaded.

§ A Spaniſh gentleman came on board before they ſailed, to know whether their Engliſh arms were poiſoned, or whether their Captain was that Drake who had before been on their coaſts. To the former queſtion he received a negative, to the latter an affirmative anſwer.

urged the crew to set fire to her, and go on board the Pascha; by which conduct, he also found means the better to man his pinnaces.

The fleet sailed out next towards Darien, keeping clear of the coast, which had been so lately alarmed. Here they arrived in the space of six days, careening their vessels and taking in wood, water, and fresh provisions, after which they left it on the 5th of September, holding their course towards Rio Grande, and on the 9th of that month, were discovered by a Spaniard from the shore, who mistaking them for friends, made a signal for them to land. This they soon did, and when the man found his mistake he fled with precipitation.

A treaty with the Symerons.

What Drake had heard of the Symerons, inducing him to wish to treat with them, he had sent his brother Captain John Drake in search of them. By means of the negroes taken at Nombre de Dios, touching at the main land, two of these Symerons came on board his ship, two of the crew being left as hostages for their safe return. An interview being appointed with their leaders, Drake quitted this place where he had been well supplied with every thing, and to which he had given the name of Port Plenty, and was conducted into a secret bay, amongst a number of woody islands, extremely beautiful, and where they were protected by a narrow rocky channel from the fear of a night surprise. In this place a treaty was concluded on, and these fugitive negroes farther informed their new friends, that had they come sooner on that coast, they might have been supplied with gold, which was the principal thing that they sought after; but the rainy season now set in, prevented the possibility of procuring it from the bottoms of the rivers wherein they had lodged great quantities, in order to hide the treasure from their masters.

As it was now judged proper to remain in this secret situation during the rains, a fort was constructed in such a manner as the materials and situations of the English would admit of, in a place where in all probability little defence would be wanted. Drake however left his brother with a small force, and sailed for Rio de la Hacha, and in his way came to Carthagena, where a spy, as he afterwards was found to be, came on board, who would have persuaded the English to remain at anchor there in hopes of great assistance from him, but in reality, with a view of giving the governor an opportunity of raising the country.

An attempt to take the pinnaces miscarries.

This was on the 17th of October, and on the 20th two frigates endeavoured to surprise the pinnaces, but this design was discovered, and Drake still kept cruising along the shore while the hills were covered with armed men *, but he found at last that it was to little purpose; yet fortune so far favoured him, as to throw in his way a ship laden with provisions, of which he happily made prize, at a time when the scarcity of them was most sensibly felt by himself and all his company.

After this success, the commander determined to return to his brother and the Symerons; but he found that during his absence Captain John Drake had been engaged in an attempt which cost him and one of his countrymen their lives; this was an endeavour to board and take a Spanish frigate, that was well provided for defence. This fatal circumstance was the consequence of his complying with the repeated solicitations of his men to venture on what he thought and represented to them to be a mad and desperate undertaking.

Captain John Drake's death.

The men afflicted with a calenture.

At this time a malignant fever, called the Calenture, broke out among the men, and of this distemper Joseph Drake died, who was another of Mr. Francis Drake's brothers. In the mean time, tidings were brought of the arrival of the Spanish fleet at Nombre de Dios, and this was therefore the season when the treasures of Peru were to be transported over land from Panama to that port. This was an opportunity which it could not be thought one of Drake's disposition would lose. Though he had been deprived of 28 of his company by sickness, yet not at all dispirited, leaving a few men to guard his ship, he set out at the head of only 18 English and 30 Symerons, with a design of making himself master of this treasure. 1572

Drake sets out for Nombre de Diol.

Manner of the Symerons travelling.

These Symerons were extremely useful as guides. They were likewise very expert at killing with arrows and javelins of various sizes, wild boars, stags, and fowls, and with these helps, together with the profusion of fruits that they found on the banks of the rivers as they passed along, the adventurers found themselves well supplied with provisions, and being led for the most part through woods and lofty shades, marching at their ease, and reposing every day at stated times, they found nothing very tiresome in their journey.†

In their way they came to a town erected by these Symerons, which was built on the declivity of a hill fortified by a mud wall, and encompassed by a ditch. Here Drake was desired to stay, and a number of men promised to him in addition to his present force, but not judging it proper to accept these offers, he proceeded on his journey, the Symerons serving as guards and guides, clearing the way before the English.

On the 11th day of February, the company arrived at a hill, on the summit of which grew a lofty tree, to the top of which having ascended by steps cut for the purpose, they found an alcove, from whence both seas were to be viewed. At the sight of the great Pacific Ocean, on which as yet no vessel of his nation ever had sailed, Drake earnestly implored heaven to assist him in the purpose he then conceived of venturing on those seas in English ships, with the first favourable opportunity, a design which we shall find after his return home he spared no pains to accomplish.

The grass of the level country in this region growing as high as bulrushes, is obliged to be consumed by fire, and notwithstanding the conflagration, which obliges the cattle to fly or perish, and covers the ground with ashes, yet such is the strength of the soil in those parts, that within a month after this method has been used, the valley appears again to be entirely covered with fresh verdure. Such is the fertility of the soil upon this isthmus, which however, is so situated that there is great reason from the various changes of nature to conclude that it will one day, by earthquakes or the force of the watry element, be totally destroyed, and leave that free communication between the two oceans, which was was once vainly sought for there and found only by Cape Horn and the streights of Maghellan.

A Symeron being dispatched for intelligence, returned with the flattering tidings: That the treasurer of Lima would pass the next night with eight mules loaded with gold, and one with jewels, towards Venta Cruz, whither the company immediately directed their course, and having surprised a sleeping Spanish soldier, had their intelligence confirmed by the frightened captive. This man likewise cautioned them not to be deceived by the appearance of the carriers from Nombre de Dios, who were to meet the others by the way, and who had no gold in charge, though their beasts would be loaded with merchandise

* We have an account that Drake himself leaped on shore in defiance of their troops, an action which, if he was within the reach of their arms, was a most unpardonable rashness in one on whose life the success of this enterprise depended, and if he was out of danger from them, was totally vain, and seems to have been as ridiculous a bravado as ever we remember to have read of in history.

† At night they rested under wigwams, which were made by setting posts in the ground, with poles laid from one to the other, in the manner of a roof, thatching them with palmetto boughs and plantain leaves. In the vallies they left about four feet next the ground open; but on the hills where they were more exposed to the sharpness of the night air, these wigwams were thatched close to the ground, a door only being left and an opening to let out the smoke.

1573 and provisions. He then demanded protection, and requested, as he had dealt sincerely with the English, and could never dare to return to his own countrymen, that they would be so good as to allow him such a portion of the treasure as would maintain himself and family; which request he observed was but reasonable, as the English, if they succeeded, would be sure of seizing more gold and jewels than they could carry away. This was agreed to, and Drake heading the English, and Oxenham of Plymouth, to whose charge the riches of Nombre de Dios had been committed, assisting Pedro the Symeron in the command of the negroes, the two parties laid themselves flat in the grass at a convenient distance for attacking the convoy in front and rear, and every thing seemed to favour this bold undertaking.

But, as chance will frequently disconcert the most prudent measures, so this design of plunder was defeated by one of those accidents which it is not in human prudence to foresee.—Though express orders had been given not to meddle with such mules as came from Venta Cruz, but only with those which came forward from Panama, yet one Robert Pike, who was in liquor, and his companion, mistaking the former for the latter, put themselves in motion to be ready for an attack. Being discovered by the officer who accompanied the merchandise, he caused the carriers and their beasts to quicken their pace, a circumstance which neither Drake nor Oxenham observed.

Attempt on the mules loaded with treasure.

Lying still in their ambush, they soon after perceived the mules advancing from the road that led to Panama. These were instantly attacked in front and rear, and secured, as had been agreed upon. Two only were found laden with silver, and the rest with provisions. The drivers who were made prisoners informed Drake that the officer having reported that he suspected an ambush was laid for the gold, the treasurer ordered only two mules loaded with silver to proceed from Panama, the others being sent back, and six of those lately arrived from Venta Cruz put in their room. The experiment succeeded as we have found; the drunkenness of one of Drake's followers defeated the design, and the commander himself concluding that the country would be alarmed, was at first not a little perplexed what to resolve upon, where (his own people excepted) every one must be considered as an enemy. But one of Drake's best qualities for helping him at his need was presence of mind. In this exigence, at once perceiving the improbability of marching back in safety by the same way that he came, he persuaded his people and the Symerons to hasten forward to Venta Cruz, where they arrived after marching in great secrecy; yet they found the Spaniards not unappriſed of their coming. An action ensued; the militia were routed, and the Symerons could not be hindered from plundering the town; though Drake, who had always much of the specious appearance of virtue, took care to make a merit of preserving the ladies from affronts. He then continued his march towards the shipping, in the course of which the English were greatly assisted by the Symerons; as when one of the former fainted, two of the latter, who were very stout men, would carry him between them.

Frustrated by rashness.

Within five leagues from their ships they found a town which the Symerons had constructed while they were absent, one of whom being dispatched for that purpose, procured a pinnace to be sent to meet them, and on the 23d of February, Drake's whole company were joined, which junction was celebrated by a thanksgiving.

They now began to find themselves in want of provisions, and some of the Symerons had proposed a journey over land, in order to surprise the storehouse of one Pezaro near Veragua, whose slaves, as they said, brought him near 200lb. weight of gold every day. But this was not agreed to; on the contrary the two pinnaces called the Bear and the Minion, were manned; the former was sent for provisions towards Tolu, and Drake himself went in the latter towards the Cabezes, designing to intercept the treasure which was to be transported from Veragua and that coast to Nombre de Dios. As to the Symerons, he dismissed with presents such as chose to depart, giving orders for kind treatment to any that wished to remain. At the Cabezes he took a frigate, the pilot of which gave him intelligence that in the harbour of Veragua there was a ship which had on board above a million of gold. It is easy to be imagined that an adventurer whose object was plunder, was eager to attempt so rich a prize; but no sooner had he arrived in the harbour, than he heard warning guns fired, and answered by others along the coast, by which the pilot told him he might conclude his design was discovered; and accordingly he desisted from his enterprise.

In the mean time his other pinnace had taken a frigate with 28 fat hogs, and a quantity of poultry. This vessel they fitted up for war, and as a second attempt on Nombre de Dios was resolved on, he set sail with her and the Bear, towards the Cabezes. Arriving there withing two days, he found a Frenchman called Totu, with a ship of war; having supplied him with water, it was agreed upon that he should be an associate in the expedition. Proceeding for Rio Francisco, they arrived there on the 30th of March, the Frenchman accompanying them. After marching above twenty miles, they at length perceived an escort of three droves of mules coming from Panama, which consisted of 909, each mule carrying about 300lb. weight of silver. The French Captain and one of the Symerons were wounded in the attack, which ended in the adventurers making themselves masters of the treasure, a great part of which they hid in the thickets, and determined to return the same way that they came. In their retreat they left the wounded French captain with two of his men in the woods, and a third was missed on the march; who being intoxicated had not followed the guides, and consequently had lost himself in the intricacies of the country. Arriving at Rio Francisco on the 3d of April, when they went in search of their pinnaces, to their no small surprise they descried seven Spanish sloops, from which circumstance they concluded that news of their proceedings had been carried to Nombre de Dios, and were in great anxiety lest their pinnaces should be taken, and the crews perhaps be compelled to discover where their ships lay. Drake allowed that it might be possible the pinnaces might have fallen into the enemies hands; yet if this were so, the taking of the boats, the examination of the men, and the discovery of their ships, could not be the operation of a moment; he therefore urged that the case was not yet so desperate as at first it might appear. Nevertheless there were still such obstacles as it required the greatest extent of courage and presence of mind to overcome. They were not in possession of any boats, and to get by land to their shipping, they must pass over high mountains, through woods almost impenetrable, and even then would be interrupted by streams and rivers in their course. While the men were reflecting on these difficulties, their commander was devising the means to extricate himself from them, and to save his little company. He ordered a raft to be made of some trees which were then floating in the river, and embarked together with two Englishmen named Owen and Smith, and two Frenchmen, and after having sailed three leagues, happily discovered his pinnaces: Having hailed them, he resolved that they should anchor behind a point of land, in order to lie concealed, while he returned to the shore, and acquainted his men with his success. They rowed to Rio Francisco the same night, and all embarked with what treasure they could convey away, then sailing back, they returned to the frigate, and afterwards to the ship, where they divided their booty.

Some Frenchmen join the English.

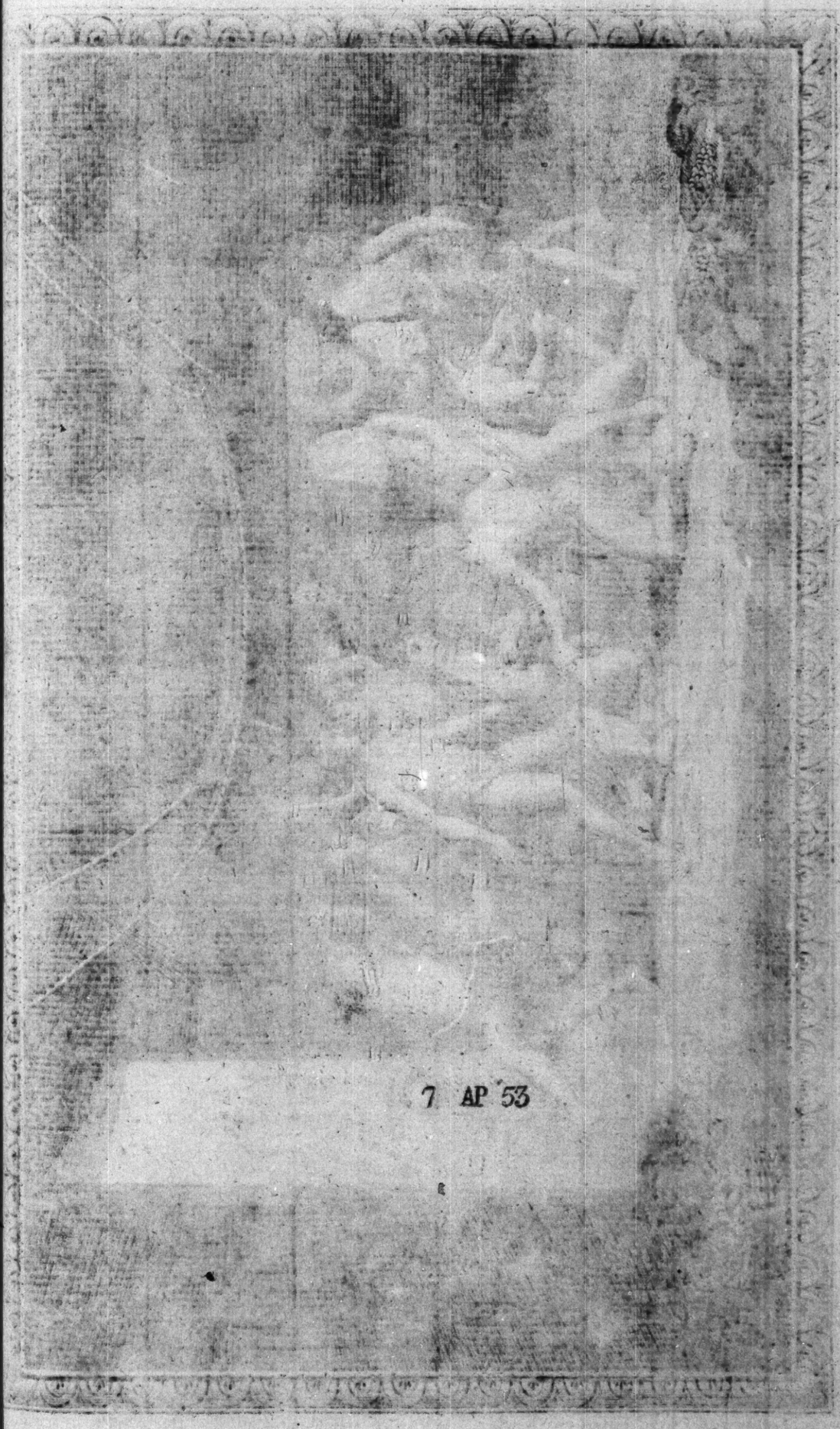
They seize on the silver coming from Panama.

Alarmed by the sight of Spanish vessels.

Drake's scheme for their deliverance.

The Frenchman's ship remained among the Cabezes, while the English were refitting; and during this interval of fourteen days, twelve Englishmen and sixteen Symerons travelled up the country in search of the French captain. They did not find him, but discovered

MARRIAGE-CEREMONIES *observed by the* INDIANS *of* PANAMA.



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covered one of his countrymen who had ſtaid with his companion to attend their commander. This man told them that within half an hour after Drake's departure, a body of Spaniards ſurpriſed the wounded captain; the other Frenchman might have got away as well as he who related the ſtory, but endeavouring to ſecure a box of jewels, being already encumbered with gold, the weight effectually prevented his eſcape. As to the treaſure hidden in the ground, it appeared that the other Frenchman, who as we have already mentioned, was left drunk in the woods, being found there by the Spaniards, was forced by torture to confeſs where it was buried, by which they recovered far the greater part of it, having narrowly examined the ſpot for that purpoſe.

Account of the French captain's misfortune.

Being now convinced that his harveſt in theſe parts was pretty well over, the Engliſh commander having diſmiſſed the French and Symerons*, had the good fortune in his way to take a frigate laden with proviſions and honey, and left the coaſts of America, which he had ſo long been employed in plundering, or keeping in perpetual alarm, having beſides taken at ſea 100 veſſels of different ſizes, between Carthagena and Nombre de Dios†.

Drake having diſmiſſed the French and the Symerons, leaves the coaſt of America.

Notwithſtanding ſeveral diſappointments which theſe adventurers met with, it is certain that they muſt have acquired a conſiderable treaſure in this expedition, which having thus happily accompliſhed, they ſteered directly homewards, and after a proſperous voyage, arrived at Plymouth on Sunday the 9th of Auguſt, in the afternoon, where the congregation ran out of church to congratulate the adventurers on their arrival, and to gratify their own curioſity.

Arrives at Plymouth.

Drake, whatever might be his private character, how unjuſtifiable ſoever his depredations might be, poſſeſſing the ſpirit of adventure, for which the age wherein he lived was particularly diſtinguiſhed, acquired the good-will and reſpect of the people, and the notice of his ſovereign, whoſe hatred to Spain was implacable. This princeſs about four years afterwards thought proper to countenance an undertaking of his, for which it ſeems, on political accounts, ſhe never granted him a commiſſion, though it is ſaid that ſhe condeſcended to become a private adventurer.

When a man is thoroughly engaged in views of ambition or intereſt, nothing will ſeem hard to him that will give him a chance of gratifying his favourite paſſion. This was the caſe with Drake: having had a view of the great South Sea, he was reſolved that no human obſtacle ſhould oblige him to deſiſt from his endeavours of viſiting America again, and ſpreading his ſails upon that ocean. Indefatigable as he was in purſuit of this deſign, it was not however till the year 1577 that he collected a force ſufficient to man five veſſels, and by a pretended royal authority, appeared as admiral, or, as the phraſe then was, general of the ſquadron.

Preparations for Drake's voyage round the world.

The fleet conſiſted of the Pelican, of 100 tons, which he commanded, the vice admiral's ſhip the Elizabeth, of 50 tons, John Winter commander; the Marygold, of 30 tons, under John Thomas; the Swan, of 50 tons, Captain John Cheſter; and the Chriſtopher, of 15 tons, which was committed to the charge of the carpenter who was ſo compliant as to deſtroy the Swan, in the manner already related, in the former voyage.

Drake manned theſe ſhips, which were equipped (partly at his own expence and partly at that of others) with 164 ſailors, cauſing them to be well ſtored with neceſſary proviſions, and alſo plate for his own table, and failed not even to furniſh the cook-room with ſilver utenſils, partly to command what might be deemed a neceſſary reſpect, and perhaps partly to gratify a vanity which in ſome peculiar characters is found to be united with an avaricious diſpoſition.

This wary commander, notwithſtanding his fame had been blown abroad, yet conſidering that the difficulties to which his men had been ſubject in a former voyage, were not unknown, had engaged the ſailors whom he now got together for a voyage to Alexandria, nor were they made acquainted with his real deſign till they had reached the coaſt of Braſil.

Sailors engaged for a voyage to Alexandria.

All things being prepared for the voyage, Drake ſailed from Plymouth on the 15th of November, but afterwards was forced by bad weather into Falmouth, where he was obliged to ſtay refitting his veſſels till the 13th of December, when he took his departure with all the auſpices of a more proſperous voyage.

He ſails from Plymouth.

A ſtorm.

On the 27th of the ſame month the fleet came to an anchor at Mogadore, an iſland about a mile diſtant from the main on the coaſt of Barbary. Having, as before got ready the frames of his pinnaces, he began here to put them together. The Moors obſerving what was going forward, ſent two of their chiefs on board the admiral's ſhip receiving two of his people as hoſtages, who were extremely well treated by the commander, with a view of giving theſe ſtrangers a good opinion of the Engliſh nation.

But the next day this friendly intercourſe ceaſed. One John Frye leaping on ſhore from the ſhip's boat, which had been ſent as before, was made a priſoner, mounted on horſeback, and conveyed up the country. Though this man was afterwards diſmiſſed with apologies and aſſurances that the Moors had miſtaken the Engliſh for the Portugueſe, from which latter they expected an invaſion, yet the commander reſolved to make no longer ſtay here but departed on the laſt day of December, and after having taken ſeveral Spaniſh veſſels in his way, arrived at Cape Blanco, on the 17th of January, where the Engliſh and the natives carried on a friendly traffic to the convenience of both parties.

After this, having plundered and diſcharged their captives, they ſailed for the Cape Verd iſlands, and anchored before Mayo on the 27th of January, but could get no proviſions, becauſe the Portugueſe in thoſe parts had been forbidden to hold any intercourſe with them.

On the 31ſt of the ſame month they paſſed by St. Jago, where the Portugueſe who had diſpoſſeſſed the natives of a great part of the iſland, under pretence of traffic, lived very unhappy, on account of the inroads of ſuch of the aborigines of the country as having fled to their woods and mountains, were perpetually making incurſions upon their conquerors. As the fleet paſſed by this iſland, three pieces of cannon were diſcharged at them, though without doing execution. Yet in revenge for the inſult they conceived to be offered them, they took a Portugueſe veſſel laden with wines, ſetting on ſhore all the crew, except Nuno da Sylva, the pilot, whom they found afterwards very uſeful to them on account of his knowledge of the American coaſts.

About this time a difference happened between the commander and Mr. Doughty his friend, the occaſion and circumſtances of which have been differently related; but according to the beſt authorities it took its riſe in the improper conduct of Thomas Drake‡, which

* Theſe latter he rewarded by giving them the iron of the pinnaces he broke up at the Cabezes, knowing that thoſe people who were in their infant ſtate, thought no preſent of more value than a quantity of that metal. Their chief Pedro, however, being deſired to chuſe from any of the ſhips what he liked beſt, ſeems to have been more refined, for he fixed upon a ſcymitar ſet with jewels, which had been preſented to Drake by the French captain. However he inſiſted on giving four plates or quoits of gold for it, which the Engliſh commander at firſt refuſed, but being compelled to take it, threw it into the common ſtock, which was thought only an oſtentatious diſplay of his generoſity.

† He is ſaid to have been particularly careful not to deſtroy any of theſe but ſuch as were fitted out againſt him.

‡ One who was an eye-witneſs of the tranſaction, relates it in the following manner: "Captain Drake having boarded the "ſhip of Nuno da Sylva, and feaſted his eyes with the view of "the commodities, he committed the cuſtody and well ordering

1578 which his brother was ſo far from puniſhing or repreſſending, that from the moment he was informed of it, he conceived an implacable hatred againſt the accuſer. In the courſe of their voyage they came to Fogo, which has a burning mountain in the middle of it; the inhabitants are Portugueſe. Two leagues to the ſouthward they made Brava, which abounded with fruits of all ſorts, and was beſides well watered, but there being no good harbour was the reaſon for which they conceived that no inhabitants were to be found in ſo fertile an iſland. Here Drake watered, and then continued his courſe for Braſil, paſſing the equator on the 17th of February, after experiencing the inconveniences of calms and ſtorms which detained them for three weeks; nor did they reach the Braſilian coaſt till the 5th of April, having in the mean time (March 28) loſt ſight of one of their veſſels, with 28 men, and moſt of the freſh water on board, which happily being found again the next day, relieved them from their perplexity.

Fogo.

Brava.

During this interval the commander took a freſh occaſion to quarrel with Doughty, which, as the author of the narration obſerves, was on the following trivial account. "It chanced John Brown, the "trumpet, whether of purpoſe or of his own voluntary [will] to go aboard the Pelican, where, for that "he had been long abſent, the company offered him a "hobbey, among the which Maſter Doughty, putting in his hand, ſaid, Fellow John, you ſhall "have my hand, although it be but light, amongſt "the reſt; and ſo, laying his hand on his buttock, "which being perceived of John [Brown, the] trumpet, he began to ſwear wounds and blood to the "company, to let him looſe: For they are not all "(ſaid he) the general's friends that be here; and, "with that, turned him to Maſter Doughty, and "ſaid unto him, God's wounds, Doughty, what "doſt thou mean to uſe this familiarity with me, "conſidering thou art not the general's friend? Who "anſwered him, What, Fellow John! what moves "you to this, and to uſe theſe words to me, that am "as good and as ſure a friend to my good general as "any in this place? And I defy him that ſhall ſay "the contrary. But is the matter thus? Why yet, "Fellow John, I pray thee let me live until I come "into England. Thus John Brown coming again "preſently aboard the prize, had not talked any long "time with the general, but the boat went aboard, "and reſted not, but preſently brought Maſter "Doughty to the prize's ſide, General Drake ſitting in the midſt of his men, who hearing the "boat at the ſhip's ſide, ſtood up, and Maſter "Doughty offering to take hold of the ſhip to have "entered; ſaid the general, Stay there, Thomas "Doughty, for I muſt ſend you to another place; "and with that, commanded the mariners to row "him aboard the Fly-boat, ſaying unto him, it was "a place more fit for him than that from whence "he came. But Maſter Doughty, although he craved "to ſpeak to the general, could not be permitted."

The Fly-boat being ſoon after ſeparated, Drake laid this chance to Doughty's charge, pretending that he was a wizard, and whenever there was bad weather, he uſed to ſay that "it came out of Doughty's cap-caſe." *

Having ſteered after the ſtorm ſouthward towards the land, they came to a cape which they named Cape Joy, on account of the recovery of the veſſel that was miſſing. Here they took in water, but finding no inhabitants ran ſtill farther ſouthward into a harbour between two rocks, where the ſhips rode at anchor ſafely, till they choſe to proceed towards the river Plate, in 36° north lat. In their courſe they again loſt ſight of the Fly-boat, on which account Drake reſolved to contract the number of his ſhips. On the 13th of May ſailing along the coaſt, Drake diſcovered a bay, and went out in his boat to examine it, ſounding all the way. Here a ſtorm ſuddenly overtook him at the diſtance of about three leagues from his ſhips; one of which, however, commanded by Captain Thomas, ſailed boldly in to his relief, and took the admiral on board, lying ſheltered in the harbour while thoſe veſſels which were at ſea were ſeverally ſenſible of the effects of the tempeſt. As ſoon as it was over, however, the crews diſcovered where their commmander was, by the fires which he had lighted, and thus the companies joined again on ſhore.

They come to Cape Joy.

Drake in great peril in a boat.

They met with no inhabitants here but found two wigwams built in the manner the Symerons had uſed on their journey and alſo ſeveral dried fowls, among which were ſome oſtriches. They ſaw beſides a number of theſe large birds alive, which, though they could not fly, yet ran ſo faſt with the aſſiſtance of their wings, that there were none of them taken or killed by the Engliſh.

A deſerted coaſt.

From hence they departed on the 15th of May, and on the 19th came to an anchor in a more convenient harbour; the Swan which was ſeparated from the fleet, being found, Drake ordered her to be broken up, and the iron work ſtored for ſome future occaſion.

The Swan broken up.

They were now on an iſland at the diſtance of about a mile from the main, to which the ſea, at low water, was fordable. Here they ſaw a body of Indians, who by their geſtures invited them on ſhore. Drake therefore diſpatched his boat with bells, bugles, and other toys. The Indians on their landing ſent two men who made as if they would come to them, but ſtopped within a little diſtance, on which the Engliſh tied what they had brought to a pole, retiring as the Indians advanced. In return the natives left ſome of that ſort of feathers which they wore upon their heads, and a little bone carved and burniſhed, about ſix inches in length, ſeeming by their motions towards the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, and lifting their hands towards the moon which then ſhone over their heads, to intimate profeſſions of friendſhip. While they were buſied in theſe ceremonies, the Engliſh marched up the hill, but perceiving the natives rather frightened at their near approach, they retired peaceably, and thus encouraged the natives to come forward, who ſoon opened a traffic, exchanging arrows, feathers and bones, for any trifles with which they thought proper to preſent them, and in

"ing of this prize unto Maſter Thomas Doughty, as his good "and eſteemed friend, praying him in any caſe to ſee good "order kept, and whoſo ſhould be the breaker thereof, to give "him to underſtand of any ſuch, without exception of any.

"It thus chanced, that General Drake had a brother (not the "wiſeſt man in Chriſtendom) whom he put into this prize, as "alſo divers others. This Thomas Drake, as one more greedy "of prey than covetous of honeſty or credit, did not only break "open a cheſt, but did dive ſuddenly into the ſame, that Maſter "Doughty knew not how to diſcharge himſelf unto the gene-"ral, but by revealing it unto him; yet firſt Maſter Doughty "called Thomas Drake unto him, and ſhewed him his great "folly in this behalf, who yielding unto his fault, prayed "Maſter Doughty to be good unto him, and keep it from the "general; but he briefly told him he could not keep it, but "would deliver it with what favour he might. So at the ge-"neral's next coming on board the prize, Maſter Doughty "opened the ſame unto him, who preſently falling into a rage, "(not without ſome great oaths) ſeemed to wonder that Thomas "Doughty ſhould mean to touch his brother, and did, as it "were, aſſure himſelf that he had ſome farther meaning in this, "and that he meant to ſtrike at *his* credit; and he would not or "could not by God's life, as he phraſed it, ſuffer it. From this "time forth grudges did ſeem to grow between them from day "to day, to the no ſmall admiration of the reſt of the com-"pany; although ſome envying his former favour and friend-"ſhip with the general, and ſome, I think, doubting that his "capacity might reach too far, to the aggrandizing his credit "in the country, talked variouſly of the matter: however, "Maſter Doughty was put again into the Pelican. Thus "grudges, although they had not long reſted, yet were they "grown to great extremities, ſuch and ſo great as a man of "judgment would verily think that his love towards him in "England was more in brave words than hearty good will "and friendly love."

* Doughty was a gentleman bred, and a man of ſenſe and learning, whom Drake had invited in the moſt friendly manner, to accompany him in his undertaking.

in time became quite ſocial and familiar with their new gueſts *.

Theſe Indians were quite naked, except the ſkins of ſome beaſts that they threw over their ſhoulders occaſionally. Their hair, which was long, they rolled up with a plume of oſtrich's feathers, and here they ſtick their arrows, which were made of reeds, headed with flints; and their bows were about an ell long. They painted their bodies with various figures, eſpecially thoſe of the ſun and moon, by way of ornament. They had no canoes, nor other method of croſſing the water; and in the other iſlands which abounded with birds [moſt likely penguins] ſo tame, that entertaining no fears from man, having not been uſed to his tyranny, they ſuffered themſelves to be taken in the hand. Such a number of ſeals appeared likewiſe on theſe coaſts, that the Engliſh named the place where they lay, Seal Bay. The fleſh of this animal which the Engliſh had found to be wholeſom, ſerved the Indians for food, and they ſeem to have eaten it raw, as they were not obſerved to have any method of preparing their victuals by fire.

Seal Bay.

The ill uſage of Doughty on board the Swan.

The ſeparation of Drake's veſſels on an expedition like his was generally productive of a number of inconveniencies. When the Swan fly-boat had been ſeparated from the reſt on the Braſilian coaſt, the crew deſpairing of joining ever again, their companions began to fear leſt they ſhould be in want of proviſions. Here the maſter, (moſt probably the purſer) being an enemy to Doughty, and then apprehenſive of a ſcantineſs of proviſions, choſe to withdraw himſelf from Doughty's and Cheſter's meſs, the latter of whom had really been made captain of the fly-boat. To him Doughty applied, finding this overbearing man put them to ſhort allowance, while he rather augmented than decreaſed his own diet. Many words paſſed on this occaſion between the three perſons, and even ſome blows between the maſter and Doughty. The former viewing the latter in the light of one ſent on board in diſgrace, told him if he ever came home to enjoy any advantage from the voyage, "he would "be truſſed up." Adding, "Thou! wilt thou "have victuals? thou ſhalt be glad if we do not "meet the general, to eat that that falls from my "tail on the anchor fluke ere we get home again." The humanity of the declaration being equal to the politeneſs of the expreſſion, incenſed Doughty ſo much, that he urged Cheſter to behave as became a commander, adding, "Loſe nothing of that authority that the general committed unto you. If you will, we will put the ſword into your hands again, and you ſhall have the government." This caſe the writer ſays he will aver to be true; two or three perſons being ſworn to the articles; *and theſe were incorporated in the accuſation, on the ground of which he was to be beheaded.*

The Swan having joined the fleet, and being deſtroyed, as we have already noticed, Doughty was again taken on board the Pelican, where it ſeems what paſſed in the Swan was related in ſuch a manner as to aggravate matters, when high words enſued between him and the general, whom in his anger he told That he thought his word was to be believed as ſoon as his commander's oath; who then ſtruck him, and ordered him to be bound to the maſt, for the accompliſhment of which the maſter of the fly-boat took no ſmall pains." He and his brother John Doughty, were afterwards ſent on board the Canter, where he had reaſon to believe his life would be endangered †.

Declaration of one of the crew in Doughty's favour.

It is obſervable that while Mr. Doughty was thus perſecuted, one Thomas Cuttle, who had formerly been Captain of the Pelican under Drake, reſolved to go over to the main, wading with his piece in his hand through the ſhallow water which we have deſcribed. This man ſolemnly declared that he thought himſelf hardly uſed on Mr. Doughty's account, of whom he knew no harm, adding that he would rather truſt himſelf in the hands of the cannibals than endure ſuch hard treatment from the hands of the general ‡.

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Before they left this harbour, the admiral himſelf coming on board the Elizabeth, told the crew that he was to ſend there the two Doughties, men againſt whom he made heavy complaints as ſeditious perſons, wizards, and poiſoners, obſerving that they were the only obſtacles to a voyage wherein the meaneſt ſhip-boy might make a fortune, and gold would become as plentiful as wood in the fleet. After this, the two brothers being ſent on board, as it might be expected, were generally treated accordingly, only Thomas Doughty having agreed to pay the boatſwain 3l. for a cabin, which was moſt uncomfortably ſituated; the poor man loſt his office, and fell under the heavy diſpleaſure of the admiral, on this account.

The fleet ſailed on the 3d of June for the South Sea, and ſtopping in their way ſix days after at a little bay, they broke up the St. Chriſtopher, being a veſſel too ſmall to live in thoſe dangerous ſeas which they ſometimes encountered. As they proceeded, they found themſelves under a neceſſity of anchoring in another bay, with a deſign to recover the Portugueſe prize which they had not ſeen ſince the 27th of April. On the 18th, after prayers put up to Heaven for ſucceſs, they put to ſea, and the next day diſcovered the veſſel near Port Julian, which port they entered, on account of her proving leaky, and alſo to refreſh the crew after the fatigues they had undergone during their ſeparation. Two of the natives, of whoſe ſize Maghellan had left ſuch an enormous account, and whom Drake's people alſo thought to be ſomewhat gigantic, accoſted them when they landed, received whatever was given them, and ſoon after began ſhooting arrows with them for emulation; but, as might be expected, found themſelves greatly excelled in the uſe of the bow by their new gueſts.

They arrive at Port Julian.

Gigantic natives.

Their treachery.

But another of the natives appearing preſently after, ſeemed not at all pleaſed with the friendly reception which his countrymen gave the ſtrangers.—His perſuaſions were not without their effect; for afterwards one of the company being willing to ſhew this third Indian a ſpecimen of his ſkill, in attempting to ſhoot an arrow broke his bow-ſtring. The natives, not knowing of any other offenſive weapons which the Engliſh had, followed them as they were returning to their boat, and ſhowered their arrows upon them, wounding in the ſhoulder him who aimed the bow, and turning about he was pierced with another arrow in the breaſt. Oliver, the maſter gunner, who had begun the friendly conteſt, was not now backward in entering into this more ſerious one; he preſented his piece, and doubtleſs would have done execution among the aſſailants but that it miſſed fire, and the Indians immediately diſcharging another flight of arrows he was ſlain.—All was now ſurpriſe and confuſion; but Drake, who was poſſeſſed of uncommon intrepidity and preſence of mind in time of danger, encouraged his men, directed them beſt how to avoid the effect of their adverſaries weapons by ſhifting their place as they retreated, and by picking up their arrows and breaking them. At length taking the gun which had miſſed fire in Oliver's hand, he diſcharged it at the Indian who had killed the gunner, and the hail-ſhot with which it was loaded tearing open his belly, he fled with terrible outcries. This ſo intimidated the Indians, that they in conſequence of it let

* One of the natives having received a cap off the general's head, withdrew to a diſtance, and thruſt an arrow into his leg, letting the blood trickle down in Drake's ſight, which was doubtleſs a token of gratitude, and was interpreted by that commander as an emblem of that Indian's willingneſs to ſhed his blood in his ſervice.

† The Canter was a veſſel taken from the Spaniards on the coaſt of Africa.

‡ He purſued his deſign and went up the country, but firing his piece, in order to bring the natives to him, this being underſtood as a ſignal that he wanted to return, a boat was ſent which brought him back again.—But ſurely a declaration like this from one who was going to make ſo hazardous an experiment, ought doubtleſs to allowed of great weight in a caſe of this nature.

1578 let the Admiral withdraw his wounded friends, and the Engliſh remained on the coaſts for two months after this quarrel without experiencing from them any farther acts of hoſtility.

It was here that Mr. Tho. Doughty, againſt whom Drake had ſo long entertained ſo much hatred, was executed by his order, of which circumſtance there are various accounts. But the moſt circumſtantial, and that which agrees beſt in all its parts being to be found in the manuſcript from which our accounts are drawn, we ſhall here preſent that relation of this tragical adventure without abridging or interrupting his relation.

"On this iſland in Port St. Julian, paſſed many matters, which, I think, God would not have to be concealed, eſpecially for that they tended to murder; for he (Drake) ſpewed out againſt Thomas Doughty his venom. Here he ended all his conceived hatred, not by courteſy and friendly reconcilement, but by moſt tyrannical blood-ſpilling; for he was never quiet while he lived, who in wiſdom and honeſt government as far ſurpaſſed him, as he in tyranny ſurpaſſed all men. The world never committed a fact like unto this; for here he murdered him that, if he had well looked unto himſelf, had been a more ſure and ſtedfaſt friend unto him than ever was Pythias to his friend Damon, as I think the ſequel of this caſe will ſhew.

Trial of Doughty.

"The laſt day of June, the general himſelf, being ſet in place of judgment, and having the whole company brought on ſhore, and having Captain John Thomas ſet cloſe by him, who opened a bundle of papers that were rolled up together, wherein were written divers and ſundry articles, the which, before they were read, the general ſpoke unto the purport of them, and turning himſelf to Thomas Doughty, who was there preſent, being before brought thither more like a thief than a gentleman of honeſt converſation, he began his charge thus;—Thomas Doughty, you have here ſought by divers means, in as much as you may, to diſcredit me, to the great hindrance and overthrow of this voyage; beſides other great matters with which I have to charge you, the which, if you can clear yourſelf of, you and I ſhall be very good friends; whereof if you cannot, you have deſerved death: Maſter Doughty anſwered, it ſhould never be approved that he had merited ill by undertaking any villainy towards him.——By whom, quoth the general, will you be tried? Why, good general, let me live to come unto my country, and I will be there tried by her majeſty's laws. Nay, Thomas Doughty, ſaid, he, I will here impannel a jury on you, to enquire into thoſe matters that I have to charge you withal. Why, general, replied Doughty, I hope you will ſee your commiſſion be good: I'll warrant you, anſwered the general, my commiſſion is good enough. I pray you then let us ſee it, ſaid Maſter Doughty; it is neceſſary that it ſhould be here ſhewn; Well, quoth he, you ſhall *not* ſee it. Then addreſſing himſelf to the company, you ſee, my maſters, how this fellow is full of prating, bind me, his arms, for I will be ſafe of my life. My maſters, you that be my good friends, Thomas, Good, Gregory,——you there, my friends, bind; ſo they took and bound his arms behind him. Then he uttered divers furious words unto Thomas Doughty, as charging him to be the man that poiſoned my lord of Eſſex; whereas Maſter Doughty vouched it to his face, that he was the man that brought the general firſt to the preſence of my lord in England. Thou bring *me*, quoth the general, to my lord? See, my maſters, ſee here, how he goeth about to diſcredit me. This fellow, with my lord, was never of any eſtimation; I think he never came about him as a gentleman; for I that was daily with my lord, never ſaw him there above once, and that was long after my entertainment with my lord.

The charge againſt him read over.

"Then, in fine, was there a jury called, whereof Maſter John Winter was foreman. Then by John Thomas were the articles read unto them, even *once over for a laſt farewell*, for fear that men ſhould have carried them away by memory, all which appeared to conſiſt of words of unkindneſs, and to proceed of ſome choler when the priſoner was provoked, all which Doughty did not greatly deny: until at length came in one Edward Bright, whoſe honeſty of life I have nothing to do with, who ſaid, Nay, Thomas Doughty, we have other matters for you yet, that will a little nearer touch you. It will, i'faith, bite you to the griſkin. I pray thee, Ned Bright, ſaid the priſoner, charge me with nothing but truth, and ſpare me not. Then John Thomas read further for his laſt article to conclude the whole withal, That Thomas Doughty ſhould ſay to Edward Bright in Maſter Drake's garden, that the queen's majeſty and council would be corrupted. So Bright holding up his finger, ſaid, How like you this gare, ſirrah? Why, Ned Bright, ſaid Maſter Doughty, what ſhould induce thee thus to belye me? thou knoweſt that ſuch familarity was never between thee and me; but it may be, that I have ſaid, if we brought home gold, we ſhould be the better welcome; but yet this is more than I do remember. Then it came out, on further evidence, that Maſter Doughty ſhould ſay, that my lord treaſurer had a plot of the preſent voyage. No, that he hath not, quoth General Drake. The other replied, that he had, and had it of him. See, my maſters, ſaid Drake, what this fellow hath done, God will have this treachery all known; for her Majeſty gave me ſpecial commandment, that of all men my lord treaſurer ſhould not know it; but you ſee his own mouth hath betrayed him. So this was a ſpecious article againſt him to hurt his throat, and greatly he ſeemed to rejoice of this advantage.

"Then Maſter Doughty offered him, if he would permit him to live, and to anſwer theſe objections in England, he would ſet his hand to whatſo was there written, or to any thing elſe that he would ſet down. Well, once let theſe men, quoth the general, firſt find whether you are guilty in this or no, and then we will talk further of the matter: And then he delivered (after they had all taken their oaths, given by John Thomas) the bills of indictment, as I may term them, unto Mr. John Winter, who was foreman of this inqueſt. Then Maſter Leonard Vicary, a very aſſured friend of Maſter Thomas Doughty, ſaid unto him, General, this is not law, nor agreeable to juſtice, that you offer. I have not to do with your crafty lawyers, neither do I care for the law; but I know what I will do.——Why, quoth Maſter Vicary, who was one of his jury, I know not how we may anſwer his life. Well, Maſter Vicary, quoth he, you ſhall not have to do with his life; let me alone with that; you are but to find whether he be guilty in theſe articles that here are objected againſt him, or no. Why, very well, ſaid Maſter Vicary, then, there is, I truſt, no matter of death. No, no, Maſter, Vicary, quoth he. So with this the jury went together, finding all to be true, without any doubt or ſtop made, but only to that article that Edward Bright had objected againſt him; for it was doubted of ſome whether Bright were ſufficient with his only word to caſt away the life of a man. And truly it did argue ſmall honeſty in a man to conceal ſuch a matter if it had been ſpoken in England, and to utter it in this place where will was law, and reaſon put in exile; for an honeſt ſubject would not have concealed ſuch matter, which made ſome doubt of an honeſt dealing. But, to be brief, anſwer was made, that Bright was a very honeſt man; and ſo the verdict being given in, it was told to the general, that there was a doubt made of Bright's honeſty. Why, quoth Maſter Drake, I dare to ſwear that what Ned Bright has ſaid is very true, (yet within a fortnight after, the ſame Bright was in ſuch diſliking with him as he ſeemed to doubt his life; and having diſplaced him of the Pelican, and put him into the Marygold, he gave for reaſon, that himſelf would be ſafe, and he would put him far enough from him.) Thus having received in the verdict he roſe off the place, and departed to the water-ſide, were calling all the company with him, except Maſter Thomas Doughty and his brother, he there

He is declared guilty.

opened a certain bundle of letters and bills, and looking on them, said God's will, *I have left in my cabin that I should especially have had*, (as if he had there forgotten his commission:) but whether he forgot his commission or no, he much forgot himself, to sit as judge without shewing that he had any; but, truly, I think he shewed to the uttermost what he had: for here he shewed forth, first, letters that were written, as he said, by Master Hankins to my Lord of Essex for his entertainment; secondly, he shewed letters of thanks from my Lord of Essex unto him, and how much he had pleasured him; then read the letters that past from my Lord of Essex unto Secretary Walsingham in his great commendation; then shewed he letters of Master Hatton's unto himself, tending for the acceptance of his men John Thomas and John Brewer, for their well usage in this voyage; and lastly, he read a bill of her Majesty's adventure of a thousand crowns (but I most marvelled that so many noblemen and gentlemen did leave their letters in his hands, except it were to shew in this place for his credit.) So when he had all done, he said, Now, my masters, you may see whether this fellow hath sought my discredit or no, and what should hereby be meant but the very overthrow of the voyage; as first, by taking away of my good name, and altogether discrediting me, and then my life; which I being bereaved of, what then will you do? you will fain one to drink another's blood, and so to return again unto your own country: you will never be able to find the way thither. And now, my masters, consider what a great voyage we are like to make, the like was never made out of England; for by the same the worst in this fleet shall become a gentleman, and if this voyage go not forward, which I cannot see how possibly it should, if this man live, what a reproach it will be, not only unto our country, but especially unto us, the very simplest here may consider of. Therefore, my masters, they that think this man worthy to die, let them with me hold up their hands; and they that think him not worthy to die, hold down their hands; at the which, divers that envied his former felicity, held up their hands; some others again, for fear of his favourity, sticked not to lift their hands, although against their hearts; but some, again lifted up their hands and very hearts unto the Lord, to deliver us of this tyrannous and cruel tyrant; who upon the same, coming to his former judgment seat, pronounced him the child of death, and persuaded him withal, that he would by this means make him the servant of God: and said farther, if any man could, between this and next meeting, devise any way that might save his life he would hear it; and wished himself to devise some way for his own safeguard. Well, general, quoth he, seeing it is come to this pass, that I see you would have me made away, I pray you carry me with you to Peru, and there set me ashore. No, truly, Master Doughty, I cannot answer it to her Majesty, if I should so do; but, how say you, Thomas Doughty, if any man will warrant me to be safe from your hands, and will undertake to keep you sure, you shall see what I will say unto you. Master Doughty then calling on Master Winter, said, will you be so good as to undertake this for me? Then Master Winter said unto Master Drake, that he should be safe of his person, and he would warrant him, if he did commit him to his custody. Then Drake, a little pausing, said, See then, my masters, we must do thus; we must nail him close under the hatches, and return home again without making any voyage, and if you will do so, then speak your minds. Then a company of desperate bankrupts that could not live in their own country without the spoil of that, as others had by the sweat of their brows, cried, God forbid, good general! which voice was no less attentively heard, for there needs no spur to a willing horse. Thus telling Master Doughty to prepare for his death, and having given him one whole day's respite, to set all things in order, he rose and departed, promising that his continual prayers to God should not cease, that it would

Sentence of death pronounced on Doughty.

1578

please him to put it into his head how he might do him good; but he had so often before sworn that he would hang him, that, I think, at this present he meant to do him little good. Thus Master Doughty continuing all this night, the next day, and the second night in his prayers, except some small time that he used in settling his worldly business in some way, and distributing to such as he thought good, such things as he then had with him, was the 2d day of July commanded to prepare himself, and to make ready to die. Then Master Doughty, with a more chearful countenance than ever he had in all his life, to the shew, as one that did altogether contemn life; prayed him, that ere he died he might receive the sacrament; which was not only granted, but Drake himself offered to accompany him to the Lord's table, for the which Master Doughty gave him hearty thanks, never worse terming him than, My Good Captain! Master Drake offered him withal to make choice of his own death, and for that he said he was a gentleman, he should but lose his head, the which kind of death was most agreeable to his mind, in as much as he must needs die. And, truly, I heard say, that Master Drake offered him if he would, that he should be shotten to death with a piece, and that he himself would do that exploit, and so he should die by the hands of a gentleman. But, in fine, they together received the Lord's supper; the which I do ever assure myself that he did take with as uncorrupted a mind as ever did any innocent of the world; for he sure shewed himself to have all his affiance and only trust in God; he shewed himself so valiant in this extremity, as the world might wonder at it; he seemed to have conquered death itself, and it was not seen, that on all this day before his death, that ever he altered one jot of his countenance, but kept it as staid and firm as if he had some message to deliver to some nobleman. They having thus received the sacrament, there was a banquet made, such as the place might yield, and there they dined together, in which time, the place of execution being made ready, after dinner, as one not willing any longer to delay the time, he told the general that he was ready as soon as pleased him, but prayed him, that he might speak alone with him a few words, with the which they talked apart the space of half a quarter of an hour, and then with bills and staves he was brought to the place of execution, where he shewed himself no less valiant than all the time before; for here kneeling on his knees, he first prayed for the queen's majesty of England, his sovereign lady and mistress; he then prayed to God for the happy success of this voyage, and prayed to God to turn it to the profit of his country: he remembered also therein divers his good friends, and especially Sir William Winter, praying Master John Winter to commend him to that good knight; all which he did with so chearful a countenance, as if he had gone to some great prepared banquet, the which, I sure think, that he was fully resolved that God had provided for him; so at the last, turning to the general, he prayed him that he might make water ere he died, For, quoth he, the flesh is frail, and withal turned him about and did so; and coming again, said, Now truly I may say as said Sir Thomas More, that he that cuts off my head shall have little honesty [credit] my neck is so short; so turning him, and looking about on the whole company, he desired them all to forgive him, and especially some that he did perceive to have displeasure borne them for his sake, whereof Thomas Cuttle was one, Hugh Smith was another, and divers others; whereupon Smith prayed him to say before the general then, whether ever they had any conference together that might redound to his (the general's) prejudice or detriment. He declared it at his death, that neither he nor any man else, ever practised any treachery towards the general with him; neither did he himself ever think any villainous thought against. Then he prayed the general to be good unto the same Hugh Smith, and to forgive him for his sake. So the General said, Well, Smith, for

He receives the communion.

Dines with the admiral.

Master

1578 Maſter Doughty's ſake, and at his requeſt, I forgive thee; but become an honeſt man hereafter. So then Maſter Doughty embracing the general, naming him his good captain, bid him farewel, and bidding the whole company farewel, he laid his head to the block, the which being ſtricken off, Drake moſt deſpitefully made the head to be taken up and ſhewed to the whole company, himſelf ſaying, See this is the end of traitors."

He is executed

We have already obſerved that there have been various accounts of this matter. In one of theſe we find it related, that at Port St. Julian, Drake called a ſort of council of war or court martial, and ſhewed his commiſſion, by virtue of which the queen gave him power of life and death, which was ſaid to be delivered with theſe words from her own mouth: "We do account, Drake, that he who ſtrikes at thee ſtrikes at us." Here likewiſe it is pretended that he expoſed Mr. Doughty's bad practices from the time of their leaving England, appealing to the company for his cordial behaviour to the gentleman accuſed, ſupporting his charge by producing papers under his own hand, "*to which Mr. Doughty* [a circumſtance not very probable] *added a full and free confeſſion.*" Nor is what follows, at all more likely, viz. That the accuſed having it left to his choice to be executed on the iſland, where they then were, to be ſet on ſhore on the main land, or to be ſent home to abide the juſtice of his country; after a day's conſideration, gave his reaſons [to be ſure they muſt have been *weighty ones*] for chuſing to be executed at Port Julian, "and having received the ſacrament with the general "from the hands of Mr. Francis Fletcher, chaplain "to the fleet, and made a full confeſſion, his head "was cut off with an ax, by the provoſt marſhal, "July the 2d, 1578."

The execution of Doughty was followed by ſome inſtances of partiality againſt particular perſons, which at the ſame time that they marked the partiality of Drake, ſeemed ſtrongly to indicate his doubts relative to the expedition in which he was engaged, and wherein it appeared plainly enough that all the queen's concern was that of having condeſcended to advance a conſiderable ſum as a private adventurer.

The laſt proof which we ſhall here adduce to ſupport the opinions we have advanced we ſhall draw from this commander's ſpeech to his men on the 6th of Auguſt, a few days before he left Port Julian.

Remarkable ſpeech of Drake to his company.

"Commanding his whole company aſhore, and placing himſelf in a tent, one ſide of which was open, he called Maſter Winter on one ſide of him, and John Thomas on the other ſide; his men laid before him a great paper book, and withal Maſter Fletcher offered himſelf to make a ſermon. Nay, ſoft, Maſter Fletcher (ſaid he) I muſt preach this day myſelf, although I have ſmall ſkill in preaching. Well, all ye the company, are ye [all here] or not? Anſwer was made that they were all there. Then commanded he every ſhip's company ſeverally to ſtand together, which was alſo done. Then ſaid he, My maſters, I am a very bad orator, for my bringing up hath not been in learning, but whatſo I ſhall here ſpeak, let every man take good notice of, and let him write it down, for I ſhall ſpeak nothing but what I will anſwer it in England, yea, and before her Majeſty, as I have it here already ſet down.*

"Thus it is my maſters, that we are very far from our country and friends; we are compaſſed in on every ſide with our enemies, wherefore we are not to make ſmall reckoning of a man, for we cannot have a man if we would give for him ten thouſand pounds, wherefore we muſt have theſe mutinies and diſcontents that are grown amongſt us redreſſed; for, by the life of God, it doth even take my wits from me to think on it. Here is ſuch controverſy between the ſailors and the gentlemen, and ſuch ſtomaching between the gentlemen and ſailors, that it doth even make me mad to hear of it. But my maſters, I muſt have it ceaſe; for I muſt have the gentlemen to haul and draw with the marines, and the marines with the gentlemen; and let us ſhew ourſelves to be all of a company, and let us not give occaſion to the enemy to rejoice at our decay and overthrow. I would [fain] know him that would refuſe to ſet his hand to a rope; but I truſt, there is not any ſuch here; and as gentlemen are very neceſſary for government ſake on the voyage, ſo have I ſhipt them for that purpoſe, and to ſome further intent, and yet, though I know ſailors to be the moſt envious people of the world and ſo unruly without government, yet may I not be without them.

"Alſo if there be any willing to return home, let me underſtand of them, and there is the Marygold, a ſhip that I can very well ſpare, I will furniſh her to ſuch as will return, with the moſt credit that I can give them, either by my letter or any way elſe; but let them take care that they go *homeward*; for, if I meet them in my way, I will ſink them; therefore you ſhall have time to conſider hereof until to-morrow, for, by my troth, I muſt needs be plain with you; *I have taken that in hand that I know not in the world how to go through withal*; it paſſeth my capacity, it hath even bereaved me of my wits to think on it. [Well yet the voice was that none would return, they would all take ſuch part as he did.] Well then, my maſters, quoth he, came ye all forth with your own good wills or no? They anſwered all, Willingly.† At whoſe hands, my maſters, demanded he, take ye to receive your wages? At your's, anſwered the company. Then ſaid he, How ſay you, will you take wages, or ſtand to my good courteſy? To your courteſy, good captain, was the reply.

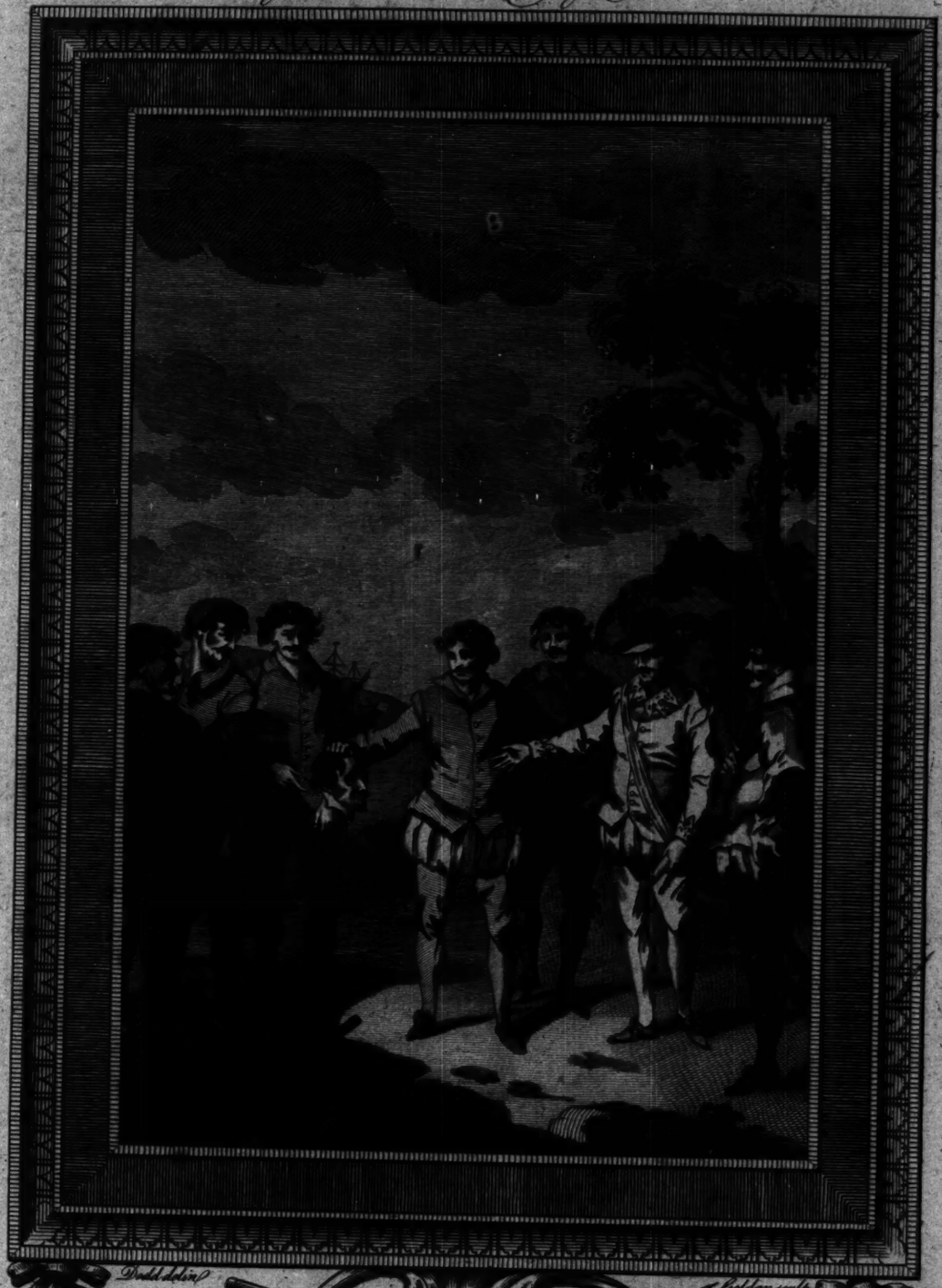
"Then he commanded the ſteward to the Elizabeth to bring him the key of the ſtores, the which he did. Then turning him unto Maſter Winter, he ſaid, Maſter Winter, I do here diſcharge you of your captainſhip; and ſo in brief he ſaid to all the officers. Then Maſter Winter, and John Thomas aſked him what ſhould move him to diſplace them? He aſked, in return, whether they could give any reaſon why he ſhould not do ſo? So willing them to content themſelves, he willed ſilence in theſe matters, ſaying, ye ſee here the great diſorders we are entangled into; and although ſome [meaning Doughty] have already received condign puniſhments, as by death, who, I take God to witneſs, as you all know, was to me as my other hand, yet you ſee, over and beſides the reſt, his own mouth did bewray his treacherous dealings; and ſee how, truſting to the ſingularity of his wit, he over-reached himſelf at unawares. But ſee what God would have to be done; for her Majeſty commanded that of all men my lord treaſurer ſhould have no knowledge of this voyage, and to ſee that his own mouth hath declared that he had given him a plot [plan] thereof. But truly, my maſters, and as I am a gentleman, there ſhall no more die; I will lay my hand on no more, although there be here who have deſerved as much as he: and ſo charging [charged] one Worrall, that was preſent, that his caſe was worſe than Doughty's, who, in Maſter Doughty's extremities, was one of Drake's conſellows, who [he] humbling himſelf, to Drake, even upon his knees, prayed him to be good unto him. Well, well, Worrall, ſaid he, you and I ſhall talk well enough of this matter hereafter. Then he charged one John Audley with ſome ill dealings towards him, but opened no matter, but ſaid he would talk with him alone after dinner.

"Here is ſome again (ſaid he) my maſters, not knowing how elſe to diſcredit me, ſay and affirm that I was ſet out on this voyage by Maſter Hatton; ſome, by Sir William Winter; and ſome, by Maſter Hankins;

* "But whether it were in his book or not (ſays the author) that I know not, but this was the effect of it, and very near the words."

† But we have already noticed, it was to ſail to Alexandria, and not with a view to the enterpriſe wherein they were now engaged.

Engraved for Moore's Voyages & Travels.



Dodd del.

Golder sculp.

Mr. Doughty beheaded by order of Sir Francis Drake, at Port St. Julian, on the Coast OF PATAGONIA.

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kins; but these are a company of idle heads that have nothing else to talk of. And, my masters, I must tell you, I do know them as my very good friends; but to say they were the fitters forth of this voyage, or that it was by their means, I tell you it was nothing so. But indeed thus it was. My lord of Essex wrote in my commendation unto Secretary Walsingham more than I was worthy; but by like I had deserved somewhat at his hands, and he thought [reported] me in his letters, a fit man against the Spaniards for my practice and experience that I had in that [the Spanish] trade; whereupon indeed Secretary Walsingham did come to consult with his lordship, and declared unto him that for that her majesty had received divers injuries of the king of Spain, for the which she desired to have some revenge; and, withal he shewed me a plot [plan] willing me to set my hand, and to write down where I thought he might be most engaged; but I told him some part of my mind, but refused to set my hand to any thing, affirming that her majesty was mortal, and if it should please God to take her majesty away, it might be so that some person might reign that might be in league with the king of Spain, and then will [would] mine own hand be a witness against myself. Then was I very shortly after, and on an evening, sent for to her majesty by Secretary Walsingham; and the next day coming to her majesty, these or the like words she said: Drake, so it is that I would be gladly revenged on the king of Spain for divers injuries that I have received. And [as Drake asserted,] she said further that he was the only man that might do this exploit, and withal craved his advice therein, who told her majesty of the small good that was to be done in Spain, but the only way was to annoy him by his Indies.

"Then, with many more words he shewed forth a bill of her majesty's adventure of a thousand crowns which, however he said at some time before, that her majesty did give him towards his charges. He shewed also a bill of Master Hatton's adventure, and divers letters of credit that had passed in his behalf, but never let them come out of his own hands. He said also that her majesty did swear by her crown,—That if any within her realm did give the king of Spain hereof to understand (as she suspected but *two*) they should lose their heads therefore.

"And now, masters, said he, let us consider what we have done—We have now set together by the ears three mighty princes; namely, her majesty, [and] the kings of Spain and Portugal; and if this voyage should not have good success, we should not only be a scorning, or a reproachful scoffing stock unto our enemies, but also a great blot to our whole country for ever, and what triumph would it be to Spain and Portugal, and again the like would never be attempted.

And now, restoring every man again to his former office, he ended, shewing the company that he would satisfy every man or else he would sell all that he had, even unto his plate:——For, quoth he, I have good reason to promise, and am best able to perform it; for I have somewhat of mine own in England; and besides that I have as much adventure in this voyage as three of the best whatsoever; *and if it be so that I never come home, yet will her majesty pay every man his wages; whom indeed you and I and all come to serve*; and for to say you come to serve me, indeed I will not give you thanks; *for it is only her majesty that you serve*, and this voyage is only her fitting forth. So willing all men to be friends, he willed them to depart about their business.

The reader will easily perceive that how subtly soever Drake thought he had formed this speech (which might be well enough calculated to impose on men who were under his command, and being so far distant from their country, had no other dependance than on him for their future fortunes) yet it abounded with inconsistencies, and seems to furnish sufficient reasons to doubt the authority by which he acted, at the same time that it shews his own doubts and fears about the expedition in which he was engaged. 1578

The number of the ships being reduced to three, Drake quitted * Port St. Julian, and entered the streights of Maghellan on the 20th of August, in the intricate passage of which an island was discovered, to which the English gave the name of Elizabeth, in honour of their queen.——They came on the 24th to an island, where they killed 3000 penguins in one day.

At length they passed the Streights, which sometimes seem entirely shut up by capes and head-lands, yet the ships made good their passage.

Maghellan observed many harbours here, but remarked that in most of them no bottom was to be found, which however does not seem to appear to be an accurate account; the harbours being in general good, though the tides and blasts continually rushing in from various directions create the danger. The land on both sides rises into innumerable mountains; the tops of them were encircled with clouds and vapours, which, being congealed, fell down in snow, and increase their apparent height by hardening into ice; yet in the winter time, even at that season which answers to our February, they found the valleys in some places, green, fruitful and pleasant.

Anchoring in a bay near Cape Forward, Drake, imagining the streight quite shut up, went in his boat to endeavour to find some other passage out; and, and having found an inlet towards the north, was returning to his ships; but curiosity occasioned him to stop for the sake of observing a canoe or boat with several natives of the country in it. He could not, at a distance, help admiring the form of this little vessel, which seemed inclining to a semicircle, the stern and prow standing up, and the body sinking inward; but much greater was his wonder when upon a nearer inspection, he perceived it was made only of the barks of trees, sewed together with thongs or filaments of the seal skin in such a manner, that scarcely any water entered the seams of that little vessel. He found the people here well shaped, and painted like those who have been already described. On the land they had a hut built with poles, and covered with skins, in which they had water vessels and other utensils, made likewise with the barks of trees. Among these people natural sagacity and unwearied industry supplied the want of such manufactures or natural productions, as appear to us absolutely necessary for the support of life. Though the inhabitants were wholly strangers to iron and the use we make of it, yet instead of it, they substituted the shell of a muscle of prodigious size found upon their coasts. This they ground upon a stone to an edge that was so firm and solid, that neither wood nor stone were able to resist it; and with instruments made of shells, they were able to perform all their mechanical operations.

Thus Drake, though not at a favourable season, passed the Streights of Maghellan in the space of † 16 days, and after he had surveyed the country, having directed his course N. W. and entered the great South Sea on the 6th of September, intending to hold on his way towards the Equinoctial line.

But the very next day, after having observed an eclipse of the moon, the fleet was overtaken with so violent a storm, that the ‡ ships were in a manner left to

A terrible storm for a month.

* The Day before they weighed anchor we find he came on board the Elizabeth, and swore that he would hang thirty of his men, and repeated his charge against Worral, still seeming to retain that resentment against particular persons which he had promised to banish from his breast.

† None of our modern voyagers have been less than 36 days. Captain Wallis was four months in his voyage through these streights.

‡ The Marygold was separated from the rest of the fleet, during the continuance of this storm on the 30th of September. Having entered a harbour on the 7th of October, they were once more forced out to sea by a violent gust of wind, and Captain Winter was so much discouraged, that regaining the streights he made the best of his way to England.

1579 to the mercy of the winds, which after beating about in great diſtreſs for above a month, drove them 200 leagues out of their way, and they were forced at laſt into 55 degrees of ſouth latitude.

Here they diſcovered a number of iſlands, and came to an anchor cloſe by one of them for the ſake of refreſhing themſelves, where they found good greens and excellent water. Entering another bay, they met with ſome Indians in their canoes, croſſing along ſhore with whom the Engliſh held a traffic, exchanging for ſuch proviſions as they ſtood in need of, thoſe toys and baubles they found moſt valued by the natives.

Another tempeſt overtook them after their departure from theſe coaſts, and drove them to the very extremity of the South-American coaſt, where they ſaw for the firſt time the conflux of the weſtern and ſouthern oceans, and at length enjoyed the happineſs of a ſmooth ſea, to which they had ſo long been ſtrangers.

Drake now held his courſe for the 30th degree of ſouth latitude, ſteering, at the end of October, for the rendezvous appointed in caſe of ſeparation for his little fleet, having met with certain iſlands in his way, where he ſupplied himſelf with a great quantity of fowls. When he arrived at the deſired latitude, he found no ſhips, nor any ſafe port; he therefore proceeded till he came to Macao, where the Indians making a ſhew of friendſhip, and preſenting the Engliſh with two ſheep and ſome fruits, and ſhewing them a watering place, the latter came the next day with their barrels; when two of their company who were ſent before were ſlain in their way by the natives, who had alſo laid in ambuſh behind the rocks, from whence they diſcharged ſuch a ſhower of arrows into the boat, as wounded every one of the crew. The commander himſelf received a dangerous hurt by an arrow entering under his eye, while the ſituation of the Engliſh and the element itſelf fought ſo ſtrongly againſt them, that not one of the Indians (though they came cloſe to the boat) was killed or wounded by their weapons *.

Macao.

Ambuſh of the Indians.

The ſame afternoon they ſet ſail and came to an anchor on the 30th of November in Philip's Bay, where their boat's crew that had been ſent out upon diſcovery returned with an Indian of a graceful ſtature and complacent behaviour, whom they had made priſoner in the courſe of their expedition: uſing him well, and ſetting him on ſhore again, he perſuaded the natives to come and traffic with the Engliſh, who were thereby ſerved with what the country afforded, and afterwards accepted of this man as a pilot to conduct the fleet to the harbour, called by the Spaniards Val Parizo, in lat 33° 40′ S. near the town of St. Jago, where the adventurers were more plentifully ſupplied with proviſions and wines from the ſtorehouſes, and had beſides the good fortune to take a ſhip which had on board not only wines, but 60,000 pezoes of gold. They were at firſt taken for friends by the Spaniards, and invited to carouſe with them. But when the miſtake was diſcovered, and the place alarmed, the townſmen fled, inſtead of endeavouring to defend their property, which was left to the mercy of Drake and his men, who found a large booty in the chapel, and employed three days in ſecuring what they had amaſſed.

A rich ſhip taken.

Having conveyed the Indian to the place from whence they took him, after giving him a reward for his ſervices, intending to put their ſhip into ſome place of ſafety where they might build a pinnace for the convenience of running up creeks and harbours; for this purpoſe they ſailed into the bay near Coquimbo on the 17th of December. The town was inhabited by Spaniards, a hundred of whom came out againſt them on horſeback. Drake's men prudently retired, one only excepted, who obſtinately perſiſted in remaining on ſhore, and being ſlain by the Spaniards, after a ſtout reſiſtance, they ordered ſome of the Indians who attended them to the amount of 200, to behead and tear the heart out of his body in ſight of the Engliſh, who preſently quitted this place in ſearch of a more ſecure harbour.

Having found a bay, where they built their pinnace, Drake went to ſeek his companions, but returned in two days: the wind proving contrary. Landing afterwards at a port called Sarcipaxa, and having found a Spaniard aſleep with bars of ſilver lying by him, to the amount of 4,000 Spaniſh duckets, they took away the treaſure, leaving the guardian of it to his repoſe. Their next exploit on this coaſt was taking the burdens from the backs of eight Peruvian ſheep, (driven by a Spaniard) which loads were of ſilver, each of theſe animals carrying 100lb. weight of that metal in leathern bags acroſs his back. They found ſome Indian towns farther on, the natives of which viſited them paſſing the watry element ſitting on two ſeal-ſkins blown up with wind, which they managed very dextrouſly. Theſe people trafficked with them for glaſs and toys in the uſual manner of thoſe countries †. On the 20th of January they arrived at Mormorena, from which place continuing their courſe northward, on the 7th of the next month they came to Arica, which is ſituate in latitude 8° 36′ ſouth latitude ‡. Here they found three ſmall veſſels, on board of which there were 57 ſlabs of ſilver, about the ſize of a brick, and nearly of the ſame form, weighing near 20lb. each. The crews of the veſſels being all on ſhore, the Engliſh met with no reſiſtance, but made an eaſy prize of the treaſure. Drake did not think fit to attack the town, judging his numbers not ſufficient for the enterprize; he therefore ſailed to Chuli, after having ſtopped a coaſting veſſel, whoſe lading conſiſted of linen and cloaths, out of which he took ſuch articles as his men moſt wanted, and then ſuffered the Spaniards to proceed on their voyage.

From Arica an expreſs had been ſent with information of his being on the coaſt, which arriving two hours before he could reach the port, the maſter of a ſhip that had 300,000 pezoes of ſilver in bars on board, had thrown it into the ſea, as they were informed by an Indian that was left alone in the veſſel, the reſt of the crew being gone on ſhore for ſecurity. Drake hearing theſe tidings departed immediately for Lima, where he arrived on the 15th of February. He found a number of Spaniſh ſhips § in the harbour, but met with no reſiſtance from them, and had a good booty there, taking from one veſſel a cheſt full of rials of plate; and ſilk, and linen cloaths, to a conſiderable amount from other ſhips; the ſurpriſe the Spaniards were in, and the reputation of this extraordinary adventurer not ſuffering them to act as they might have done for their own defence, the conſequence of which might have been Drake's deſtruction.

But he reſted, not here; having being informed that the rich ſhip called the Cacafuego had ſailed three days before for Paita, he reſolved to go in purſuit of her; but finding afterwards that, inſtead of Paita, ſhe was

* The iſland was peopled by Indians who had fled from the Spaniſh conquerors of the continent of America. They ſeemed to have miſtaken Drake and his crew for Spaniards, on whom they conſequently endeavoured to revenge old injuries.

† Here Drake invited the Spaniards to traffick with him, which they accepted; and ſupplied him with neceſſaries, ſelling to him, among other proviſions, ſome of their ſheep, whoſe bulk almoſt equalled that of a cow, and whoſe ſtrength was ſuch, that one of them could carry three tall men on his back; their necks being like a camel's, but their heads like thoſe of our ſheep. They were the moſt uſeful animals of this country, not only affording excellent fleeces and wholeſome fleſh, but ſerving as carriers over rocks and mountains, where no other beaſt can travel; their feet being of a particular form, enabling them to tread firm on the ſteepeſt and moſt ſlippery places. On this coaſt, it is ſaid, the mountains were ſo impregnated with ſilver, that from one hundred weight of common earth, five ounces of fine ſilver might be ſeparated.

‡ At this port the Spaniards uſed to land their merchandiſe, and to embark the ſilver which was carried from thence to Panama, but after Drake's incurſion they altered their plan, carrying it over land to Lima.

§ Some writers ſay they were 30 ſail, others mention but 12; however there were ſome ſhips of force among them.

was gone for Panama, he altered his course accordingly, promising that the first man who espied her should have his gold chain, which reward was gained by his brother John. It was on the 1st day of March that they came up with this vessel, and after a slight resistance took her, when they found her so richly laden that it was the 6th day before they could bring away the treasure with which she was freighted. She had on board a quantity of jewels, 13 chests of money about 80 pounds weight of gold, and wrought plate to a great amount, besides six tons of unrefined silver. After the departure of the English from Lima, in pursuit of the Cacafuego, a Spanish writer * tells us that news was brought of Drake's being upon the coast; the governor having before assembled the force of the country to oppose him if necessary, finding he made sail and stood out of the harbour, ordered three ships with six pieces of cannon on board, and 250 men to be got ready to go in pursuit of him; but the time necessary for equipping these vessels, gave Drake the advantage of escaping them, and he came up with the Cacafuego, off Cape Francisco. Juan de Anton, the captain, seeing a ship coming towards him, with all her sails set, thought she might be sent with some message to him from the viceroy, and lay to, in order to receive her. He did not perceive his mistake till too late, when his attempt to escape proved vain, Drake pouring in the shot from his great ordnance fast upon him, which as he could not answer in the same way, he was obliged to strike. †

The commander having dismissed the Spaniards, stood off again to sea, and shaped his course to the westward; while three Spanish ships which were sent in quest of him by the viceroy of Peru, having been too late to come up with him, sailed with a view to intercept him at the streights of Maghellan. In the mean time this fortunate admiral, in his way, fell in with a vessel from the East Indies, whose lading consisted of china ware, silks, and cottons. The owner being on board, made him a present of a falcon wrought in solid gold, with an emerald of an extraordinary size set in the breast, and this) together with a gold cup that he received from the pilot, proved a ransom for the vessel, which was accordingly dismissed by the captors. ‡

Finding a convenient harbour in a little island which they made on the 13th of March, the English put in there, anchoring in five fathom water. On the 20th of the same month, their pinnace found a small coasting vessel that was passing by. They took out of her a quantity of sarsaparilla, butter, and other goods; in the room of which Drake put on board her the gold and silver from his own ship, which he wanted to heave, and refit for sea. This employed his people till the 26th, when they took in the loading again, and having taken in wood and water, they, together with the little Spanish frigate, put to sea again. They gave chace to a ship on the evening of the 6th of April, above two leagues from the main land, and boarded her the next day before the crew were up. They took great quantities of bale goods from this vessel; and among the persons found one called Don Francisco Xarate, who had intended to sail for Panama, and from thence to China, being charged with letters from the Court of Spain to the governor of the Phillippines, as also a set of sea charts for the voyage, which became very useful to the captor. ‖ A Spanish pilot, whom they took from this ship was likewise kept to direct them into some safe port, who accordingly brought them to Anguatulco on the 13th of April, where they remained till the 26th, and then proceeded to sea, having dismissed their Spanish pilot, and likewise Nuno da Sylva, whom they had brought from the Canaries. §

1579

When they landed at Anguatulco, the admiral marched his men immediately up to the town where the chief magistrate was then sitting in judgment on some Indians who were accused of having entered into a conspiracy to set fire to the place. These wretches had doubtless been sentenced to death, but for the arrival of the English, who made the judges and criminals alike their prisoners, and conducted them in procession to their commander's ship. When they were come on board, the judge was obliged to write an order to the commander to deliver up the town, where the conquerors found no small treasure. **

Surprises the Spanish judges at Anguatulco

Having succeeded thus far, these lucky adventurers considering that Fortune is often fickle, and being equally fearful of losing, as they were desirous of enjoying, what through so many perils and dangers they had acquired, began seriously to think of returning, while their commander represented the necessity of first finding out some harbour wherein they might refit, and also urged the great convenience as well as honour which would accrue if they could find out some shorter passage from one sea to the other, a matter, which he then saw no reason to deem impracticable.

They prepare for their return.

They accordingly sailed into a port in the Isle of Canes, when there they took in wood and water and prepared for the voyage, intending if possible to discover a north-west passage, but coming to lat. 43° the cold proved so intolerable to them who had so long been cruising in the warm climates, that they were obliged to lay aside their project and change their course.

Not discouraged by this disappointment, Drake resolved to put in execution the plan which he had before laid down in case of the failure of his first scheme; which was to steer for the Moluccas, and return by way of the Cape of Good Hope into the Atlantic Ocean. In pursuance of this design they spread their sails to the northern winds, and steering southward had arrived in 38° 30′ north lat. when they discovered a commodious harbour, in which they anchored on the 17th of June.

The next day a man in a canoe approached the shipping, who seemed to make a sort of oration in his language. He repeated his visits a second and a third time, and at the end of his last speech gave them a crown of black feathers and a basket filled with a sort of herb, that he threw into the boat, and in exchange for which he was not willing to receive any thing.

It was not, however till three days afterwards that the

* Lopez de Vaz.

† "There was in this ship (says the Spaniard in his account) 850,000 pezoes of silver, and 40,000 pezoes of gold, all which silver and gold was customed; but what treasure they had uncustomed, I know not; for many times they carry almost as much more as they pay custom for; otherwise the king would take it from them if they should be known to have any great sum. Wherefore every ship carries a bill of custom that the king may see it. All the treasures which Drake took was merchants and other mens goods, saving 180,000 pezoes of the king's. He had also out of this ship good store of victuals, and other necessaries which were to be carried from Panama, and was five days in taking out such things as they needed.

"This done, he sailed to the coast of New Spain, without going to Panama. The ships that were sent by the viceroy of Peru from Lima, arrived off Cape Francisco 20 days after Drake had taken the Cacafuego, and had intelligence by a ship coming from Panama, that he had taken a ship with silver and was not gone to Panama; whereupon the commander of the three ships thinking that Captain Drake had been gone for the streights of Maghellan, directed his course that way to seek him."

‡ Drake, however, knowing China porcelain to be a scarce commodity at that time in Europe, took four chests of that ware out of her, before he suffered her to depart.

‖ They also took a young negro girl, whom either the commander or some of his crew got with child, and afterwards cruelly deserted her.

§ In return for his services he was landed on the continent, and consequently left to the mercy of the Spaniards, who carrying him to Mexico, put him to the torture, to force him to make discoveries. Then he was sent to Spain, where, having told all that he knew, he was discharged and sent home in safety.

** They are said to have found there a great pot full of plate "as big as a bushel," some jewels, and a gold chain, the latter of which was taken from a gentleman who was intercepted while he was endeavouring to make his escape from the town.

1579 the commander chose to bring his ships, which stood in need of repairs, close to this friendly coast. Landing, in order to take out the lading, the English yet dubious of the sincerity of the natives, raised a fortification of earth, fenced with palisadoes, a work which the Indians, whilst it was going on, surveyed with admiration. The admiral, at length, convinced of their sincerity, having prevailed on them to lay aside their bows and arrows, presented them with linen and some other necessary articles, which were received by them with equal demonstrations of wonder and respect.

The Indians behaviour and ceremonies.

They returned two days afterwards, their numbers being greatly increased, stopping on the top of a neighbouring hill, and by their voices and gestures drawing the attention of the English, who conceived by their manners at the first meeting, and the loud noises they afterwards made, that they were inclined to pay them a sort of worship according to the custom of their country. Drake and his followers were confirmed in this opinion, by a long oration that one of the Indians now made, all of them bowing their bodies, at the end of it and repeating the word *Oh* as expressive of their approbation. Then they laid aside their bows, and the men coming down towards the tents thus unarmed, were kindly received by the English commander; while the women, who surveyed what passed at a distance, began to tear themselves with their nails, and throw themselves on the ground, in token of reverence to the strangers. Soon after came two ambassadors from the Hioh or king, who demanding certain tokens of peace, which request being granted, the king himself paid a visit to the settlement. A person preceded him bearing a kind of sceptre of black wood, ornamented with chains made of horn or bone, which they use as tokens of distinction. The monarch himself came next. His apparel was a coat made of skins, and on his head he wore a crown of feathers curiously interwoven. He had a hundred tall men for a guard. His attendants who followed him wore a dress somewhat resembling his own, and the common people brought roots and fish in baskets, which were contrived so as to be capable of holding water. Though the procession had every appearance of peace, and the natives, notwithstanding they were stout men, had no weapons adequate for defending themselves or assaulting others, their bows being too weak to be properly considered as warlike implements, yet Drake took the precaution of drawing up his men in order, while they approached, and when they stopped, the sceptre bearer began a sort of song and dance, the men accompanying him. But the women were observed to dance only, without joining in the song. In the mean time every look and gesture so fully denoted their peaceable designs, that the English admitted them into their camp, and after a repetition of their dance and song, another speech was made, the purport of which was the desire the king had of conferring his kingdom on Drake, who was accordingly crowned, had the title of Hioh given him, and was invested with all the insignia of royalty that were used in the investiture of sovereign princes in that country. He having gone through these ceremonies, took possession of the place for queen Elizabeth, and then the common people retiring, tore their flesh as before, in token of respect, a ceremony which they repeated till at last they were given to understand that it was highly disagreeable to their guests; at the same time that by proper applications they cured the wounds by which these poor creatures testified their love and submission. When these ceremonies were laid aside,

Drake takes possession of New Albion for the queen.

they still continued these visits, while Drake and some of his men, in return, went up the country, which they found fertile enough by nature at some distance from the sea shore, and full of large deer, and remarkable for a particular sort of conies*. The English found the houses of the natives like some already described to be nothing but holes dug to a convenient depth, with rafters meeting so as to form the roof at the top. The fire was made in the middle of each house, without a chimney, the smoke being suffered to issue out at the door. Rushes served these simple people instead of beds; the women wore nothing but each a petticoat of bulrushes, and the men in general went quite naked. They seemed ignorant of the useful arts of life, they took fish, but wanted not the assistance of nets, being so dextrous as to catch them in their hands whenever they swam near the shore.

Though it does not appear that the possession of this land, which was useful only to Drake by furnishing him with provisions and a resting place, could be of any great use to his country, yet he seems to have valued himself upon the acquisition, and before his departure, caused the account of the resignation of it to be engraven on a brass plate, and fixed up by way of memorial. The inhabitants greatly lamented the loss of these their guests, kept them as long as possible in their sight from the hills, and after they set sail, lighted up fires as if intended for sacrifices, which the English construed as the last token of respect they thought they could shew to such wise and beautiful strangers, who had deigned to honour them with their presence. Vanity might possibly have a share in some of these conclusions; however, when it is considered with what esteem next to veneration the Spaniards were at first received by the Americans, we may well credit, in general, the account given of the reception of the English in this hospitable country, to which the commander gave the name of New Albion, from the white cliffs that surrounded it.

They quitted this harbour on the 23d of July, and after having touched at some neighbouring islands, it was resolved in a general consultation to sail for the Moluccas, whither they directed their course on the 25th of the same month, steering westerly, without coming in sight of land, till they discovered some islands on the 30th of September in 20° north lat. from whence the inhabitants at first came to them peaceably to exchange provisions for European commodities, but at length growing insolent, Drake thought proper to give them an idea of his power by his ordnance, which, without hurting them, had the desired effect of preventing further insolence from the untutored savages. †

Sails for the Moluccas.

It was on the 3d of November that our adventurers arrived at the Moluccas, intending to touch at Teridore or Tidore: as they coasted along the island of Mutua, the viceroy of the king of Ternate paid them a visit recommending to them to make application to his master for supplies, and not to the king of Portugal, who was at enmity with him. The commander was accordingly prevailed on, and anchored on the 5th before Ternate. Three large barges with the viceroy and several of the principal nobility came out to conduct the vessel safe into harbour. The king likewise, having been presented with a velvet cloak in sign of amity, afterwards came in great state, and was received under the discharge of the cannon, the music striking up as he approached. ‡

This prince had guards who understood the use of fire-arms, though javelins, and bows and arrows were their principal weapons. He is described as a person of

* These are described as having bags under their chins which serve them to carry food to their young, with rats tails and paws like those of a mole.

† They at first brought fruits and other things of small value, and were contented with a regular exchange; but afterwards thinking slightly of the force of the English, a number of men in canoes were sent, who insolently took whatever they could lay their hands on, without giving any thing in exchange. It followed, that at last they were desired to keep away, on which they began hostilities with a shower of stones; but Drake in this instance shewed his moderation, by firing his great guns without hurting them, but the sound of which so affrighted them, that jumping into the water, they hid themselves under their canoes, for fear of these terrible engines, which indeed, might have been used for their destruction.

‡ He was so well satisfied with this mark of respect, that he invited the performers on board his own barge, in token of his approbation.

of a majestic mien and graceful aspect.—Those that attended him were dressed in cottons or callicoes, and some of them were of a venerable aged appearance. He withdrew when the ship came to an anchor, having given his subjects leave to traffic with the strangers, and promised to return within the space of two days *.

Description of the court of Java.

Drake having sent some gentlemen on shore, they were conducted to the castle †, and being introduced at court, found there near 1000 people. On each side of the outward gate there waited four old interpreters of other countries. Among the courtiers were 60 privy counsellors. When his majesty appeared on this public occasion he was dress in cloth of gold, and had his hair woven into golden ringlets; he had diamond rings on his fingers, and a gold chain round his neck. Near his chair there was a page with a fan set with sapphires, which was useful in moderating the heat of the weather, and he sat under a rich canopy, where he received the English in state, and with marks of honour and respect ‡.

On the 9th of Nov. the English quitted this harbour after having shipped between four and five tons of cloves, and sailing southward, put in at an uninhabited island which was pleasant, woody, and full of a kind of flies, which shone by night like fire. Here they put in to refit their ships which had become leaky and foul, and landing, stayed twenty-six days there to refresh themselves; where they found fruits of an excellent flavour, and a remarkable large sort of tortoises.

When the English took the Mulatto girl on board the Spanish vessel, as has been already mentioned, they also took a Negro lad, and it was on this island that they resolved to set them both on shore together, the girl not yet fifteen, being near the time of her delivery. To effect this cruel purpose, they found means to send both of them a great way up the country, and while they were far enough off, weighed anchor, and left the harbour on the 12th of December, abandoning them to their fortune, and they were never heard of more.

The ship strikes upon a rock.

In their course they fell in with a number of islands, from which just when they thought themselves disentangled, they struck on a concealed rock in the night of the 19th of January. The shock was so much the greater as the accident was unexpected. When the crew perceived their situation murmurs began to arise among them, and their commander escaped not some severe reproaches. Fletcher the chaplain in particular accused him, intimating that the men were likely to suffer for the crimes of their captain, an observation which severely hurt the latter; but he well knew this was no time to take up the matter, and therefore bore what in other circumstances would have called forth his resentment. As matters were now situated he rather strove to reconcile differences than to augment them, at the same time that he tried all means which prudence could suggest to surmount this difficulty. In the first place, as the vessel had not bulged on the rock, he lightned her by causing the guns and water-casks to be thrown overboard, and having recourse to the pump, found the water did not gain upon them. After this, he would have tried to bring her to with an anchor, but could find no place proper to fix one, as the rock rose perpendicular, and stood alone in the sea. This discovery however he was at no small pains to conceal; but at length having been stuck fast for 24 hours, he began with the rest, to lose all hopes of deliverance; on which account he gave his crew an exhortation to forgive all injuries and prepare themselves for the worst event. While they were in this situation, Fletcher administered the Sacrament to them all, and this confirmed their reconciliation. 1580

But when every one had given up the hope of escaping from this perilous situation, the wind suddenly changed, and blowing briskly from a different quarter heaved the ship off the rock, without doing her any considerable damage.

They come to Baratene.

Thus relieved, they proceeded slowly and cautiously, till they reached the island of Baratene §, where they repaired their vessels, and found the country fertile and possessed by handsome people.

Departing from thence they proceeded to the isle of Java, where they were well received by the king, who entertained Drake on shore, and gave him liberty to get what provisions they stood in need of, himself coming on board to survey the ship, which was victualled there; and had her bottom payed, to fit her for the voyage, after which the admiral departed, and was much mortified to find his company insisted on his immediate return home, while he entertained designs of a different nature.

It was now that he thought proper to shew his resentment against the chaplain: under pretence of his spiriting up the people to oppose him, he caused him to be made fast by one of his legs with a chain, and a staple knocked fast into the hatches, in the forecastle of the ship. He called all the company together, and then put a lock about one of his legs; and Drake, sitting cross-legged on a chest, and a pair of pantofles in his hand, he said, "Francis Fletcher, I do here excommunicate thee out of the church of God, and from all the benefits and graces thereof, and, I renounce thee to the devil and all his angels;" and then he charged him, upon pain of death, not once to come before the mast; for if he did, he swore he should be hanged, and Drake caused a *posey* to be written and bound about Fletcher's arm, with charge, that if he took it off, he should then be hanged; the posey was, "*Francis Fletcher, the falsest knave that liveth.*"

The people oblige him to return.

The commander, however, was obliged to comply with the desires of his people, and steering for the Cape of Good Hope, doubled it on the 15th of June, passed the line on the 12th of July, and arrived at Sierra Leona on the 22d, without experiencing those great dangers which were generally supposed to attend the navigation, and which the Portuguese thought it their interest to exaggerate. After two days stay at Sierra Leona, they once more spread their sails to favouring gales, the perils and difficulties of their undertaking being ended, and after a prosperous voyage fell in with the island of Ferrara on the 11th of September, and then proceeded for England in a direct course, all being impatient once more to behold their native country.

They entered Plymouth harbour on the 3d day of November, 1580, Drake having brought home an immense treasure, as well as gratified his own private pique, and his mistress's resentment against the Spaniards,

* However he did not keep his word, but sent his brother with an excuse. He also invited the commander on shore proposing to stay as an hostage; but Drake not chusing to go, sent others along with the king's brother, and kept the viceroy as a pledge for their safety.

† This fortress which did not appear to be of great strength, was formerly erected by the Portuguese, who settling there after murdering the king, had miscarried in their design of bringing the island under subjection.

‡ A Chinese gentlemen who reported himself to be descended from the imperial race, came on board Drake's vessel while they remained at Ternate. He said, that having been accused of some capital crime in his own country, not being able to clear himself by evidence, he was sentenced to an exile, the term of which was to be extended till he could return with some intelligence that might be honourable or advantageous to the empire. After an absence of three years, the fame of Drake had brought him from Tidore, in order to converse with one who had visited so many countries. The English commander ordered one of the company to recite twice over those occurrences which were most remarkable in the course of his voyage, and the exile thanking Heaven that he had met with so much information, departed well satisfied, in order to return to China, whither he strove in vain to persuade Drake to accompany him.

§ The island was governed by a number of rajas subject to one principal king, three of these having come on board together, by their favourable report, induced the monarch himself afterwards to honour the strangers with his presence. They found the Javans to be at once a warlike, sociable, happy people, not at all given to that pretty kind of thieving so common among the Indians in those parts; happy among themselves, and remarkably hospitable to strangers.

1585 niards, who were highly sensible of the affront, and waited but an opportunity to revenge the injury.

Drake knighted.

In token of her hearty approbation, on the 4th of April, in the following year, her majesty coming to dine on board Drake's ship, royally attended, after dinner conferred on the commander the honour of knighthood in reward of his services; though there were not wanting those that thought the breach with Spain, which would naturally follow the depredations that this adventurer had made on their Indian territories in the new world, would counterbalance all the wealth that had been acquired by this successful piracy. The Spanish writer already quoted (Lopez Vaz by name) says, "That Drake carried from the coast of Peru, 866,000 pezos of silver, equal to 866 quintals, equal to 100lb. weight each quintal, amounting to 1,139,200 ducats. He also carried away 100,000 pezoes of gold, equal to ten quintals, each quintal valued at 1500 Spanish ducats; and all this besides the treasure in the ship, which was not entered, consisting of gold, silver, pearl, precious stones, coined money, and other things of great value; he also rifled the ships from the Philippines, laden with spices, silks, velvets, and other rich merchandize, the value not known." By the above relation, the silver only at 5s. per oz. amounts to 259,800l. and gold to 48,000l. sterling. But other accounts make the value of the whole cargo brought home by the Golden Hind (for that was the name that Drake chose his ship, the Pelican, should be known by) amount to 800,000l. though that which was divided among the crew was only, 80,000l. The remainder was most likely to be disposed of at the court, and we can hardly doubt but that the queen was well recompensed for her "adventure of 1000 crowns." We have even the authority of history for an account of Queen Elizabeth's refunding a part of the plunder to the Spaniards, which could hardly have been the case if she had not been greatly benefited by this voyage. And indeed, the honour which she conferred on Drake at a time when he was not without enemies, and the people were divided in their opinions of his expedition seemed to verify what Mr. Thomas Doughty was charged so heavily for uttering, that "If they brought home gold, they should be the better welcome."

Drake who was thus honoured by his sovereign was the first captain that ever surrounded the globe, and lived to return home in safety from his expedition. The passage of Maghellan had so often been tried in vain, after the death of that unfortunate captain, that at length all men seemed to have laid aside the project *

till our navigator accomplished it, and attempted a north-west passage, which had never been the object of their search. All this contributed greatly to raise his fame, and his ship was ordered to be preserved as a memorial of the greatness of his undertaking.

Though we have thus accompanied this extraordinary man round the world, yet we cannot so far disappoint the curious reader as to leave him without a brief relation of the enterprises wherein he was afterwards engaged. As we have begun with his life, so we shall not finish our relation till that period when death, dropping the curtain, put an end to his mortal existence.

In the year 1585, our successful adventurer was employed by the queen as commander in chief on an expedition to the West Indies; wherein St. Jago, St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Augustine were taken. Two years afterwards, he was sent to Lisbon, but having had intelligence of a fleet assembling at Cadiz for the purpose of invading England, he sailed thither, and surprising the Spaniards, burned 10,000 tons of shipping and all their warlike stores, which was a heavy stroke, and severely felt by the enemy. He also fell in with, and took a rich ship on his return, called the St. Philip, which was coming from the East Indies. †

Repeated successes promoted Drake to honours. In 1588 he was advanced to be vice-admiral ‡, under Lord Effingham Howard, then high-admiral of England, who commanded the force destined to oppose the Spanish armada. Every one the least acquainted with history, knows the fate of that unwieldy armament, which was beaten back with disgrace, and the loss of some of the finest vessels, to appearance, of any at that time seen in Europe, and which had been for three years preparing in the ports of Spain for the long projected invasion of England.

Drake made vice-admiral.

Drake had his share in the honour of this victory, which however he hazarded in some measure by pursuing some of the hulks belonging to the Hans Towns, in order to gratify that desire of plunder so habitual to a man who had turned his attention chiefly to piratical enterprises §. Being intrusted to carry sights to direct the admiral, he missed him by his conduct, and yet made the most advantage of any by the success of the English arms ‖.

His conduct in the sea fight with the Spanish armada.

Thus far good fortune had attended him and his royal employer, who having a great dependance upon his abilities, a still greater on the terror of his name, and because he possessed a spirit in some measure, congenial to her own, sent him out next year as admiral of a squadron intended to place Don Antonio, a pretender to the

He undertakes an expedition to Portugal.

* A Knight of Malta called Gracca de Loaisa, with seven ships attempted to follow Maghellan's tract—his own ship returned to Spain, he passed the streights, but lost some of his vessels, and his own life—two of the vessels only reached the East Indies, where he and his men perished. The Genoese made an unsuccessful attempt of this kind in 1526. The famous Sebastian Cabot, in the Portuguese service, tried in vain to find the streights; and Americus Vesputius, from whom the continent of America received its name, had afterwards as ill success in the like undertaking. Simon de Alcasara with a strong squadron sailing with an intention to make his passage through the streight, was forced to return on account of a mutiny among his men, which put an end to his expedition.

† "Certain Jesuits (says Linoschoten a Dutchman then at Goa) came from the island of Japan, and with them three princes, being the sons of so many kings of that country, wholly apparelled like Jesuits, not one of them above the age of fifteen years, being minded by the persuasion of the Jesuits to visit Portugal, [Portugal and Spain were then both ruled by one sovereign] and from thence to go to Rome to see the Pope, thereby to procure great profit, privileges, and liberties for the people of that island. In 1584 they set sail for Portugal, and from thence travelled into Spain, where they were received with honour by the king and the Spanish nobility, and presented with many gifts—which the Jesuits kept for themselves. Out of Spain they went to see the Pope; that done, they travelled throughout Italy, where they were much honoured, and received many rich presents, by means of the great reports made of them. They returned to Madrid, where, with great honour, they took their leave of the king, who furnished them with letters of recommendation to the viceroy and all the governors of India. So they went to Lisbon, and there took shipping in 1586, and came to Goa in the ship called the St. Philip, [where both the princes and the Jesuits were received with great rejoicing] which ship, on her return to Portugal, was taken by Captain Drake, being the first that was taken coming from the East Indies, which the Portuguese took for an evil sign, because the ship bore the king's own name." It seems that bad weather having driven this vessel on her way to Goa into Mozambique, meeting with another vessel called the St. Laurence there, which was very much damaged, the former on her return put in again at Mozambique in order to take in the lading of the other ship, which was rendered unserviceable, which enabled her to make her voyage to Europe, about the usual time; and this fortunate circumstance contributed to Drake's success.

‡ He had under his command the Captains Martin Forbisher, Knolles, and other experienced officers.

§ In those of a more regular nature he was generally rather impatient of superiority, and not a very agreeable colleague. His deportment on this occasion however, did him more honour as appears from a letter to the lord treasurer, in which he observes, "That though the strength of the enemy outwent report, yet the chearfulness and courage which the lord admiral expressed, gave all who had the honour to serve under him assurance of victory."

‖ The admiral, by means of this misconduct of Drake, mistaking the lights of the Spanish commander for his, got into the middle of the enemy's fleet, in the night, from whence he happily escaped undiscovered. Drake afterwards acquired both honour and money by taking a large galleon commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, who was supposed to have planned the invasion, who set him at first at defiance, but as soon as he heard his name surrendered to him upon his summons. In this ship besides valuable goods he found 50,000 ducats, which well rewarded him for his trouble.

the crown of Portugal, on the throne of that kingdom. The following is Rapin's account of that expedition.

"As the queen, (says the historian) was extremely frugal, and an undertaking against Spain could not but be very expensive, she so ordered it, that Drake and Norris took upon them to be at the charge, in hopes of making themselves amends by the booty they should meet with. So she only found them six ships of war, with a present of 60,000l. with leave to raise soldiers and sailors for the expedition. Drake had already tried the Spaniards in America, and in the channel, and was convinced they were more formidable in common opinion than in reality; wherefore joining with Sir John Norris, and some other private persons, they equipped a fleet, and embarked 11,000 soldiers, and 1500 marines. The Hollanders having also added some ships, the fleet consisted, according to Stow, of 146 sail, transports and victuallers included. Drake commanded at sea, and Norris was general of the land forces. They took with them Don Antonio, who hoped, by the assistance of the English, to be put in possession of his kingdom, where he pretended to have many friends.

"They sailed from Plymouth on the 18th of April, and soon after arrived at the Groyne, where landing their troops, they assaulted the lower town, and carried it by storm; but Norris having advice that the Conde de Andrada was approaching with a body of troops to relieve the place, suddenly raised the siege to march against him; and overtaking him, slew 3000 of his men. This done, he burnt several villages; and without returning to the siege, reembarked his troops, their principal design being against Portugal.

"Whilst they were sailing towards the coasts of that kingdom, they were joined by the earl of Essex, with some ships he had armed at his own charge, unknown to the queen. Some days after, they arrived at Panicha, a little town in Portugal, and, taking it, restored it to Don Antonio; from thence Norris marched to Lisbon, Sir Francis Drake promising to follow with the fleet up the Tagus. The army proceeded 40 miles without opposition; and encamping before Lisbon, took the suburbs of St. Catharine; but, as Drake performed not his promise, and the army wanted cannon and ammunition, it was resolved in a council of war to retire. This resolution was taken, because there was no appearance that the Portuguese were inclined to revolt, as Don Antonio had expected; and because there was no news of the succours he had boasted of from the king of Morocco. The army marching towards the mouth of the Tagus, met Sir Francis Drake, who had taken the town of Cascaes, and excused himself upon the impossibility of performing his promise; some days after the castle of Cascaes surrendering, it was blown up, and to make themselves amends for the charges of the expedition, the English seized sixty vessels laden with corn, and all manner of naval stores (to equip a new fleet against England) belonging to the Hans towns. Then they went and took Vigo, which was abandoned by the inhabitants, and firing the town returned to England."

The fleet returns without effecting the design for which it was sent out.

This expedition (it is added) did some damage to the king of Spain, but was of no benefit to Elizabeth; and the booty was not sufficient to pay for equipping the fleet; though Camden says they brought home 150 pieces of cannon and a great booty. Above 6,000 men perished in this expedition.

Sir Francis Drake's sun of glory appeared at this time to have been on the decline. Norris, the general of the land forces, made a heavy complaint against him, alledging that to his conduct alone the ill success of the enterprise was owing. Yet Hawkins and Drake seeming resolved not to abandon their design of distressing Spain, and enriching themselves as long as there was an opportunity, procured 26 of the queen's ships, which were equipped by private adventurers. From an armament so considerable, great matters were expected; but the commanders seemed to have forgotten that such a fleet could not be fitted out with as much secrecy as three or four vessels, nor proceed with so much expedition. The Spaniards received intelligence of their equipment; they heard their destination was to the West Indies, and found the means, by threatening a second invasion to get the ships detained till the 28th of August, before which time the plate fleet had arrived in safety, one ship only excepted, which had sprung her mast. The queen communicated these unwelcome tidings to the adventurers, advising them before they pursued their principal undertaking to attack Puerto Rico, by which means they might take the galleon, as they had lost all hopes of intercepting the flota. 1589

Another useless expedition.

Nor did their main design succeed according to their expectations, Sir Francis Drake pitching on a plan foreign from that of the undertaking. This plan was to make an attack upon the Canaries in their way. It was conceived crudely, and failed upon the trial. And, to add to the misfortune of this miscarriage, one of the English ships was taken by some of the Spanish frigates, whereby the principal circumstances of the intended attack were discovered: the enemy being forewarned, took care to prepare for their reception. It was on the 12th of November that the fleet came before Puerto Rico*, and the officers having been convened in a council of war, an assault on the shipping in the harbour was resolved upon. This had not the desired effect; no impression was made upon the fortifications of the place, and the English at last abandoned their design. They afterwards came to Rio de la Hacha, where they burned the town, and made some other descents upon the coast. At length arriving at the desired place, they landed their soldiers, who were to go across the isthmus to Panama, but after enduring a great deal of toil and fatigue, they came back without having been able to effect their purpose." And now, (says Fuller) began the discontent of Sir Francis Drake to feed upon him. He conceived that expectation of a mercileſs usurer, computing each day since his departure, exacted an interest and return of honour and profit proportionable to his great preparation, and transcending his former atchievements. He saw that all the good which he had done in his voyage, consisted in the evil he had done the Spaniards afar off, whereof he could present but small visible fruits in England. These apprehensions accompanying, if not causing, the disease of the flux, wrought his sudden death; and sickness did not so much untie his cloaths, as sorrow did rend at once the robe of his mortality asunder. He lived by the sea, died on it, and was buried in it."—"And thus (adds he) we see how great spirits having mounted to the highest pitch of performance, afterwards strain and break their credit in striving to go beyond it."—This account of the death of Sir Francis Drake bears the marks of authenticity. Disappointments of such a nature are not easy to be endured by men used to a series of successes, and borne up on the wings of popular applause. The commander, of whom we are writing, had great perseverance and fortitude in danger; but it will be easily perceived that this character was not without its defects.—Drake, was a man of great assiduity and industry, calculated not only to plan, but also to execute; but both the plan and execution must be solely intrusted to him, or small hopes were to be formed upon his endeavours for success. He was not, (as he himself declared) a man of *learning*; but all the world must own

Sir Francis Drake's death.

Observations on his character.

* Sir John Hawkins, had been seized with a disorder which proved fatal to him.—And on the very evening when that commander died, while the officers were at supper, a cannon-ball entered the cabin, which killed Sir Nicholas Clifford wounded two other gentlemen, (one mortally) and shot away the stool on which Sir Francis Drake sate, just as he was drinking success to the attack, which was ordered to be made the next day.

1596

own that he was a man of abilities. In the art of navigation at those times he had not his equal; we cannot find among the navigators of more modern date, in many respects any that can be considered as his *superior*. He was the first man that ever completed the circumnavigation of the globe, and returned with safety and honour to his own country. He passed the Streights of Maghellan in less time than any other commander had ever done. He sailed upon an unknown sea, guided by his own judgment more than any other help, as his countrymen being ignorant of the navigation in those parts, he could not have the benefit of sea-charts, nor the guidance of any thing but the compass, whose variation was one of the wonders of the age. Yet, amidst all these difficulties, he still proceeded, surmounted every obstacle, and stands upon record as one of the most able mariners that ever plowed the ocean.

We are sorry to say that here his praise must end. As impartiality guides our pen, we cannot give the tribute of applause to actions which are rather deserving of censure. The person in question, whatever some may have said or wrote of him, in the course of the voyage, most celebrated by his panegyrists, acted in a manner which, however it might be the fashion of the times, certainly deserved to be reprobated as cruel and unjust. Without a commission, without a war declared, he seized on the treasures of the king of Spain; and what was infinitely more reproachable, after surprising men asleep or unprepared, he pillaged private property, and became the terror of numbers of harmless people who entertained no ideas of the length to which his avarice would carry him, or the consequences which they were to apprehend from his mistress's resentment.

It would be absurd to deny this adventurer one jot of his merit as a naval commander—but this merit appeared only when he stood alone—His attachment to self-interest, joined to his impatience of controll, generally rendered abortive all schemes he was embarked in, when he had not the sole command; of which there was a striking instance in the miscarriage at Lisbon, wherein he was so justly complained of by Sir John Norris.

On the whole, however, catching the spirit and manners of those days, and being favoured by his sovereign, Sir Francis Drake maintained his reputation, and has been considered as a pattern to succeeding ages.

THE VOYAGES OF CAPTAIN THOMAS CAVENDISH,

The Second English Circumnavigator.

1586

Account of Captain Cavendish's family.

WE are not so much at a loss to give an account of Captain Cavendish [or Candish as he is called by some] as we have been to trace the family of other illustrious navigators mentioned in this work.——This gentleman was of an antient family, seated in Suffolk, and could trace his descent to the time of William the Conqueror.—His father left him in his minority, heir to three manors; but of this circumstance he made little advantage, being addicted to the extravagancies of the times, he presently ran out his estate, and finding himself reduced to unexpected necessities, determined to have recourse to the chance of the seas in order to mend his shattered fortune. This was the æra of adventure, and he took the advantage of it accordingly.

His connexion with Sir Walter Raleigh.

Mr. Cavendish was first concerned in a voyage that Sir Walter Raleigh projected to the New World; from which however the former reaped but little advantage, the experience excepted of what might be done in those parts to annoy the Spaniards, with whom the English were now at war. Having his mind bent upon embarking on an expedition of his own, and being encouraged by the late example of Sir Francis Drake, Mr. Cavendish, raising a sum of money upon his estate, built two ships and a bark at Harwich, which he proposed to employ on an expedition to the Spanish settlements in America.

He fits out vessels on his own account.

Having got all things in readiness with as much secrecy as the nature of such a business would admit, he embarked at Plymouth on Thursday the 21st of July in the year 1586, having with him, the Desire, a ship of 120 tons, the Content of 60, and a bark called the Hugh Gallant of 40 tons, taking on board various articles for trade, purchasing for the present only a small quantity of provisions, and privately taking in arms and ammunition, the better to cover his design, nor did any man on board know whither he was going, till after the embarkation*.

Embarks at Plymouth.

July the 26th, Captain Cavendish found himself 45 leagues from Cape Finisterre, where their little fleet fell in with five sail of Biscayners, with whom they engaged three hours, till night parted the combatants. They made the Canaries, on the first day of August, on the 15th were 50 leagues off Cape Verd, and on the 26th came into harbour at Sierra Leona, having ran by account 930 leagues in 36 days.

The fleet arrives at Sierra Leona.

Hearing by a Negro that came on board them, that there was a Portuguese ship within their harbour, the admiral sent the Hugh Gallant, which however could not get above 4 leagues up for want of a pilot, finding the navigation to be very dangerous.

This design thus laid aside, upon the day following being Sunday, several of the crew were sent on shore, who mixed among the Negros, and joined in their sports, with a view to gain intelligence, and as they were returning descried a Portuguese that had hidden himself among the bushes, whom they took and brought on board. By him they learned that the ship lay at the town, the passage to which by water he affirmed to be very dangerous. But the next day the captain landing with 70 men, they marched up thither, and burned two or three houses, taking what little they could find, while the inhabitants fled from them; but on the retreat of the English kept them in view, and discharged poisoned arrows at them from their woods and hiding places, by which three or four of the men were hurt, but at that time none died of their wounds.—A number of the crew afterwards landed at the watering place, and remained uninterrupted while they were washing their linen, but the next day as they were expected by the enemy, an ambush of Negros was laid for them, which was luckily discovered by the carpenter of the captain's ship—Yet they could not be so quick in returning to their ships but that several of them were again wounded with arrows, one of whom being shot in the thigh, breaking the weapon, and leaving the head of it behind, which he would not discover to the surgeon for fear of its being cut out; as the shaft was envenomed, he swelled, and died the next morning.—Notwithstanding this attack, many of the English went on shore again on the third day, and brought off fruits, and also caught plenty of fish, without meeting with any misadventure.

Skirmishes with the inhabitants.

* At first he raised but half his compliment of men, taking the rest on board at Plymouth. The vessel was built at Harwich, and he had the sole management of the whole preparation.

1586 ture. On the 6th they left Sierra Leona, ſteered for the Cape Verd Iſles, and anchoring about two miles off one of them about five the ſame evening, landed there. Upon this iſland they found there was a town whither the negros ſometimes came, but found no proviſion there. The reſt of the iſland appeared like one continued wood, and the ſpot on which the houſes ſtood was ſurrounded with plantain trees. Leaving this place on the 10th, they ſailed towards Braſil, and dropped their anchor between St. Sebaſtian and the main land on the firſt of November; there they remained about three weeks employing themſelves in building their pinnace; during this interval a canoe bound from Rio Janeiro to St. Vincent came in their way. There were on board ſix ſlaves and one Portugueſe, who knowing Chriſtopher Hare, maſter of the admiral's ſhip, having ſeen him in the Minion at St. Vincent, they let him proceed thither in hopes to have been viſited by an Engliſhman who reſided there, and to have had ſome proviſions ſent them. But the Portugueſe whom they charged with a letter to him, neither returning nor ſending any meſſage to them, they ſet ſail from this place on the 23d, and made the coaſt of America on the 16th of December, in lat. 47 degrees 20 m. ſouth bearing about ſix leagues to the weſtward.

Cavendiſh arrives at Port Deſire.

Still coaſting along ſhore, the next day they entered a harbour, to which they gave the name of Port Deſire. Here they ſaw two ſmall iſlands, on which were a vaſt nuimber of ſeals.* They found alſo plenty of fowls, ſome of which burrowed like rabbits in the ground, and were not able to fly, having on their pinions nothing but down, and feeding on fiſh, which they caught in the ſea.

As the harbour was convenient for making neceſſary repairs in their veſſels, the admiral reſolved to remain there ſome time for that purpoſe. While they were thus reſting in ſecurity, a man and a boy that went on ſhore were attacked and grievouſly wounded by a diſcharge of Indian arrows, which were made of canes headed with flint-ſtones; but the aſſailants, though amounting to about ſixty in number, fled when the admiral came up with about 20 men.†

Leaving Port Deſire on the 28th of December, they touched at an iſland three leagues off, where they ſalted the penguins which they had taken, and after falling in with an unknown rock, ſtood for the ſtreights of Maghellan, anchoring under a cape, which Cavendiſh lays down in 52° 45′ ſouth, till a great tempeſt was over, which rendered it dangerous for them to enter thoſe ſtreights. In the paſſage through, they took a Spaniard named Hernando, after which they anchored off Penguin Iſland, on the 8th day. On the 9th proceeding on their courſe SSW. they came to King Philip's city, which had been built by the Spaniards, which Mr. Prettie ſays had four forts, and every fort had in it one caſt piece that was buried in the ground, the carriages being ſtanding; Cavendiſh's men, however, digging for them, recovered them all, to their no ſmall ſatisfaction.

A Spaniard made priſoner.

Account of a Spaniſh town intended to command the ſtreights.

"They had contrived their city very well, ſays our author, and had ſeated it in the beſt place of the ſtreights for wood and water, they had built up their churches by themſelves; they had laws very ſevere among them, for they had erected a gibbet, whereon they had done execution on ſome of their company. It ſeemed unto us, that their whole living for a great ſpace was altogether upon muſcles and limpets; for there was not any thing elſe to be had, except ſome deer which came out of the mountains, down to the freſh rivers to drink. Theſe Spaniards came to fortify the ſtreights, to the end that no nation ſhould have paſſage through into the South Sea, ſaving their own only; but as it appeared, it was not God's will ſo to have it; for during the time that they were there, which was two years at leaſt, they could never have any thing to grow, or in any way proſper; and on the other ſide, the Indians often preyed upon them, until their victuals grew ſo ſhort, (their ſtore being ſpent which they had brought with them out of Spain, and having no means to renew the ſame) that they died like dogs in their houſes, and in their clothes, wherein we found ſome of them ſtill, at our coming, until that, in the end, the town being wonderfully tainted with the ſmell and ſavour of the dead people, the reſt which remained alive were driven to bury ſuch things as they had there in their town, and ſo to forſake the town, and to go along the ſea ſide to ſeek their victuals, to preſerve them from ſtarving, taking nothing with them, but every man his harquebuſs, and his furniture, that was able to do it, (for ſome of them were not able to carry them for weakneſs) and ſo lived, for the ſpace of a year and more, on roots, leaves, and ſometimes a fowl which they might kill with their piece. To conclude, they ſet forwards, determined to travel towards the river of Plate, there being only 23 perſons left alive, whereof two of them were women, which were the remainder of 400. In this place we watered and wooded well and quietly. Our general named this town Port Famine: it ſtandeth in 53° by obſervation to the ſouthward."

From hence the admiral ſailed to Cape Froward, and ſo continued his courſe. On the 22d he went with the ſhip's boat a league up a river on the banks of which in a plain country the Engliſh diſcovered certain ſavages who fed on raw fleſh, and whom, by their manners they judged to be canibals; and the writer of the voyage aſſerts "that they had lately preyed upon ſome of the Spaniards before mentioned. Theſe people endeavoured to draw the Engliſh farther up the river; but inſtead of being ſo deluded the admiral gave orders to fire upon them, in conſequence of which ſeveral of the ſavages were killed; and the fleet departing, came afterwards to the river St. Jerome, and then proceeded through the ſtreights, finding harbours at the end of every mile or two for 90 leagues, which he computed to be the length of the whole paſſage.

The fleet enters the South Seas.

Having effected their purpoſe thus far, they entered the South Sea, on the 24th of February (after being detained for a long time by bad weather and contrary winds). And now they began to entertain hopes of a more agreeable voyage, when on the firſt day of March, in lat. 49° 38′ ſouth, and 45 leagues from land, the Hugh Gallant was ſeparated from the other ſhips in a ſtorm, which continued till the 4th day, in the courſe of which time that veſſel proving leaky, was in danger of being loſt and it was not till

* Theſe ſeals, ſays Mr. Prettie, (who wrote an account of the voyage) are of a wonderful bigneſs, huge and monſtrous of ſhape; and for the fore part of their bodies, cannot be compared to any thing better than to a lion; their head, neck and fore part of their bodies, are full of rough hair, their feet are in the manner of a fin, and in form like unto a man's hand; they breed and caſt every month, giving their young milk, yet continually get they their living in the ſea, and live altogether upon fiſh; their young are extraordinary good meat, and being boiled or roaſted are hardly to be known from lamb or mutton. The old ones are of ſuch bigneſs and force, that it is as much as four men are able to do to kill one of them with great ſtaves; and he muſt be beaten down with ſtriking on the head of him, for his body is of that bigneſs that four men could never kill him, but only on the head; for being ſhot through the body with a harquebuſs, or a muſquet, yet he will go his way into the ſea, and never care for it at the preſent.

† Mr. Prettie deſcribing them, ſays "They are as wild as ever was a buck or any wild beaſt, for we followed them, and they ran from us, *as if* WE *had been the wildeſt things in the world.* We took the meaſure of their feet, and it was 18 inches long. Their cuſtom is when any of them die, to bring him or them to the cliffs by the ſea-ſide, and upon the top of them they bury them, and in their graves are buried with them their bows and arrows and all their jewels which they had in their life time, which are fine ſhells that they find by the ſea-ſide, which they cut and ſquare after an artificial manner; and all are laid under their heads. The grave is made with large ſtones of great length and bigneſs, being ſet all along full of the dead man's darts which he uſed when he was living: and they colour both their darts and their graves of a red colour, which they uſe in colouring themſelves.

1587 till the 15th of March that running in between St. Mary and the main, ſhe met with her conſorts, who had rid out the ſtorm at the iſland of Mocha, in 38° ſouth lat. where the Indians engaged ſome of the crew that landed for refreſhment, taking them for Spaniards, whom they accounted their mortal enemies.

Theſe Indians are deſcribed as fierce and warlike, coming from a place called Aranco, which they had defended from the Spaniſh power, though the place being reported to be full of gold was ſufficient to bring them perpetually into jeopardy from a cruel and rapacious enemy.

They touch at St. Mary's. Coming to the weſt ſide of St. Mary's iſland the admiral went on ſhore on the 16th at the head of between 70 and 80 men, who were met by the Indians headed by two of their chiefs. The Natives here

Account of the Indians there. were Chriſtians and had been brought into the greateſt ſlavery by the Spaniards who had however converted them to the Chriſtian faith. They conducted the Engliſh to a place where their maſters had erected a church, about which ſtood ſome ſtorehouſes full of ready threſhed wheat and barley, as good as any in Europe. Potatoes were likewiſe made up ready in order in the ſame manner. All theſe things were kept untouched till the Spaniards ſhould come for their tribute, who kept theſe people in ſuch ſtrict ſubjection, that though they had ſwine and poultry in plenty, yet they durſt not eat a pig or a hen themſelves. The Engliſh, taking advantage of theſe peoples idea, that they were ſubjects of the king of Spain, got themſelves plentifully ſupplied with proviſions here; after which they invited the two chiefs and feaſted them on board the admiral's veſſel, when they began to diſcover their miſtake, but ſeemed by no means to diſlike the ſtrangers for not being Spaniards. On the contrary, they endeavoured, as it was ſuppoſed, to make them underſtand by ſigns, that there was abundance of gold to be found in Aranco, being ſenſible that to point out one place where that metal was to be had, was the greateſt mark they could give of their friendſhip to any of the natives of Europe.

Whether the admiral did or did not well underſtand them, or whether he was unwilling from other motives to undertake an expedition to Aranco, it appears that he paid no regard to this intelligence but departed from this iſland on the 15th day of the month, and on the 30th came to the bay of Quintero which he computed to lie in 33° 50′ ſouth.

Bay of Quintero. Soon after the ſhips had come to an anchor in this bay, a man who kept cattle on an hill which commanded the road, who was aſleep when the veſſels came in, awaking preſently afterwards, mounted a horſe and riding off at full ſpeed, alarmed the country. In conſequence of this, three horſemen came down ſoon after the Engliſh had landed, and pretended to treat with two of them by means of Hernando the Spaniard, who was ſent to ſpeak to them. As they would not admit Cavendiſh's men to come near them, ſo the admiral was obliged to take what paſſed upon his report. He ſaid, that the reſult of the converſation was, that the Engliſh ſhould be furniſhed with proviſions; but being ſent again to bring this treaty to a concluſion, and left alone with his

The Spaniard eſcapes. countrymen, he got on horſeback behind one of them and rode up into the country: on this, the admiral finding that he had been deceived in this man, who had promiſed him very fair, ordered the crews to take in water, and reſolved to ſend in ſearch of the Spaniſh town, with a view to deſtroy it.

An expedition up the country. "The next day (ſays my author) Captain Havers accordingly went up into the country, on the 31ſt of March, with 50 or 60 men, with their ſhot and furniture with them, and they travelled ſeven or eight miles into the land: and as they were marching along, they eſpied a number of herds of cattle, of kine and bullocks, which were wonderfully wild: they ſaw alſo great plenty of horſes, mares, and colts, which were very wild and unhandled: there was alſo great ſtore of hares and conies, and of partridges, and other wild fowls. The country was very fruitful, with fair freſh rivers all along, full of wild fowls of all ſorts. They travelled ſo far, that they could go no farther for the monſtrous high mountains; they reſted themſelves at a very fair freſh river, running in, and along fair low meadows, at the foot of the mountains, where every man drank of the river and refreſhed himſelf: having ſo done they returned to their ſhips the likelieſt way they thought their [the Spaniards] town would be.

"So they travelled all the day long, not ſeeing any man, but they met with many wild dogs; yet there were 200 horſemen abroad that ſame day, by means of the Spaniard whom they had taken from them the day before, who had told them that their force was but ſmall, and that they were wonderfully weak; and though they did eſpy them that day, yet durſt they not give the onſet upon them, for they marched along in array, and obſerved good order, whereby they ſeemed a greater number than they were, until they came unto their ſhips that night again.

"The next day being the firſt of April, 1587, their men went on ſhore to fill water at a pit which was a quarter of a mile from the waterſide: and, being hard at their buſineſs, were in no readineſs, mean while, there came pouring down from the hills almoſt two hundred horſemen, and before our people could return to the rocks from the watering place, twelve of them were cut off, part killed, and part taken priſoners; the reſt were reſcued by the ſoldiers who came from the rocks to meet with them; for though only fifteen of them had any weapons on ſhore yet they made the enemy retire in the end, with the loſs of twenty-four of their men, after they had ſkirmiſhed with them for an hour." The Engliſh afterwards continuing at anchor, ſupplied themſelves with wood and water, and then departed out of the bay on the 5th of March, and alſo took a number of penguins on a little iſland at about a league diſtant. Having ſtocked themſelves with theſe birds they ſailed to a place called Morro Moreno, in 23° 30′ ſouth lat. where they found a convenient harbour.

At this place the admiral went on ſhore with 30 men, and the Indians, who were a peaceable ſet of people, came down with proviſions to meet them. Theſe people lived in a moſt ſimple manner, their houſes conſiſting only of a few ſticks laid acroſs, ſtanding upon others that were forked, and ſtuck in the ground, with boughs laid over them by way of covering. Their food was chiefly raw fiſh, which they often kept till it ſtunk. At the death of any one, they were accuſtomed to bury his bow and arrows with him. Their boats, like ſome we have before deſcribed, were made of ſeal ſkins blown up with wind, which ſerved them for the purpoſe of fiſhing.

They take a ſhip of 100 tons burthen. A ſmall bark coming out of Arica Road, was taken by the pinnace on the 23d. They alſo laid aboard a ſhip of 100 tons, but found in her neither men nor goods. In the mean time the fort fired upon them, and the whole power of the place being aſſembled, the Content ſtaying 14 leagues behind, to ſeize on ſome wine, Cavendiſh did not think proper to attack the town.

A flag of truce was afterwards ſent, to know of the Spaniards whether they would redeem their great ſhip; but they refuſed to enter into any treaty of ranſom or exchange, according to poſitive orders which they had received for that purpoſe from the viceroy at Lima.

A ſail coming from the ſouthward, the admiral ſent his pinnace and boats to take her, but ſignals being made from the town, this bark on board of which were ſome friars, was run on ſhore, and moſt of her cargo taken out before the Engliſh could come up with her. At length they took her and ſunk her and ſet the great ſhip on fire, and not being able farther to annoy the Spaniards, they departed from the harbour.

In their way they took another ſmall bark, on board which was one George, a Greek pilot, well

1587 acquainted with the coasts of Chili. They found also three Spaniards and a Fleming, all of whom had been sworn to throw overboard some letters of advice which they were carrying to Lima, in case of meeting with Cavendish. This they accordingly performed; but at last by the force of torture were obliged to confess their errand *.

The fleet came next to a bay near which there were three little towns. Here some of the crew landed, and plundered certain houses, in which they found bread, wine, poultry and figs; but the sea ran too high for them to land at the best of these towns, so they sailed from thence, having left the Content, which was the vice-admiral, at the island of Seals; and on the 10th of May the Hugh Gallant lost sight of the admiral's ship, which former vessel the next day put into a place where they found a river, and going on shore to take in water, luckily for them, as they were in want of provisions, they found near 500 bags of meal, of which they took what they thought proper for an immediate supply, and after experiencing some trouble before they could regain their boat, having at length happily got on board, they left this place on the 14th in the morning, and afterwards the Hugh Gallant, with only 16 men, took a large vessel that came from Guianil, of 300 tons burden, and manned with 24 mariners. The English took on board a Negro called Emanuel, and a pilot of the name of Gonsalvo de Ribas. Timber and provisions were the ship's lading, which they left leaky, after having taken away the foresail, besides what else they wanted, and sunk her boat. The fleet joined again on the 17th of May, when it appeared that the ship from which they had been separated, had taken two prizes, one laden with meal and marmalade, and the other with these articles, and a thousand hens, "besides one of these ships (says the voyager) was worth 20,000l. had it been in England, or in any other port of Christendom, where we could have sold it. We filled all our ships with as much as we could of these goods, burning the rest, and the ships [*their* ships] also, and set the men and women that were not killed ashore.

They find a seasonable relief.

Arrive at Paita.

After this the fleet came to Paita, where they anchored on the 20th day of the month.—There the admiral landing at the head of about 70 men, had some skirmishes with the townsmen, "At last, (says my author) the English drove them all to the top of a hill over the town, except a few slaves, and some others of the meaner sort, who were commanded by the governor to stay below at a place which was building for a fort, having with them a bloody ensign, and being in number about 100 men. Now, as we were rowing between the ships and the shore, our gunner shot off a great piece out of one of the barks, and the shot fell among them, and made them to fly from the unfinished fort as fast as they could run; but having got upon the hill, they, in their turn, shot among us with their small shot. After we were landed, and had taken the town, we ran upon them, and chaced them so fiercely for the space of an hour, that we drove them in the end away by force; and being got up the hill, we found where they had hid what they brought out of the town. We also found the quantity of 25lb. weight of silver, in pieces of eight, and abundance of household goods, and storehouses full of all kinds of wares. But our general would not suffer the men to carry too much cloth or apparel away, because they should not clog themselves with burdens; for he knew not whether our enemies were provided with fire arms, according to the number of their men, for they were five men to one of us, and we had an English mile and a half to our ships. Being come down in safety to the town, which was very well built, and kept very clean in every street, with a town house or guild-hall in the midst of it, and had to the number of two or three hundred houses at least in it, we set it on fire, and burnt it to the ground, and goods to the value of about five or six thousand pounds.—There was also a bark riding at anchor in the road, which we burnt and departed, directing our course to the island of Puna: On the 25th we arrived at that island, where is a very good harbour. There we found a great ship of 250 tons riding at anchor, with all her furniture which was ready to be hauled on ground, for there is a special place for that purpose. We sunk it, and went on shore, where the lord of the island dwelt, which was by the water-side, exceedingly well contrived with many singular good rooms and chambers in it, and out of every chamber was framed a gallery, with a stately prospect towards the sea on one side, and into the island on the other; with a magnificent hall below, and a very great storehouse at the end of the hall, which was filled with pitch and bast to make cables with; for the most part of the cables of the South sea were made upon that island. This great Cacique obliged all the Indians to work and trudge for him; he is an Indian born, but is married to a beautiful woman who is a Spaniard, by reason of his pleasant habitation, and his great wealth. And this Spanish woman his wife, is honoured as queen of the whole island, and never walketh upon the ground on foot, but accounteth it too base a thing for her: But when her pleasure is to take the air, or go abroad, she is always carried upon a sedan, [a sort of palanquin] upon four mens shoulders, with a veil or canopy over her, to shade her from the sun and the wind, having her gentlewoman still attending about her, with a great troop of the best men in the island with her.

They burn the town.

Their arrival at Puna.

"Both she and the lord of the island (with all the Indians in the town, were nearly fled out of the island before we could get to an anchor, by reason we were becalmed before we could get in, [they] were gone over the main land, carrying with them 100,000 crowns, which we knew by a captain of the island, an Indian, whom we had taken at sea, as we were coming into the road, being in a balsa or canoe, for a spy to see what we were.—On the 25th (adds he) our general himself, with certain shot and some targeteers, went over to the main unto the place where this Indian captain told us the Cacique, who was lord of all the island, was gone, and had carried all his treasure with him: But at our coming to the place where we went to land, we found newly arrived three or four great balsas, laden with plantains, bags of meal, and many other kinds of victuals. Our general marvelled what they were, and what they meant, asking the Indian guide, and commanding him to speak the truth upon his life. Being then bound fast, he answered, being much abashed [surprised] as well as our company were, that he neither knew from whence they should come, nor who they should be; for never a man was in either of the balsas: Yet he told our general before, that it was an easy matter to take the said Cacique and all his treasure, and that there were but three or four houses standing in a desart place, and no resistance:—and that if he found it not so, he might hang him.——Again, being demanded upon his life, to speak what he thought those balsas should be? He answered that he could not say what they were, nor from whence they should come, except it was to carry fifty soldiers, who he did hear were to go to a place called Guiaquil, which was about six leagues from the island, where two or three of the king's ships were on the stocks in building, and where there were continually an hundred soldiers in garrison, who had heard of us, and had sent for sixty more for fear of our burning the ships and the town.

"Our general, not any whit discouraged either at the sight of the balsas unlooked for, or at the hearing of the sixty soldiers, not until then spoken of, bravely ani-

* Though they threatened the Fleming, who was an old man, with death, and even put a rope round his neck, and began to hoist him up, yet he continued firm, dreading death itself less than perjury. Thus is this man honoured by the account of his enemies.

1587 animating his company to the exploit, went preſently forward, [it] being in the night, in a moſt deſart path through the woods, until he came to the place, where, as it ſeemed, they had kept watch either at the water-ſide, or at the houſe, or at both, and were newly gone out of the houſes, having ſo ſhort warning that they left their meat both boiling and roaſting at the fire, and were fled with their treaſure, or elſe [had] buried it where it could not be found. Our company took hens, and ſuch things as they thought good, and came away."

Cavendiſh's people afterwards went in the ſhip's boat to an iſland adjoining, whither the hangings and furniture of the Chriſtian Cacique's houſe were conveyed. There they burned a church, and took away the bells, and were afterwards attacked (on the 2d of June) by an hundred Spaniſh ſoldiers, with whom they ſkirmiſhed, according to their own account, killing 46 of the Spaniards, with the loſs of only 12 Engliſhmen. In the end, the latter ſet fire to the town, deſtroyed a number of the gardens and orchards, burned four ſhips, and departed.

They then ſailed towards Anguatulco, and took a new ſhip of 120 tons in their way, on board of which they found and made priſoner Michael Sanctus, a native of Marſeilles, one of the beſt coaſters in thoſe parts. At Anguatulco they landed, and burned the town and cuſtom-houſe, with a great deal of public and private property.

Arriving on the 24th at the haven called de Natividad, Michael Sanctus informed the Engliſh there would be a pinnace, but before they came thither ſhe was gone out on the pearl fiſhery. However, Cavendiſh's people took there a Mulatto, who was ſent with advice of their arrival, whoſe horſe they killed. They left him, but took his letters, ſet fire to two new ſhips, each of 100 tons burthen, which were building there, and ſo returned to their ſhipping.

The fleet afterwards touched at St. Jago, and came to a little bay called Malacca, a league to the weſtward of Port Natividad, and on the 9th day of the month, having come into the bay of Chacalla, Captain Havers going up the country with forty people, took three men with their wives and families; the women the Engliſh obliged to fetch them plantains, pine-apples, lemons, and oranges, and other fruits of the country, and afterwards ſent away their huſbands, keeping only one Diego a Portugueſe, and Sembrano, a Spaniſh carpenter.

Thus they proceeded to the road of Maſcatlan, and from thence to an iſland about three miles from that road, where they trimmed and refitted their ſhips, and digging in a ſandy ſoil, found water at the depth of three feet. Afterwards they ſailed for Cape St. Lucar, on the weſt ſide of California, which they fell in with on the 14th, where they found a bay, called by the Spaniards, Aguada Secara. They watered in a river which they found there, and kept off and on the cape with weſterly winds.

"The 4th of November, (ſays my author) beating up and down upon the head-land of California in 23 degrees 40 minutes to the northward, between ſeven and eight o'clock in the morning, one of the company of our admiral, who was the trumpeter of the ſhip, going up unto the top, eſpied a ſail bearing in from the ſea with the cape; whereupon he cried, with no ſmall joy to himſelf and all the company, A ſail, a ſail! With which chearful words, the maſter of the ſhip, and divers others of the company, went alſo up to the main-top, who perceiving his ſpeech to be very true, gave information unto our general of this happy news, who was no leſs glad than the cauſe required; whereupon he gave in charge preſently unto the whole company, to put all things in readineſs; which being performed, he gave them chace for three or four hours, ſtanding with our beſt advantage, and working for the wind; in the afternoon we got up to them, giving them a broad-ſide with our great ordnance, and a volley of ſmall ſhot, and preſently laid the ſhip aboard, whereof the king of Spain was owner, which was admiral of the South Sea, called St. Anna, and thought to be 700 tons in burthen. Now, as we were ready on the ſhip's ſide to enter her, there not being above fifty or ſixty men at moſt in our ſhip, we perceived that the captain of the Santa Anna had made ſights fore and aft, and laid their ſails cloſe on their poop, their mid-ſhip, with their forecaſtle, and not one man to be ſeen, they ſtanding ſo cloſe under their ſights with lances, javelins, rapiers, targets, and an innumerable quantity of large ſtones, which they threw overboard upon our heads, and into our ſhips ſo faſt, and being ſo many of them, that they put us off the ſhip again, with the loſs of two of our men who were ſlain, and four or five wounded. But for all this, we now trimmed our ſails, and fitted every man his furniture and gave them a freſh encounter with our great ordnance, and alſo with our ſmall ſhot, raking them through and through, to the killing and wounding of many of their men. Their captain, ſtill like a valiant man, with his company ſtood very ſtoutly unto his cloſe ſights, not yielding as yet. Our general, encouraging his men afreſh, with the whole noiſe of trumpets gave them the other encounter with our great ordnance, and all our ſmall ſhot, to the great diſcouragement of our enemies, raking them through in divers places, killing and wounding many of their men. They being thus diſcouraged and ſpoiled, and their ſhip being in hazard of ſinking, by reaſon of the great ſhot which were made, whereof ſome were under water, after five or ſix hours fight, ſet out a flag of truce, and parlied for mercy, deſiring our general to ſave their lives, and to take their goods, and that they would preſently yield. Our general promiſed them mercy, and willed them to ſtrike their ſails, and to hoiſt out their boat and to come on board; which news they were full glad to hear, and preſently ſtruck their ſails, hoiſted out their boat, and one of their chief merchants came on board, unto our general, and, falling down upon his knees, offered to have kiſſed our general's feet, and craved mercy. Our general pardoned both him and the reſt, upon promiſe of their true dealing with him and his company, concerning ſuch riches as were in the ſhip; and ſent for their captain and pilot, who, at their coming, uſed the like duty and reverence as the former did. Our general promiſed their lives, and good uſage. The ſaid captain and pilot preſently certified the general what goods they had on board, viz. 122,000 pezoes of gold; and the reſt of the riches that the ſhip was laden with were ſilks, fattins, damaſks, with muſk, and divers other merchandiſe, and great plenty of all manner of proviſions, with the choice of many conſerves, and ſeveral ſorts of very good wines. Theſe things being made known to the general by the aforeſaid captain and pilot, they were commanded to ſtay on board the Deſire, and on the 6th day of November following we went into an harbour, which is called by the Spaniards Aguada Segura, or Puerto Seguro.

The Engliſh engage and take a ſhip belonging to the king of Spain.

And in this place Cavendiſh ſet aſhore 190 Spaniards of both ſexes, where they were likely to have good accommodations, as there was a river of freſh water, and there were alſo numbers of hares and rabbits to be gotten. Beſides, the admiral furniſhed them with a ſufficiency of proviſions and arms for defence againſt the Indians, giving them the ſails of their ſhip to make tents, and a quantity of planks for the purpoſe of building themſelves a boat, which indulgence proved ſome alleviation of their misfortune.* The captain was afterwards diſcharged with a handſome preſent, after he and his Spaniards had been entertained with the ſight of ſome fireworks, which the admiral had cauſed to be played off in honour of the anniverſary of his miſtreſs's coronation, being the 7th

* It appears, however, that in ſharing the treaſure taken on board his veſſel, ſo much diſcontent aroſe that there was at length a mutiny, "which nevertheleſs (ſays the author) was pacified for the time."

7th of November; and left the harbour on the 19th, carrying with him two lads, who were natives of Japan, in the language of which country they could write and read fluently, and three boys born in the Manilla isles, the eldest 15, the next 13, and the youngest about nine years of age. He had also taken a Spaniard, whose name was Thomas de Ersola, who understood the navigation from Acapulco and the coast of New Spain to the Ladrones islands, on which account the English concluded he would be useful to them in the course of their voyage. Before his departure he burned the king's ship with 500 tons of goods on board, to the great satisfaction of all his company.

The wind now proving favourable they sailed from California, bending their course towards the Ladrones, and leaving the Content behind, she parted company from the fleet, and they proceeded without her, with favourable gales, till the beginning of January, and the 3d day of the month, made one of the islands called Guarsa, at a small distance from which a number of the natives came off in their canoes, which appeared to be constructed with a great deal of art, having images of their idols standing at the prows of them. These barks were about seven or eight fathoms in length, and about half a fathom wide, their heads and sterns being made alike. They had masts and sails, the latter of which were made of mats, in a square or triangular form, and they were able not only to go on before the wind, but also to make good their way against it. The people brought fish and potatoes, as also plantains, cocoas, and other fruits, for which they took iron and other things in exchange; but when the English had trafficked as long as they thought proper, they would not leave them, but kept swarming still about the ship, till one or two of the canoes were run down. The crews, however, saved themselves by swimming; as seemed to be the case afterwards, when the admiral ordered his men to fire at them because they would not keep off; these nimble people escaping by diving in the sea, into which they would fall backward with great expedition. The men were of an olive complexion, generally of a larger stature than the Europeans, and some of them wore their hair long, whilst others had it tied with a knot on the crown, according to each man's particular fancy.

Departing from hence the English fell in with Cabo del Spirito Santo, a cape or island at the distance of about 310 leagues from the isle of Guana. They found the land abounding in wood, and the inhabitants mostly Pagans. The distance from Manilla (the chief of the Philippines) was computed at about 60 leagues. Manilla was at that time inhabited by between 6 and 700 Spaniards, and was well planted, but these Spaniards resided in an unwalled town that had four block houses of no great strength. The place was rich in gold and silver, and had an advantageous traffic with Acapulco, as also with China and other parts.

After passing a streight between two islands, they came to another named Capul, where, as they found the bay convenient, they came to an anchor, and were presently visited by a canoe, on board of which was one of the principal caciques of the place, who took them for Spaniards, and brought them cocoas and potatoe roots, in exchange for which the islanders received at the rate of a yard of cloth for four cocoas, and as much linen for a basket of potatoe roots, the quantity of a quart; "which roots, says our author, are very good eating, and very sweet either roast or boiled"—a piece of information which our readers at this day do not want; but it is to be observed that potatoes were first brought hither from America, and at the period when Captain Cavendish made his voyage were but little known to the English. Here they were also supplied with hogs and poultry at the same rate as the Spaniards were accustomed to purchase them, and remained nine days before the island.* 1587

The natives were of an olive complexion, the cloathing of the men consisted only of a girdle about their waists, woven with plantain leaves, and a sort of apron which coming from their backs covers their nakedness, being fastened to their girdles before.†

The chiefs of this island as well as of a vast number of others whom Cavendish had made pay him tribute in hogs, potatoes, and poultry, were summoned on the 23d day of January, when having spread his ensign, with the sound of drum and trumpet he declared himself and his people to be Englishmen and enemies to the Spaniards, and paid them for all the articles which they had thus brought in, and these chiefs highly satisfied, promised in return all their services, in order to assist them whenever they should come again, to annoy and vanquish their enemies. This promise was received by the admiral with tokens of friendship, while the canoes rowed round his ship by way of diversion, and a piece was shot off at parting, which was matter of equal pleasure and surprise to these friendly people. The chiefs of the isles summoned by the admiral.

Departing from this place, the English sailed along the coast of Manilla, and in their way chased a frigate, and their boat took a canoe, in which were six Indians, who escaped by diving, and a Spaniard who was made prisoner. Soon after this, about 60 Spanish soldiers appeared on the neighbouring beach, who from the shore exchanged a few shot with them, but which did no execution. A vessel was likewise manned to take the boat, but the latter, by the help of her oars, got off, and regained the ship, bringing the Spaniard on board with them, but found him so simple a fellow, that they could get little or no intelligence from him.

In the mean time observing that the Spaniards had judiciously divided, and properly stationed their soldiers, the whole place being thoroughly alarmed, after lying all that night at anchor, the admiral gave orders to set sail, and passed between the two islands of Panama, and another called the Island of Negros, which was very large and inhabited by blacks; they at length gained an opening in a S. S. W. direction. The boat which had gone on before, then coming on board, and thus they ended their design upon Manilla.‡ The English disappointed at Manilla.

Cavendish now proceeded on towards Java, and having passed the streights between Java Minor and Java Major, anchored to the south-west of the latter, on the 1st day of March. Here taking some of the ships crew into the boat with a negro who could speak the Mooriſh language, he followed some of the inhabitants that were fishing in a bay. They ran on shore at first for fear of the English, but being called to by the negro, answered from the beach. These fishermen he informed that the English were in want of fresh water and victuals, and were also disposed to trade Arrive at Java

* While they were at anchor here, Nicholas Rodrigo, the Portuguese whom the English had taken in the great St. Anna, informed the admiral of a plot laid by a Spaniard, named Thomas de Ersola, (whom we have mentioned, they had taken for a pilot) to acquaint the people of Manilla by means of the islanders where the ship now lay, of the atchievements, designs, and situation of the English, advising them not only to strengthen their town, but to endeavour to send a force to surprise their enemies at Capul, which he thought might be effected. This writing was said to be locked up in the Spaniard's trunk; he was examined, found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged; pursuant to which sentence he was executed on the 16th of January.

† They had a strange custom of causing every male child to have a peg thrust through the upper part of his privities, the head of which peg had something like a crown cut on it. This was inserted in such a manner as to be put in and taken out at pleasure.

‡ They set the Spaniard on shore, by whom the admiral sent his compliments to the Spanish commander, desiring him to provide himself with a quantity of gold, as he (Cavendish) intended within a few years to see him at Manilla, adding, that he only wanted a larger boat, or he would have seen him at that time.

5

1588

trade with their king for diamonds or other rich jewels. They received a favourable anſwer from the fiſhermen, as to the article of proviſions; and after having furniſhed themſelves with wood and water, ſome canoes brought them freſh fiſh, oranges, and limes, giving them to underſtand, that if they would bring their ſhip nearer, they ſhould be more plentifully furniſhed. Accordingly the admiral weighed anchor, and ſtood in; but in his way was met by a canoe, ſent from the king, for which reaſon he ſhortened ſail, till the canoe came on board, and afterwards came to anchor again in the bay. This royal boat brought the kings ſecretary and his interpreter.* The former was all naked except about his waiſt, a broad arrow was wrought upon his breaſt; he went barefoot, but on his head wore a turban of died ſilk. He brought the admiral, a preſent conſiſting of hens eggs, freſh fiſh, and a hog, alſo ſome ſugar canes, and a clear wine, as ſtrong as aqua vitæ. Cavendiſh feaſted and entertained him with muſic, and gave him to underſtand that he and his men were of England, and had been trading to China, adding, that they were on their way to the Moluccas, and that their buſineſs at Java, was only to make certain neceſſary enquiries. In return, he learned that the Portugueſe had factors on the iſland who ſtayed there to traffic for ſugar, ſpices, and many other commodities.

The king ſupplies the Engliſh with proviſions.

On the 5th at break of day, the wind not permitting before, nine of the king of Java's canoes approached laden with proviſions, conſiſting of two oxen, ten hogs, a vaſt quantity of hens, ducks, and geeſe; beſides eggs, ſugar, cocoas, bitter limes, ſweet oranges, with wine, ſalt, and other articles. With theſe canoes came ſome of the king's officers. There were likewiſe two Portugueſe, dreſſed in looſe jerkins and hoſe, having on fine lawn ſhirts, but their legs entirely bare. Theſe people being ill affected towards the Spaniards, who held their kingdom in poſſeſſion, enquired much concerning Don Antonio, whom, as we have already obſerved, the Engliſh had a deſign of placing on the throne of Portugal, which deſign miſcarried partly by the ill conduct of Sir Francis Drake. Cavendiſh informing them that his queen was a firm friend to the king of Portugal, and enumerating his own exploits undertaken under her auſpices againſt the Spaniards, they were highly pleaſed with theſe tidings, and freely communicated to the admiral all that they knew relative to the policy, manners, and cuſtoms of the kingdom of Java, the ſubſtance of which account was to the following purport:

That the country was fertile, abounding in fruits as well as the neceſſaries of life, and that its commodities were well calculated for foreign commerce. That the king of that part of the iſland was called the Raja Balamboan, and was a perſon highly feared and reſpected by his ſubjects. Without his licence the common people durſt not bargain or deal for any thing with the people of another nation, on pain of death. They ſaid that the Raja himſelf was a man advanced in years, but entertained no leſs than 100 wives—his ſon and heir having 50. At the king's death it was cuſtomary to burn his body and preſerve the aſhes: five days after this ceremony, the wives were ſummoned to a particular place, where the principal one throwing a ball, wherever it fell they uſed to go all together, each having a dagger ready, then turning to the eaſt, they finiſhed the ſolemnity by ſtabbing themſelves, and, falling flat on their faces, thus received their death. As to the people; the men were obſerved to be of a ſubtle genius, and moſt deſperate in fight, ready to go on any enterpriſe, commanded by their king, who generally put them to death if they returned without accompliſhing his commands. If wounded in battle, they were often known to run upon the weapon which hurt them, reſolved on conqueſt or immediate death. The women were fair, and not without apparel, but the men went moſtly naked, and were of a tawny complexion.

Having entertained theſe Portugueſe in the moſt friendly manner, who are ſaid to have told him that if Don Antonio would come among them, there was no doubt of his having all the Moluccas and the Phillippine iſlands; they were diſmiſſed with a ſalute of ordnance, and the Engliſh ſailed on the 16th of march, for the Cape of Good Hope. "The reſt of March (ſays Mr. Prettie) we ſpent in traverſing that mighty and vaſt ſea between the iſland Java and the main of Africa, obſerving the heavens, the croſiers or the ſouth pole, the other ſtars, the fowls, which are marks unto ſeamen of fair and foul weather, approaching of lands or iſlands, the winds, the tempeſts, the rains, and thunder, with the alterations of tides and currents." On the 10th of May they met with a violent ſtorm; afterwards they ſaw land, which they took for the Cape of Good Hope, but which proved to be another cape between forty and fifty leagues ſhort of it, which is called Cabo Falſo, or Cape Falſe; and it was not till the 16th that they came in view of the extremity of the African continent, after having been nine weeks in their courſe from the iſland of Java. Having doubled the cape, they held on their courſe, and on the 8th of the ſucceeding month, they made St. Helena, where the admiral came to an anchor in 12 fathom water, on the NW. ſide of the iſland, on the 9th, about one in the afternoon, two or three cables length from the ſhore. The writer of the voyage gave the following account of the ſtate wherein he found it in the year 1588.

Cavendiſh arrives at St. Helena.

"This iſland (ſays he) is very high land, and lieth in the main ſea, ſtanding, as it were, in the midſt of the ſea, between the main land of Africa, the main of Braſil, and the eaſt of Guinea; it lies in 15° 48′ to the ſouthward of the equinoctial line, and is diſtant from the cape of Buena Eſperanza between five and ſix hundred leagues.

"The ſame day, about two or three o'clock in the afternoon, we went on ſhore, where we found an exceeding fair and pleaſant valley, wherein divers handſome buildings and houſes were ſet up, and one particularly, which was a church, was tiled and whitened on the outſide very fair, and made with a porch; and within the church, at the upper end, was ſet an altar, whereon ſtood a very large table ſet in a frame, having in it the picture of our Saviour Chriſt upon the croſs, and the image of our Lady praying, with divers other hiſtories, curiouſly painted in the ſame. The ſides of the church were hung round with ſtained cloths, having devices drawn on them. There are two houſes adjoining to the church, on each ſide one, which ſerve for kitchens to dreſs meat in, with neceſſary rooms and houſes of office. The coverings of the ſaid houſes are made flat, where is planted a very fair vine, and through both the ſaid houſes runneth a very good and wholeſome ſtream of freſh water. There is alſo over againſt the church a very fair cauſeway, made up with ſtones, reaching unto a valley by the ſea ſide, in which valley is planted a garden, wherein grow pompions and melons; and upon the ſide cauſeway is a frame erected, whereon hang two bells, wherewith they ring to maſs; and near to it a croſs is ſet up, which is ſquared, framed, and made very artificially of free ſtone, whereon is carved in cyphers what time it was built, which was in the year of our Lord, 1571.

"This valley is the faireſt and largeſt low plat in all the iſland, and is exceeding ſweet and pleaſant, and planted in every place, either with fruit or with herbs. There are fig-trees which bear fruit continually

* Our author ſays, "the ſecretary to the king and his interpreter lay one night on board our ſhip: the ſame night, becauſe they lay on board, in the evening, at the ſetting of the watch, our general commanded every man on board the ſhip to provide his harquebuſs and his ſhot; and ſo, with ſhooting off 40 or 50 ſmall ſhot and a facre, himſelf ſet the watch." This was no ſmall wonder to theſe heathen people, who had not commonly ſeen any ſhip ſo furniſhed with men and ordnance. The next morning we diſmiſſed the ſecretary and his interpreter with great humanity."

tinually and very plentifully; for on every tree you may see blossoms, green figs, and ripe figs all at once, and it is so all the year long: the reason is, that the island standeth so near the sun. There is also great store of lemon trees, orange trees, pomegranate trees, pome-citron trees, and date trees, which bear fruit as the fig trees do, and are planted carefully, and very artificially, with pleasant walks under and between them; and the said walks are over-shadowed with the leaves of the trees; and in every void place is planted, parsley, fortel, basil, fennel, annised, mustard-seed, radishes, and many very good herbs. The fresh-water brook runneth through divers places in this orchard, and may with very small pains be made to water any one tree in the valley. This fresh water stream cometh from the tops of the mountains, and falleth from the cliff into the valley the height of a cable; and hath many arms issuing out of it, that refresh the whole island, and almost every tree in it. The island is altogether high mountains and steep valleys, except it be on the tops of some hills, and down below in some of the vallies, where great plenty of all those fruits before spoken of do grow. There is much more growing on the tops of the mountains than below in the vallies; but it is very toilsome and dangerous travelling up unto them and down again, by reason of the height and steepness of the hills.

"There are also upon this island great store of partridges, which are very tame, not making any great haste to fly away, though one come very near them, but only run away and get up into the steep cliffs; we killed some of them with a fowling piece; they differ very much from our partridges which are in England, both in bigness and also in colour, for they are almost as big as hens, and are of an ash colour, and live in covies, twelve, sixteen and twenty together; you cannot go ten or twelve score paces but you shall see or spring one or two covies at the least.

"There are likewise no less plenty of pheasants in the island, which are also very big and fat, surpassing those which are in our country in bigness and in numbers in a company; they differ not very much in colour from the partridges before spoken of. We found, moreover, on this island, plenty of Guinea cocks, which we call turkeys, of a colour black and white, with red heads; they are much the same in bigness with ours in England; their eggs are white, and as big as our turkey's egg.

"There are in this island thousands of goats, which the Spaniards call cabritos, which are very wild. You shall see one or two hundred of them together, and sometimes you may see them go in a flock almost a mile long; some of them (whether it be the nature of the breed of them or of the country, I know not) are as big as an ass, with a mane like a horse, and a beard hanging down to the very ground: they will climb up the cliffs, which are so steep, that a man would think it impossible that any living creature could go there. We took and killed many of them for all their swiftness, for there are thousands of them upon the mountains. Here are, in like manner, great store of swine, which are very wild and fat, and of great bigness; they keep altogether upon the mountains, and will very seldom abide any man to come near them, except it be by mere chance, when they are found asleep, or otherwise according to their kind, are taken lying in the mire.

"We found in the houses at our coming, three slaves who were negros, and one who was born in the island of Java, who told us that the East Indian fleet, which were in number five sail, the least whereof was in burden eight or nine hundred tons, (laden with spices and calicut cloth, with store of treasure, and very rich stores and pearls) were gone from the said island, St. Helena, but twenty days before we came thither.

2

This island was found long ago by the Portuguese, and hath been altogether planted by them for their refreshment as they come from the East-Indies; and when they come, they have all things in plenty for their relief, by reason they suffer none to inhabit there, that might eat up the produce of the island, except some very few sick persons of their company, whom they suspect will not live until they come home; these they leave there to refresh themselves, and take them away the year following with the other fleet, if they live so long. They touch here rather in their coming home from the East Indies, than at their going thither, because they are thoroughly furnished with corn when they set out from Portugal; but are meanly victualled at their coming from the Indies, where there groweth but little corn. The wind is commonly off the shore at this island of St. Helena."

1588

St. Helena now belongs to the English; and it is to be observed, that in some respects it does not now answer the above description; neither is corn produced in the island, as will be noticed in the course of the voyages to the East Indies. The crew having refreshed themselves, and taken in wood and water at this island, of which they had conceived so good an opinion, and which by its situation must generally prove agreeable to mariners after so long a voyage, set sail on the 20th of June, steering directly homewards. They passed the equinoctial line in the beginning of July, and after lying becalmed from the 12th till the 15th of the same month, sailed before a constant north east wind to the latitude of 38° N. They afterwards came in view of Flores and Corvo, and sailing from thence for England, after weathering a violent storm, arrived safe at Plymouth on the 9th of September.—

Thus Cavendish accomplished his voyage round the world, in the course of which, like Drake, he did much mischief to the Spaniards, taking and destroying a number of their vessels, and keeping the American coasts in a continued alarm. This was the most fortunate voyage of that adventurer, who brought home a considerable treasure. Nevertheless we find him in 1591, engaged in another undertaking of the same nature, from whence he promised himself much, but which, from a variety of concurring circumstances, he found in the event, not at all answerable to his expectations.

Cavendish's second voyage to the South Seas.

Having collected together some of the ablest commanders, and a company of the stoutest mariners of the times, all things being prepared, they departed from Plymouth with two large ships, and three barks* on the 26th of August, holding on their course towards the Brasilian coast, and fell in with the bay of Salvador, on the 29th of November, after having been becalmed 27 days near the equinoctial line, a circumstance which probably contributed not a little to the difficulties and misfortunes that afterwards attended this unhappy expedition.

In a vessel which the admiral took in his way, he found nothing worth his trouble; except a friar that had hid himself in a meal tub; but the pilot of that vessel informed the English of their distance from Cape Frio, and from Santos. At an island called Placentia, they afterwards landed and plundered a few Portuguese houses, and before their arrival at Santos, the crew began to shew such a disorderly disposition, as gave but an ill presage of their future success.

However, they determined to make an attack on the last mentioned town, the Portuguese having informed them that it was but weakly defended. On this account also, the commander judged that the long-boat and shallop properly manned, would be of sufficient strength to undertake the business; but his men being all eager alike for plunder, it caused a very warm dispute upon this point, as only an hundred men were ordered to make the assault.

Cavendish however found means to appease this disturbance,

* The vessels were the Leicester, commanded by the admiral; the Roebuck, Captain Cocke, vice admiral; the Desire, Capt. Davis rear admiral; the Dainty, Capt. Cotton, and a bark called the Black Pinnace.

1592

turbance, and the design, which was well laid, was as luckily executed; for a party of English landing while the Portuguese were at mass, there was little resistance; those that had arms being obliged to deliver them, and the conquerors keeping them prisoners till the rest of their company came up. There were some, however, in the town who retired and betook themselves to flight, with whatever money or property they were able to secure *; nevertheless, besides sugars, meal, and other provisions, they found some gold and silver here, which was most greedily sought after in secret places by the plunderers. As to the prisoners, they were all discharged the day after the town was taken, except a few of the principal persons, † who were retained as pledges for the farther supplies of necessaries while the English remained in possession. And after a stay of two months (which seems to have been an imprudent waste of time) the admiral resolved to depart, so destroying many of the larger mills between Santos and S. Vincent, and having burned the latter, the fleet sailed out of the harbour on the 24th of January.

Cavendish takes Santos.

Directing their course towards the Streights of Magellan, a hard gale arose on the 7th of February, when they were near the river Plate, and increased by the 8th to a most horrible tempest, in which the fleet was separated; but it being generally understood that Port Desire should be the rendezvous in case of such an accident, (though it is disputed whether the admiral ever gave such an order) as Captain Davis in the Desire, had met with Cocke in the Roebuck at sea, and afterwards with the Black Pinnace, ‡ these vessels made that port, after having with great difficulty weathered the storm abovementioned. And being thus met again, having refreshed the men at this port, they sailed on the twenty-eighth day of March, Cavendish himself, according to Jane's account, having shifted from the admiral's ship, and come on board Captain Davis, with whom he continued till they entered the Streights. They were a considerable time detained beating off Port Famine, and when at last they doubled the Cape, they were kept about eight days in that port, and forced to subsist on muscles and what fruits they could find, as the natives, whom they sometimes saw, were not able to supply them with any thing better. While they were on their passage through these streights, they, like many other voyagers to those parts, experienced as much inconvenience from cold as from want of provisions. One Knivet, who afterwards passed through a series of strange adventures, lost several of his toes by the inclemency of the weather at Port Famine; and we find it related, that in the midst of this bad weather, and while the passage remained doubtful, all the sick men belonging to the Leicester, were set on shore in the woods, while the admiral remained on board the Desire; a circumstance which every one must own to be shocking to humanity.

He enters the Streights of Magellan.

Hardships endured there.

The difficulties which they had met with in this attempt, the incapacity of the ships to proceed, and every other concurring circumstance, occasioned the universal voice of the mariners to be in favour of returning to the coast of Brasil, instead of pursuing any farther the intended voyage to the South Sea, on which the admiral's heart had been set; and he was therefore obliged to yield to those whom he deemed a mutinous company, and on the 15th of May they set sail, in order to repass the streights, the admiral having returned to his own vessel.

Cavendish returns towards the Brasilian coast.

As China was an object of this voyage, it is said that the commander still deemed it not impossible for him to put his design in execution, thinking to sail thither by way of the Cape of Good Hope; yet here too he was over-ruled by the resolution of the mariners, and accordingly stood for the Brasilian coast. But on the 20th of May the Desire and the black pinnace were separated from him, which separation Cavendish charges upon Capt. Davis, but other accounts lay it upon the admiral's having altered his course, and give a circumstantial detail of the matter, the substance of which we have subjoined in its proper place.

The Desire is separated from the admiral;

Not long after, the Leicester lost the Roebuck in a storm, and not without much difficulty reached the harbour of St. Vincent, where some of the ship's company, being persuaded by an Indian, got permission to go on shore, to the number of 30, neglecting the advice of their commander not to trust themselves too far up the country, were attacked by 80 Portuguese and 300 savages, and massacred to a man, the Indian only returning with the tidings, whose intelligence relative to the provisions to be got in the country, had led them into this fatal error, some wounds that he had received in the conflict bearing testimony to his honesty and to their imprudence.

And also the Roebuck.

As the admiral had thus lost 30 men and his boat besides, he had great reason to regret this accident, he had however the good fortune to take an old boat from the Portuguese, which made some small amends for his loss; but what more contributed to comfort him was the appearance of the Roebuck in this bay; yet on examination, he found her in such a shattered condition that he could not at that time expect much assistance from such a consort.

The Roebuck found.

He still ardently wished for an opportunity to revenge himself upon the Portuguese, but as on the Brasilian coast the harbours are mostly barred, so as not to admit any vessels of burden, so he found that a design he entertained of battering the town could not be accomplished, and all that was in the power of the English was to destroy a few farm-houses.

The Portuguese next proposed to the admiral the taking or battering of the town of Spirito Santo, but he was not able to bring the ships over the bar, and they had thoughts of departing, when they discovered three ships at anchor near the town, which the admiral proposed cutting out in the night. His advice was not followed then, but over-ruled by the murmurs of his men. The next day, however, they insisted on being sent to do what was then become impossible. Approaching with their two crazy boats in the face of the enemy, and landing to attack the town, whence they were fired on, they were repulsed with disgrace, two thirds of them were slain, together with Captain Morgan, who was sent to head them, and whom they forced to proceed in this desperate enterprise. All those that returned brought back nothing but unprofitable wounds, as the reward of their rashness. §

Cavendish's men attack Spirito Santo.

Cavendish leaving this place, sailed for the island of St. Sebastian, and in his way thither, the Roebuck ‖ which he had so lately regained, voluntarily parted from him in the night, taking away both the surgeons, and above double the proportion of victuals necessary for the 46 men that she had on board.

The Roebuck again parts company with him.

Notwithstanding all this, yet Cavendish had not laid aside his purpose of returning to the streights; but as it may easily be imagined, this ship's crew who were never highly pleased with the project, now put a down-

* The need in which the English stood of provisions, seemed to have been the principal motive for this undertaking; but according to some accounts, Captain Cocke was so negligent, that he suffered the Indians to carry out what the inhabitants could not have secured, so that when Cavendish himself came on shore, eight or ten days afterwards, this circumstance obliged him to endeavour getting by intreaty what before he had in his power, and, after all, to re-embark without the very things for the sake of which he had caused the town to be surprised. As Harris observes, that the Indians were very friendly to the new comers, so it is possible that the former found means thus to deceive the latter, under the mask of friendship, and afterwards to make a merit of supplying them with part of what they had before taken away.

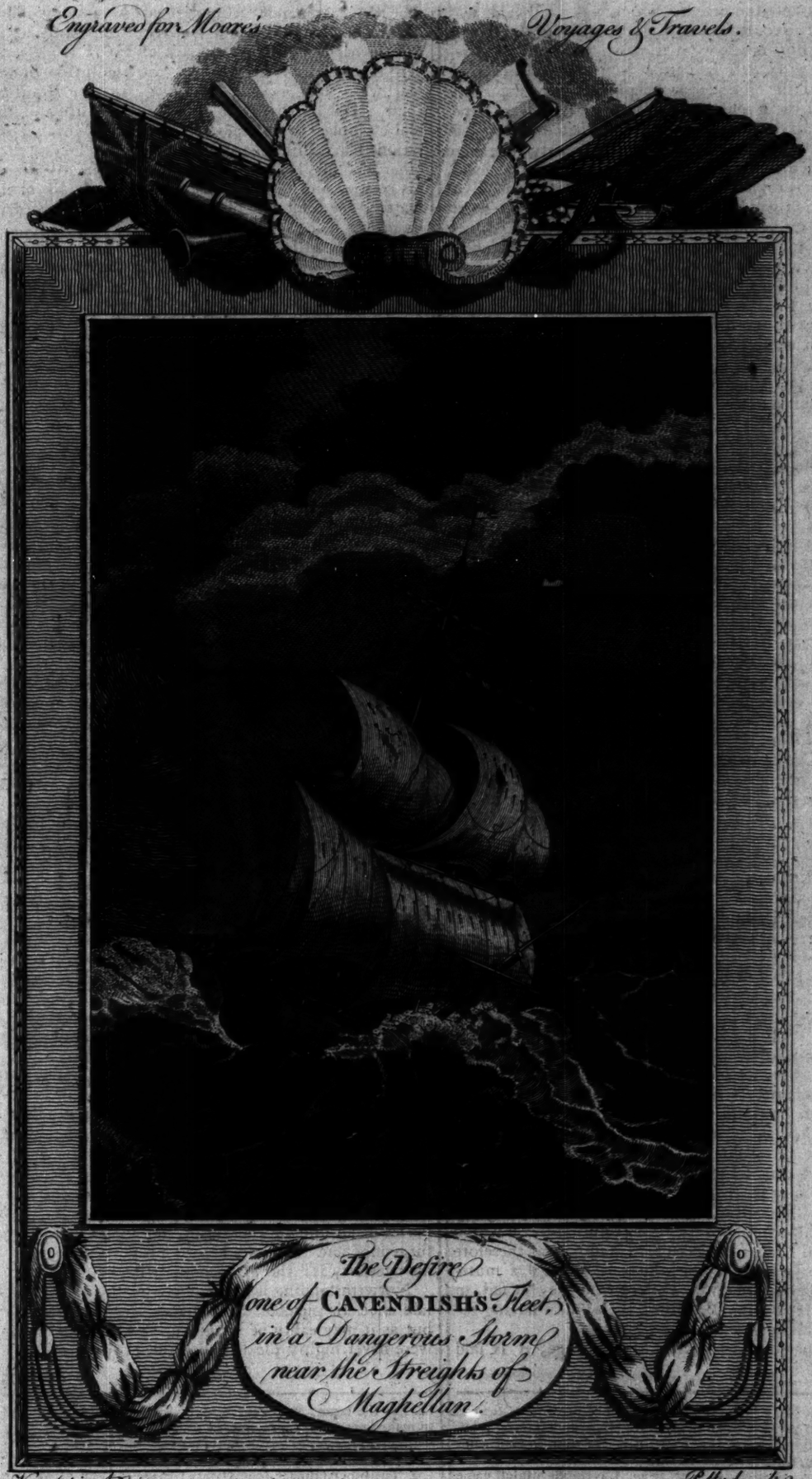
† Jane says only four poor old men were kept as hostages.

‡ The other pinnace (the Dainty) made the best of her way to England, leaving her captain on board the Roebuck, the crew taking with them all the provisions, and even his wearing apparel.

§ He left 80 men, and had 40 wounded in this attack.

‖ Jane says the men expected that he intended to burn that vessel.

Engraved for Moore's Voyages & Travels.



The Desire one of CAVENDISH's Fleet, in a Dangerous Storm near the Streights of Magellan.

Vernet pinx.t

Pollard sculp.

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a downright negative upon the reſolution. Threatenings were vain, and he could have but little to promiſe, ſo was under a neceſſity of abandoning his favourite ſcheme, and ſteering towards St. Sebaſtian, 200 leagues to the weſtward of Spirito Santo, when he had no more than one caſk of water left.

The Portugueſe kill a number of his men.

Being ſeparated from the Portugueſe at this iſland only by a ſmall creek, and ſuſpicious of his own people, he was in the moſt diſtreſsful ſituation that could be imagined, and, as to the former (led on as it is ſaid by an Iriſhman belonging to his ſhip) they came over one night and killed and took priſoners a number of his men, moſt of whom were ſick and wounded, and then retiring, left parties of Indians, ſo diſpoſed amongſt the trees and buſhes that they were perpetually annoying the remains of the Engliſh, that they were forced to depart before they had taken in ſo much wood and water as was deemed neceſſary for their voyage.

The crew counteracts the admiral's deſires.

This little remnant ſo much dreaded their commander's deſign of returning to the ſtreights of Maghellan, that having overſhot St. Helena, they could not be perſuaded (for the admiral ſeems to have loſt all command) to ſteer the coaſt to the ſouthward, but inſiſted on ſailing directly to England, whither as it appears, he never lived to return. *

As the commander complained much of the conduct of Captain Davis, of the Deſire, ſo were not the captain and crew of that veſſel in general backward in juſtifying themſelves from the imputation. And ſince the reader may be curious to know what befel her after her ſeparation, we have here ſet down the principal events extracted from one who wrote a regular account of the voyage.

Account of their diſtreſt ſituation and voyage to England.

After having related, journal-wiſe, all that paſſed till their entrance into the ſtreights of Maghellan, he proceeds to obſerve, That after having doubled Cape Froward on the 18th of April, Mr. Cavendiſh being on board the Deſire, the ſhips were forced by the fury of the ſtorm to put into a little cove, about four leagues from the cape, where they had continual tempeſts, and ſnow, and their men died of cold and famine, and the ſick were put on ſhore, as we have already ſeen. "In theſe great extremities of cold and ſnow (he adds) Mr. Cavendiſh aſked our captain's opinion, becauſe he was a man that had good experience of the N. W. parts, in his three ſeveral diſcoveries that way, when employed by the merchants of London. Our captain told him that this ſnow was a matter of no long continuance, and gave him ſufficient reaſon for it, and that thereby he could not much be prejudiced or hurt in his proceeding. Notwithſtanding he called together all the company, and told them, that he purpoſed not to ſtay in the ſtreights, but to depart upon ſome other voyage, or elſe to return again for Braſil: but his reſolution was to go for the Cape of Good Hope. The company anſwered, that if it pleaſed him, they did deſire to ſtay God's favour for a wind, and to endure all hardneſs [hardſhip] whatſoever, rather than to give over the voyage, conſidering they had been here but a ſmall time; and becauſe they were within 40 leagues of the South Sea, it grieved them now to return; notwithſtanding, whatever he ordered, that they would perform. So he concluded to go for the Cape of Good Hope, and to give over this voyage. Then our captain, after Mr. Cavendiſh was come on board the Deſire, from talking with the company, told him, that if it pleaſed him to conſider the great extremity of his ſituation, the ſlenderneſs of his proviſions, with the weakneſs of his men, it was no courſe for him to proceed in that new enterpriſe. For if the reſt of your ſhips (ſaid he) be furniſhed anſwerable to this, it is impoſſible for you to perform your determination; for we have no more ſails than maſts, no victuals, no ground tackling, no cordage more than is overhead, and among 75 perſons, there is but the maſter alone that can order the ſhip, and but 14 ſailors; the reſt are gentlemen, ſerving-men, and artificers; therefore it will be a deſperate caſe to take ſo hard an enterpriſe in hand. Theſe perſuaſions did our captain not only uſe to Mr. Cavendiſh, but alſo to Mr. Cocke. In fine, upon a petition delivered in writing, by the chief of the whole company, to the general, he determined to depart out of the ſtreights of Maghellan, and to return again for Santos in Braſil."

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And accordingly, we find that they ſet ſail on the 15th, Cavendiſh being then in the Deſire, but on the 20th they parted from him, after he had gone again on board the Leiceſter, of whoſe crew he once had ſo ill an opinion, that he declared he was inclined to ſtay in the Deſire.—Of the ſeparation, which the admiral deemed to be wilful, we have the following account: "That being athwart of Port Deſire, in the night as they ſuppoſed, the general ſteered his courſe," and thus he was loſt: "For (adds he) in the evening he ſtood cloſe by a wind to ſeaward, having the wind N. N. W. and we ſtanding the ſame way, the wind not altering, could not on the next day ſee him; ſo that we then perſuaded ourſelves that he was gone for Port Deſire to relieve himſelf, or that he had ſuffered ſome miſchance at ſea, and was gone thither to remedy it." This being the general opinion, notwithſtanding they had no boat nor anchors, nor cables fit to truſt to, they went thither. There they arrived on the 20th of May, and ſuffered many difficulties; though they were ſomewhat relieved by getting good freſh water unexpectedly, and lived on muſſels and ſmelts, in order to preſerve their proviſions. While they lay there, the author tells us, that "the general having in their ſhip two peſtilent fellows, who had entered into a plot to murder the captain, and maſter, and their friends, into which they had drawn the reſt of the company, he adds, "There were marks taken in his cabin how to kill him with muſquets through the ſhip's ſide, and bullets made of ſilver for the execution."—But as ſoon as the boatſwain heard of this plot, he diſcovered it to the maſter, and ſo it came to the captain; yet James Parker and Edward Smith, the two leaders of this intended mutiny were puniſhed only with admonitions; and as it appeared that the ſource of the miſchief was derived from a reſolution, of the captain to take the pinnace, and go in ſearch of the admiral, when he found that the ſhip's company were all moſt violently bent againſt the undertaking, he deſiſted, giving them good words for their bad, and concluded his controverſy with Parker and Smith, by ſaying, "The Lord judge between you and me—which, ſays the author, came to a moſt ſharp revenge, even by the puniſhment of the Almighty." After this the captain deſiring they would ſet their hands to an account of their loſing the admiral, and of the extremities to which they were reduced, they agreed to the propoſal, in conſequence of which a paper was drawn up in the following words:

"The teſtimonial of the crew of the Deſire, touching the loſing of their general, which appeareth to have been utterly againſt their meanings.

"The 26th of Auguſt, 1591, we whoſe names are here underwritten, with divers others, departed from Plymouth, under Mr. Thomas Cavendiſh our general, with four ſhips of his, viz. The Leiceſter, the Roebuck, the Deſire, and the Black Pinnace, for the performance of a voyage into the South ſea. [After

* In his letter to Sir Triſtram Gorges, which was written not long before his deceaſe, after mentioning the death of a couſin of his, he ſays, "What with his grief occaſioned by that event, and the continual trouble endured among ſuch hell-hounds, (his ſhip's crew) I wiſhed myſelf upon any deſart place in the world, there to die, rather than thus baſely to return home again; which courſe I had put in execution, had I found an iſland which the charts make to be eight degrees to the ſouthward of the line. I ſwear to you I ſought it with diligence, meaning (if I had found it) there to have ended my unfortunate life. But God ſuffered not ſuch happineſs to light upon me; for I could by no means find it; ſo was forced to come towards England."

1592 ter recapitulating the chief events that had happened in their course, the memorial proceeds thus] On the 21st of May, being athwart of Port Desire, 36 leagues off the shore, the wind then north east and by north, at five of the clock at night, we suddenly cast about, lying north-east, the fleet following the admiral, our ship coming under his lee, shot a-head of him, and so framed sail fit to keep company. This night we were severed, by what occasion we know not, whether we lost them or they us. In the morning we only saw the Black Pinnace, then supposing the admiral had overshot us. All this day we stood to the eastward, hoping to find him, because it was not likely he should stand to the shore so suddenly. But [thus] missing him, towards night, we steered to the shoreward, hoping by that course to find him.

On the 22d of May at night, we had a violent storm, with the wind at north-west, and we were forced to hull, not being able to bear sail; and this night we perished our main trossel trees, so that we could not use our main top-sail, lying most dangerously in the sea. The pinnace likewise received a great leak, so that we were inforced the next day to seek the next shore for our relief. And because famine was like to be the best end [that we could otherwise expect] we desired to go for Port Desire, hoping with seals and penguins to relieve ourselves, and so to make shift to follow the general, or there to stay his coming from Brasil. The 24th of May we had much wind at north. The 25th was calm, and the sea very lofty, so that our ship had dangerous and foul weather. The 26th our fore-shrouds broke; so that if we had not been near the shore, it had been impossible for us to get out of the sea.

"And now, being here moored in Port Desire, our shrouds are all rotten, not having a running rope, whereto we may trust, and being provided of only one shift of sails, all worn, our topsails not able to endure any stress of weather; neither have we any pitch, tar, or nails, nor any store for the supplying of these wants, and we live only upon seals and mussels, having but five hogsheads of pork within [on] board, and meal three ounces a day, with water to drink.

"And forasmuch as it hath pleased God to separate our fleet, and to bring us into such hard extremities, that only now by his mere mercy we expect relief; though otherwise we are hopeless of comfort, yet, because the wonderful works of God in his exceeding great favour towards his creatures, are far beyond the scope of man's capacity; therefore by Him we hope to have deliverance in this our deep distress. Also, forasmuch as those upon whom God will bestow the favour of life with return home to their own country, may not only remain blameless, but also to manifest the truth of our actions, we have thought good, in Christian charity, to lay down under our hands the truth of all our proceedings even until this time of our distress.

Given in Port Desire, the second day of June, 1592.

Having put their hands to this paper, they began to set themselves to work upon such things as were most necessary for their preservation.——Accordingly they set up a forge, to make bolts, nails, and other iron works; and also made ropes out of their cables. The others were employed in procuring smelts for them. They also found an island abounding with seals, whither they sent the pinnace, and were highly satisfied when a quantity of them was taken.

On the 6th of August having kept watch from the high lands in order to discover the admiral, but in vain, it was resolved to go for the Streights of Maghellan, where his vessel could not pass by them if she came that way. Accordingly they set sail, and after encountering a storm, and other difficulties, made the streights, where they found the weather extremely cold, yet they describe the people on the neighbouring shores as going naked, painting their bodies like the ancient inhabitants of Britain, and generally living in the woods and wilds of these comfortless regions, where now it was the very middle of winter.

Anchoring in a cove about 14 leagues from the South Sea, by account, they stayed a fortnight for the admiral; but the men dying fast through cold and famine, the master of the vessel advised to enter the Pacific Ocean, and to steer directly for the island of Santa Maria, which advice being followed, (not without a view of meeting with Cavendish, who, as they concluded, must pass by that island, they set sail on the 13th of December, but were forced back again on the 14th, and returned to a cove about three leagues from the South Sea. However they went forward again as soon as the wind permitted, and, with the loss of an anchor in a storm, came once again in view of the desired ocean. Here a dispute arose; some of the company wishing to go again to Port Desire, and to be set on shore there, while others wished to proceed. "Whereupon (says Jane) the captain said to the master—Master, you see the wonderful extremity of our estate, and the great doubts among our company, of the truth of your reports, as touching relief to be had in the South Sea. Now, good master, forasmuch as you have been in this voyage once before, with your master the general, satisfy the company of such truths as to you are best known, and you, the rest of the general's men, who also have been with him in his first voyage, If you hear any thing contrary to the truth, spare not to reprove it, I pray you.—Then the master said, if you think good therefore to return, I will not gainsay it; but this I think, if life may be preserved by any means, it is proceeding for at the Isle of Santa Maria, I do assure you of wheat, pork, and roots enough. Also I will bring you to an isle where pelicans be in great abundance; and we shall have meal in great plenty, besides a possibility of intercepting some ships upon the coast of Chili and Peru. But if we return, there is nothing but death to be looked for [expected] Therefore do as you like, I am ready; but my desire is to proceed. These his speeches being confirmed by others that were in the former voyages, there was general consent for proceeding, and so, on the second of October we put into the South Sea, and were free of all land."

But whilst all were agreed in pursuing this counsel of the master of the vessel, the elements fought against them. That very evening a gale sprang up which increased with such violence that the crew on board the ship were informed by those in the pinnace, that the latter had no hope left of outliving the storm, but being themselves reduced to great extremity, and in view of a lee shore, they were obliged to abandon her with all on board to their fate, and the next night lost sight of her for ever.

Thus they proceeded, lashed on by tempests, and drifting fast upon a dangerous shore. But on the 10th of October the sun suddenly shining out bright, gave the captain and master an opportunity of discovering their true situation, and consequently of finding the true course they must shape for the recovery of the streights. Yet though this at first encouraged the mariners, it could not properly be considered as matter of great consolation to those who were rather subject to the course of the winds and waves than to the guidance of their own skill and judgment. And thus indeed it happened, that the less danger was only passed and the greater was yet to come, a most striking picture of which being drawn by the author already quoted, we shall give it here in his own words. "On the 11th of October (says he) we saw Cape Desealdo, the cape on the south shore, (the north shore being nothing but a company of dangerous rocks, isles and shoals.) This cape being within two leagues to the leeward of us, our master greatly doubted that we should not double the same, nevertheless, being a man of good spirits, he resolutely made quick dispatch, and set sail." Our sails had not been half an hour on board [hoisted] but the foot-rope of our foresail broke, so that nothing held but

the oylet-holes. The ſeas continually broke over the ſhip's poop, flew into the ſails with ſuch violence that we ſtill expected the tearing of our ſails, or overſetting of the ſhip; and beſides, to our utter diſcomfort, we perceived that we fell ſtill more and more to the leeward, ſo that we [believed we] could not double the cape. We were now come within half a mile of the cape, and ſo near the ſhore, that the counter-ſurf of the ſea would rebound againſt the ſhip's ſides, ſo that we were much diſmayed with the horror of our preſent end. Being thus at the very point of our death, the winds and the ſeas raging beyond meaſure, our maſter veered ſome of the main-ſheet; and, whether it was by that occaſion or by ſome current, or by the wonderful power of God (as we verily think it was) the ſhip quickened her way, and ſhot paſt that rock, where we thought we ſhould have been ſhored. Then between the cape and the ſhore there was a little bay, ſo that we were ſomewhat farther from ſhore; and when we came unto cape, we yielded unto death: yet the father of all mercies delivered us, and we doubled the cape about the length of our ſhip, or very little more; being ſhot paſt the cape, we preſently took in our ſails, which only God had preſerved to us; and when we ſhot in between the high lands, the winds blowing trade, without an inch of ſail, ſpooned before the ſea, three men not being able to guide the helm, and in ſix hours we were put 25 leagues within the ſtreights, where we found a ſea anſwerable to the ocean."

A narrow eſcape.

This was indeed an unexpected eſcape, but the unfortunate crew of this weather-beaten veſſel were far from being near the end of their trouble. In the midſt of this wintry climate, which ſtiffened their ſinews with cold, to add to their other misfortunes, they were almoſt devoured with the moſt loathſome vermin, that not only ſwarmed about them, but alſo burrowed in their fleſh. On this account, having laboured to clear their veſſel from water, it was judged proper to put into one of the coves with which it has been noticed that theſe ſtreights abound. This was accordingly done for the refreſhment of the men, and they ſtayed till the 21ſt of October, when they again put forward into the channel, with tolerable good weather. But theſe inclement regions before night produced another tempeſt, and the veſſel owed its ſafety only to the care of the captain, who had drawn ſo accurate a plan of the ſtreights, at his firſt paſſage through them, that being properly attended to, it guided her through all the intricacies of that channel in a moſt gloomy and tempeſtuous night.

While they were at anchor on the coaſt, the boat being ſent in fair weather to collect a quantity of the birds from whence that land takes its name, one of the uſual ſtorms aroſe, and the birds were obliged to be thrown overboard, leſt they ſhould be loſt.

The interval had given them time to clear their ſhips from water; but the crews were ſtill in a diſagreeable ſituation, and even in the midſt of theſe wintry regions, were almoſt eaten up by the moſt loathſome vermin. Thus diſtreſſed, they had put into one of the coves of the channel, where they ſtayed till hunger forced them out in favourable weather; but the ſtorm ſoon ſucceeded, in the midſt of which, by means of a chart drawn by the captain, the ſhip was conducted through what the author calls "The Hell Dark of Night," where the channel was not in ſome places above a league broad.

Having eſcaped this danger at Penguin Iſland, where they had nearly loſt their boat, at the ſame time that their veſſel was driving on a lee ſhore, but both theſe difficulties being ſurmounted by their induſtry and reſolution, at length on the 27th of October they got free of the Streights of Maghellan.—Their boat being ſent to the ſhore, "Parker, Edward Smith, and twenty others, (ſays Jane) were appointed to ſtay upon the ſhore for the killing and drying of theſe penguins, and the captain promiſed after the ſhip was in harbour to ſend the reſt, not only for expedition, but alſo to ſave the ſmall ſtore of victuals then in the ſhip. But Parker, Smith, and the reſt of their faction ſuſpected that this was a device of the captain's to leave his men on ſhore, that by theſe means there might be victuals for the reſt to recover their country; and when they remembered that this was the place where they would have ſlain their captain and maſter, ſurely (thought they) for revenge here will they leave us on ſhore; which, when our captain underſtood, he called God to witneſs that revenge was no part of [had no part in] his thoughts: They gave him thanks, deſiring to go into the harbour with the ſhip, which was granted. So there were only ten left upon the iſle, and [on] the laſt day of October we entered the harbour, (our maſter, at our laſt being here, having taken careful notice of every creek in the river) in a very convenient place, upon a ſandy ooze ran the ſhip aground, laying our anchor to ſeaward, and with our running ropes, moored her to ſtakes upon the ſhore, which he had faſtened for that purpoſe, where the ſhip remained till our departure. On the 3d of November, our boat, with water, wood, and as many as ſhe could carry, went for the iſle of Penguins; but being deep, ſhe durſt not proceed, but returned again the ſame night. Then Parker, Smith, Townſhend, Purpet, with five others, deſired that they might go by land, and that the boat might fetch them when they were againſt the iſle, it being ſcarce a mile from the ſhore. The captain bade them do what they thought beſt, adviſing them to take weapons with them; for (ſaid he) although we have not at any time ſeen people in this place, yet in the country there may be ſavages.—They anſwered, "That here were great ſtore of deer, and oſtriches; but if there were ſavages they would devour them." Notwithſtanding, the captain cauſed them to take weapons with them, carlivers, ſwords and targets: ſo the 6th of November, they departed by land, and the boat by ſea; but from that day to this day, we never heard of our men. The 11th, while moſt of our men were at the iſle, only our captain and maſter, with ſix others, being left in the ſhip, there came a great multitude of ſavages to the ſhip, throwing duſt in the air, leaping and running like brute beaſts, having vizards on their faces like dog's faces, or elſe they had dogs faces indeed. We greatly feared leſt they would ſet the ſhip on fire, for they would ſuddenly make fire, whereat we much marvelled: they came to windward of our ſhip, and ſet the buſhes on fire, ſo that we were in a very ſtinking ſmoke; but as ſoon as they came within our ſhot we ſhot at them, and ſtriking one of them in the thigh, they all preſently fled; ſo we never ſaw more of them. Thereby we judged that theſe canibals had ſlain our nine men."—"When we conſidered (adds the author) who they were that were thus murdered, and found that they were the principal men who would have murdered the captain and maſter, with their friends, we ſaw the juſt judgment of God, and made a ſupplication to his Divine Majeſty to be merciful unto us."

1591.

During the time that the Engliſh remained in this bay, they found on examining the river that they could go no farther than twenty miles up. Upon the Iſle of Penguins, the crew took a quantity of thoſe birds, which they dried and ſalted, and much rejoiced that they could lay in ſuch a ſtore of proviſion. They alſo took gulls and other birds, and eggs, as well as many ſeals; and found a quantity of the herb called Scurvy-graſs, which uſing train oil for butter, they fried with eggs, and found it very wholeſome, removing the chief diſorder among the men.

Twenty thouſand [a number almoſt incredible] of penguins were taken, 14,000 of which only the mariners were able to bring on board, and had well nigh loſt their ſhip by the uncertainty of the winds and tides.

They afterwards ſtood for the Braſilian coaſt, having been reduced to the allowance of five ounces of meal in a week, to be ſerved twice, three ſpoonfuls

1593 of oil for a man three days in a week; for two days a pint of peaſe for each man. Five penguins for four men every day, and ſix quarts of water for the ſame number of people.

Arriving at the Iſle of Placentia in Braſil, on the 30th of January, twenty-four of the crew went towards the ſhore with the captain; but it was not till the next day that the company landed, hoping to take the Portugueſe inhabitants in their beds, and there to get Caſſavi meal, and what elſe they could find; but the Portugueſe had raiſed their own houſes to the ground, and were fled up the country. The ſhip was afterwards brought into a creek, where they moored her to the trees, and found water and all conveniences for hooping their caſks, a guard being always kept for the protection of ſuch as were employed about their neceſſary buſineſs. On the 5th of February the captain ſent the cooper to gather hoops, and provided a guard as uſual, himſelf ſeeing the weapons delivered. Notwithſtanding which, all his precautions could not prevent that miſchief of which the writer of the voyage aſſerts, that ſome of the crew had a pre-ſentiment *.

A maſſacre. "All the forenoon they laboured in quietneſs, and when it was ten o'clock, the heat being extreme, they came to a rock near the wood's ſide, (for all this country is nothing but thick woods) and there they boiled caſſavi-roots, and dined. After dinner ſome ſlept, others waſhed themſelves in the ſea, all being ſtripped to their ſhirts, and no man keeping watch, no match lighted,† and not a piece charged. Suddenly, as they were thus ſleeping and ſporting, having got themſelves into a corner, out of ſight of the ſhip, there came a multitude of Indians and Portugueſe upon them, and ſlew them ſleeping; only two eſcaped, one very ſore hurt, the other not touched, by whom we underſtood of this miſerable maſſacre. With all ſpeed we manned our boat, and landed to ſuccour our men: but we found them ſlain and laid naked in ranks one by another, with their faces upward, and a croſs ſet by them; and withal we ſaw very great pinnaces come from the river of Janiero, very full of men; who we ſuſpected came from thence to take us."

The number of the ſhip's crew was now reduced to 27 perſons, though ſhe departed from England with 76. They could take in no more than eight tons of water for want of caſks, and yet if they ſtayed with a view to overcome this difficulty, the ſhip being made faſt to the trees, they were in fear leſt their moorings ſhould be cut, or the enemy ſhould make ſome ſudden attack upon them from the ſhore. Having condoled with each other upon their misfortune here, and at Port Deſire,‡ they reſolved at laſt to leave this fatal ſhore, and rather truſt themſelves to the mercy of Heaven than remain expoſed to the danger which as they concluded threatened them every moment.

Proceeding to Cape Frio, they met with contrary winds, that proved the more hard on account of their want of water, which was, however, ſeaſonably ſupplied by plentiful ſhowers of rain, and their ſpirits began to revive, when a new misfortune came upon them.

The fleſh of the penguins, which had kept well in the colder climates, began to corrupt as this unhappy company approached the warmer latitudes. A moſt loathſome worm bred in them, which not only ſpoiled their proviſions, but did them otherwiſe much miſchief. Notwithſtanding all their endeavours to get rid of theſe animals, they multiplied ſo faſt and were ſo extremely voracious, that they devoured every thing but iron, their wearing-apparel, linen, and woollen, and even their boots were eaten, and their fleſh bitten by them, nor did the timbers eſcape them, inſomuch that the captain and his crew feared they would eat through the ſide of the veſſel. Having paſſed the equator in this diſagreeable ſituation, the crew were next attacked with a diſtemper, which is thus deſcribed: "In their ancles it began to ſwell, from thence, in two days, it would be in their breaſts, and then fell into their lower parts, and there did ſwell moſt grievouſly and moſt dreadful to behold; ſo that they could neither ſtand nor go. The captain in this extremity, declared that there was nothing which he deſired ſo much as a ſpeedy diſſolution. At this time ſome died in the ſevereſt pain, and others in a frenzy." The anguiſh of the captain indeed was more mental than bodily ſuffering, as, excepting a boy, he was the only perſon in health on board the veſſel. By this time only 16 of the company remained, and on five of them only, as being ſound perſons, was all the dependance for labour and ſafety, the captain and maſter helping to work the ſhip, which, for want of better tending, was in a woeful condition, and the ſprit-ſail and top-ſail ſhattered in pieces. Yet thus they ſtill held on their courſe, "and thus (ſays the author) without victuals, ſails, or men, God guided us into Ireland." They arrived at Beerhaven on the 11th of June, 1593, and there ran the ſhip on ſhore, the Iriſh helping to fit her for floating, where the captain left the maſter and ſome of the crew to keep the veſſel, and five days afterwards he and ſome others of the company took their paſſage in an Engliſh fiſhing boat to Padſtow in Cornwall.

Such were the miſeries endured in this unfortunate voyage, in the courſe of which, things falling out ſo adverſe, thoſe who have ſtudied the book of human nature will not much wonder to find the commanders and the men falling out among themſelves, and with each other. By the laſt-recited account it ſeems, however, that Mr. Cavendiſh had not ſo much occaſion to blame Capt. Davis, as he, in the height of his vexation, might imagine. The manner of the latter's parting from the former, and the pains he took in endeavouring to rejoin him, together with other circumſtances which the judicious reader muſt have noticed in the courſe of the relation, all tend to corroborate this opinion, though not adopted by the diſappointed admiral.

Out of five ſhips that went out, only three came back from this expedition, namely the Dainty, that parted company with him in the South Sea, the Deſire having on board but 26 men, though originally manned with 150, and the admiral's own ſhip, of the number of men loſt from which we are not exactly informed, but it ſeems that not above fifty in all returned in ſafety.

Reflexions on the undertaking. When theſe things are conſidered, and the accounts here given are compared, it will not be much matter of wonder that Cavendiſh's men were ſo unwilling to expoſe themſelves to reiterated dangers. It is one thing to be bold in attempting the atchievment of a new but difficult adventure, it is another, after repeated repulſes to return to the charge, and combat with ill fortune through mere raſhneſs, when there is no neceſſity to renew the attempt. This ſeems to have

* "Many of the men (ſays he) had dreamed of murder and of ſlaughter, one ſaying to another, This I [laſt] dreamed that thou were ſlain.—Another anſwered, And I dreamed that thou were ſlain."—A circumſtance which, he obſerves, had occaſioned the captain to be more than ordinarily careful for the ſafety of his men.

† The pieces in uſe in thoſe times were let off with matches, firelocks being a more modern invention.

‡ The writer of the account from whence ours is extracted, adds here, "And conſidering what they were who were loſt, we found that all thoſe who had conſpired the murdering our captain and maſter were now ſlain by the ſavages, the gunner only excepted." There is nothing wonderful in this and ſome other ſimilar remarks made by thoſe who wrote in that age, eſpecially when we reflect that, even at this time, men cannot disjoin the idea of a particular providence from that of dealing the judgments of heaven wherever they think proper.—In this caſe, at leaſt, the reſt of the crew ſeem to have been involved in difficulties and diſtreſſes, and ſome of them, as we find in the ſequel, died a more miſerable death on board, than their companions had met with on ſhore from the Portugueſe and ſavages.

have been the error of our adventurer, who likewiſe appears to have entertained ſome little prejudices and partialities, not at all conſiſtent with the extenſiveneſs of his undertaking.

As to the expeditions he undertook, they were ſimilar to others, which engaged the high ſpirits, and enriched ſome of the ſucceſsful plunderers of the maiden reign. Private ſubjects of one ſtate endeavouring to plunder another, tho' ſanctified by cuſtom, is doubtleſs a barbarous method of carrying on a war. At the period of which we are writing, the Spaniards had an evident diſadvantage in the conteſt, and their ſubjects in the New World ſeverely felt the conſequences. As to Captain Cavendiſh, he fell a ſacrifice to that deſire of wealth and honour which forced him on a ſecond voyage to thoſe parts, where the ſucceſs of his firſt undertaking had furniſhed him with the means which if well managed, might probably have inſured him the enjoyment of a competence in peace and ſecurity in his native country. 1598

THE VOYAGE OF OLIVER VAN NOORT.

THE voyage of Oliver Van Noort and his company was performed by the ſhips Maurice, Concord, Henry Fredric, and Hope; the two former of which ſailed from Rotterdam on the ſecond of July, and having reached the Engliſh coaſt, remained there waiting for the latter till the 13th of September, and then departed thence upon their grand expedition, having taken on board an Engliſh pilot, of the name of Melliſh,* who proved very uſeful to them in the courſe of their undertaking.

The Dutch fleet leaves the Engliſh coaſt.

Having paſſed between Teneriffe and the Gran Canaria, they proceeded ſouthward till they came in ſight of the coaſt of Guinea, on the 3d of November. Afterwards, arriving at Prince's Iſland, they ſent in their boats and demanded a ſupply of proviſions, which a negro who met them at their landing made them believe would be readily granted. But while they were treating about this matter, a great number of them were ſuddenly cut off by a party that lay in ambuſh; they were purſued to their boats, which were alſo attacked, and the admiral's brother was killed in the engagement. The Dutch, in return, reſolved to attack the caſtle; but as they found the experiment too dangerous, they contented themſelves with burning the enemy's ſugar houſes, and having ſupplied themſelves with freſh water, ſailed to Cape Gonſalvo, where they met with two veſſels of their country.† Paſſing the iſland of Annabon on the 1ſt of January, they held on their courſe till leaving Cape Frio, they ſtood for Rio de Janeiro, where they arrived on the 9th of Feb. from whence after ſome loſs of time and men, by means of the Portugueſe they went to St. Sebaſtian. There they found no fruits but were accommodated with a good harbour, and plenty of wood and water.

Proceeding on their courſe, on the 14th of March a ſtorm overtook them, which ſeparated the vice-admiral and Hope from the other ſhips. The winter in thoſe latitudes approached; the ſcurvy prevailed, and fearing the extremities to which they might be reduced, the admiral reſolved to put into St. Helena, but the fleet could neither make that iſland nor the Aſcenſion; they only reached a very barren ſhore, where they could get nothing but ſome fowls which they knocked down with clubs. Departing from thence, they were carried to the Braſilian coaſt; but the Portugueſe not permitting them to land there, they proceeded to the iſle of St. Clara, where there was little elſe to be found but herbs and a ſort of ſour plumbs, which in about a fortnight cured their ſick, a circumſtance that at that time yielded them ſome conſolation.

Arrives on the coaſt of Braſil.

Intending for the ſtreights of Maghellan, they ſtood for Port Deſire, which at laſt they reached, and furniſhed themſelves with fiſh and penguins in great plenty, from an iſland to the ſouthward of that port.

Sailing up the rivers, they ſaw a number of beaſts reſembling ſtags and buffaloes, as alſo oſtriches and their neſts. The admiral afterwards landed to view the country, ordering thoſe that were left to guard the boats, not to ſtir from them; but theſe men diſobeying the orders of their commander, fell into an ambuſcade of Indians, by which means three of them were killed, and one was wounded. Theſe ſavages are deſcribed as tall men, and having their bodies painted, carrying ſhort bows, from whence they ſhot arrows headed with ſtone.

Still holding on their courſe, they endeavoured to enter the ſtreights, but were continually driven back by tempeſts. They loſt their anchors, broke their cables, and were viſited by ſickneſs, at the ſame time that diſputes and contentions prevailing among them, rendered their ſituation every day worſe: and thus they ſpent near 15 months from their firſt departure, before they were fairly got into the ſtreights of Maghellan.

On two iſlands near Cape Naſſau, on the 5th of November, the Dutch perceiving ſome men who ſhook their weapons at them by way of defiance, landed and purſued them to a cave, which they defended ſo ſtubbornly, that the aſſailants could not enter till every one of the ſavages was ſlain. The treaſure which theſe people were ſo fully determined to preſerve or periſh in the attempt was—their wives and children, whoſe lives the conquerors were ſo indulgent as to ſpare—becauſe they had nothing to hope from their deſtruction, nor to fear from their ſafety. Four boys and two girls being ſelected from among the children were brought on board the ſhips, where they were kindly entertained.

"One of theſe boys (according to Harris) having learned to ſpeak Dutch, gave them this intelligence, that the greater of theſe two iſlands was called Caſtemme, and the tribe that inhabited it Enno; that the ſmaller iſland was called Talcke; and that both were well ſtored with penguins, whoſe fleſh was their food, and whoſe ſkins their cloathing; and as for their habitations, they had none but caves; that the adjoining continent abounded with oſtriches, which alſo ſerved for food; that they were diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral tribes, which had their ſeveral diſtinct reſidences. The Kemenetes, that dwelt in Kaeſay; the Kennekin, Karamay; the Karaiks, in Morina;—all which people were of the common ſize, but broader breaſted; and painted all. The men tying the pudenda up with a ſtring, and the women covering thoſe parts with penguin ſkins; the former wearing long hair, and the latter ſhaven; but both theſe ſexes naked except a cloak of penguin ſkins, reaching to the waiſt. That there was alſo a fourth tribe of them, called Tirimenen, that dwelt in Coin; and theſe were of a gigantic ſtature, *being ten or twelve feet high*,

* Mr. Melliſh had been with Captain Cavendiſh in his voyage round the world.

† By the crews of theſe veſſels, Noort's people were informed of the misfortune of Captain Cleerhagen who was loſt with moſt part of his company on Princes's Iſland. They had likewiſe tidings of the voyage of Peter Veerhagens, who had entered the river of Congo, and putting in at this place had buried 38 of his people.

1600

high, and were continually at war with the other tribes."

[The reader will be the better enabled to form a judgement of the reality of the exiſtence of giants on the Patagonian coaſts, when he compares theſe accounts of the ancient voyagers with thoſe of the circumnavigators of the preſent age; for which reaſon, we ſhall for the preſent forbear any comments upon the ſubject.]

The admiral ſet ſail on the 29th for Port Famine; where he found no mark or remains of St. Philip's city (which has been already mentioned as raiſed by the Spaniards in order to command the ſtreights) a heap of ſtones only excepted, which might ſerve for a memorial of the ill fate that attended that undertaking. Not finding this place convenient for watering, the ſhips departed on the 1ſt of December, and the next day doubled Cape Froward, from whence paſſing into a large bay, they caſt anchor.——And here they found the ſhip of Sebald de Wert, one of Veerhagen's company, which had been driven back with another veſſel from the South Sea. The captain told them he had been in the ſtreights upwards of five months, that out of 100 men he had but eight remaining, and had put in there, while the reſt of the fleet proceeded, his veſſel not being able to ſuſtain the ſtorm in the ſouthern ocean. Leaving this place the admiral ſteered for Maurice Bay, in which he perceived that ſeveral rivers diſgorged themſelves, and obſerved that it extended far eaſtward.——"In the mouth of theſe rivers (ſays our author) were vaſt quantities of ice, which ſeemed never to melt the year round; for though this was near the midſummer ſeaſon in that ſouthern climate, yet the ice was ſo thick that at ten fathoms ſounding they could not reach the bottom of it. The land alſo ſeemed to be a heap of broken iſlands, which the height of the mountains made appear like one firm and continued piece.

Diſtreſſes of the Dutch in the ſtreights of Maghellan.

In this place they loſt two of their people, whom the ſavages killed while they were picking muſſels, on which food they chiefly ſubſiſted, and all the company had at once hunger and ſtorms to contend with during their continuance in theſe inhoſpitable regions.

From one bay to another the ſhips ſhifted their ſituation, but in general only to encounter freſh difficulties; till on the laſt day of February, they were at laſt relieved from theſe troubles, by paſſing Cape Deſire, and making in their way to the South Sea, which they entered with 147 men, but on the 12th they loſt the vice-admiral's veſſel, and not being able to recover the ſight of her, they went to La Mocha, an iſland in the 38th degree of ſouth latitude, which is remarkable for a high mountain, the top of which is cleft, and from thence pours a ſtream of water into the valley. Here they found an Indian town, the houſes of which were built of ſtraw. The natives bartered maize, ſheep, and other proviſions, for knives, hatchets, and the like; and entertained their gueſts at their ſimple habitations with a liquor called *Cici*, which was made of maize ſteeped in water, and held in great eſtimation amongſt them.——The Dutch accounts ſay that the men there are allowed to buy as many wives as they can afford. In caſe of murder, the kindred of the perſon ſlain, pronounce ſentence and execute juſtice on the murderer, as all public courts of law are unknown among them; notwithſtanding they are not always equally rigid in theſe matters, as it is ſometimes poſſible by treating with *cici* to eſcape puniſhment. The cloathing of theſe people is made of the wool of a large ſort of ſheep, of which they are very choice, and which are alſo uſeful to them in the carriage of heavy burdens.

The Dutch came next to St. Mary's Iſland, in lat. 37° 15′ S. gave chace to and took a ſhip laden with meal. They were told by this pilot that two men of war were waiting for them at Arica, where they were expected by the enemy, who had ſome intelligence of their deſigns, and the Engliſh pilot perſuaded them not to attempt going to St. Mary's, where Simon de Cordes, having being invited on ſhore, was ſlain with 23 of his people by the Indians, the Spaniards endeavouring to get his ſhip into their hands, and giving notice all along the coaſt of the arrival of the Dutch in thoſe parts.

Afterwards they ſailed to Val Paraiſo where they heard news of the captain of the Flying Hare, one of Veerhagen's company, who was led into a ſnare, and made priſoner by the enemy.* Here the Dutch took two ſhips, ſome Indians were alſo ſlain, but the Spaniards had quitted the place. From thence they proceeded to St. Iago, where they heard of the wars between the Spaniards and the natives of Chili, who had taken the town of Baldivia, putting the inhabitants to the ſword. They entered the bay of La Gueſco, on the 1ſt of April, and after remaining there about ſix days, quitted that harbour, and ſtood for Morre Moreno. They came in view of the rich city of Lima, on the 25th. And here it is ſaid "They came to underſtand the vaſtneſs of the treaſure which the Spaniards had *robbed* them of [a ſtrange perverſion of language] and which otherwiſe they had found in thoſe ſhips they took at St. Iago. For by the pilot's confeſſion, there were no leſs than 52 cheſts of gold thrown overboard, each cheſt containing four arobes and 500 pots, and each pot ten or twelve pound; and not only this public, but every man's private treaſure was as prodigally flung away, they not caring which way it went, whether to the bottom of the ſea or the bellies of the fiſhes, ſo the Dutchmen might be never the better for it. This gold came from St. Mary's iſland, where three or four rich Spaniards engroſſed all to themſelves, keeping two thouſand Indians ſtarving in the mines."

They come in view of Lima.

Departing from hence the fleet made the Ladrones, where the company got a ſupply of cocoas and other fruits, keeping a wary eye upon the nimble fingered natives. Coming to Bagla Bay, they got proviſions by pretending they were Spaniards. From hence, paſſing the Iſle of Capul, they proceeded towards the Manilla; and, in their way, took a junk of China which had ſtore of victuals on board, and was bound to the very place whither they wanted to be directed. From the maſter of this veſſel they got the following intelligence, "That there were then at Manilla two great ſhips that came every year from New Spain thither, and a Dutch ſhip alſo that was bought at Malacca; that the town was walled, and had two ſhips riding before it for its better ſecurity. He mentioned the vaſt trade carried on from China thither, and ſaid that two ſhips laden with iron and other metals, as well as proviſions, was expected to arrive from Japan.——Holding on their courſe, they made the iſland of Luſſon (which is deſcribed as being about the ſize of Great Britain) after having taken a bark laden with hogs and poultry, deſigned for the Indian tribute to the Spaniards. At this iſland they alſo took one of the Japan ſhips of 250 tons burden, and, on the 9th of May fell in with two veſſels, whoſe cargoes conſiſted of hens, hogs, and aqua vitæ.

Arrive at the Ladrones.

Falling in with the Manilla fleet on the 14th, a ſmart engagement enſued, in the courſe of which the Dutch admiral was boarded by the Spaniards, and on the very point of ſtriking to the Spaniſh admiral, when the former threatening to blow himſelf and his men up with the veſſel, rather than it ſhould be yielded to the enemy, deſpair giving them freſh courage, upon this declaration they exerted ſo much vigour, that they drove back the Spaniards, and boarded, and at laſt ſunk the admiral. In this engagement the Dutch loſt their pinnace, which was taken by the enemy's vice-admiral, and had beſides five men ſlain, and twenty-ſix wounded; while by their account it appeard that the Spaniards loſt ſome hundreds, that periſhed partly in the fight, and partly

An engagement with the Spaniards.

* This circumſtance the captain obſerved was owing to the wrong placing of the iſland in the maps.

6

drowned,

drowned, and knocked in the head after the fight was over."

After this engagement the Dutch fleet ſailed for Borneo, 180 miles from Manilla, lying in the 5th degree of north latitude. Here they arrived on the 26th, and putting into a large bay, ſent to aſk the king's permiſſion to trade there; but that prince would enter into no treaty with them, till he was ſatisfied they were not Spaniards; afterwards they trafficked for pepper with the Patarees, a people of Chineſe original. But at length they found that the Borneans wanted to ſurprize them, having fitted out an hundred veſſels called Praws, for that purpoſe, who pretended to bring them preſents from the king; but the Dutch being on their guard, threatened them with a diſcharge of their ordnance if they did not keep off. This threat had the deſired effect; and thus they eſcaped the meditated miſchief.

Treachery of the Borneans detected.

They found the iſland to be one of the largeſt in thoſe parts, the people all were warlike, and all ranks going armed; even the women were bold enough to reſent an affront with the point of a javelin.—Before they left Borneo on the night of the 4th of January, four of the natives attempted to cut their cables, but being diſcovered and ſhot at, they eſcaped, and leaving their praw behind them, it fell into the Dutchmens hands.

A Japaneſe junk that they ſpoke with in theſe latitudes told them of a great Dutch veſſel which bad weather had forced into Japan, only 14 of her crew remaining, and which veſſel they concluded to be Veerhagen's admiral.

Having but one anchor remaining, and the cable very much worn, they were happy in taking a junk from Jor, in which they found a ſkilful pilot, of whoſe ſervices they ſtood in great need, being ſurrounded with iſlands, and ſhoals, and in an unknown ſea.

Thus proceeding with caution, they arrived at Jortan in Java on the 28th, and heard tidings of Dutch ſhips at Bantham. The king of that part of the iſland they were informed had conquered Balambuan, a little iſle to the ſouthward but a ſhort time before their arrival.

Departing from Java, they ſteered for the cape of Good Hope, and in their way ſaw a Portugueſe veſſel of 600 tons faſt between the ſhoals. This ſhip it was ſaid, was going to Amboyna, in order to engroſs the trade there.

Having left Java on the N. E. they proceeded on their voyage, and on the 24th of April at night they ſaw a light which they reckoned to be about four miles north-weſt of them, which much ſurpriſed them as by account they were 36 leagues from land. But the next day they found themſelves in 34° 45′ S. lat. the weather being calm. At night they ſaw a light, and the next morning they diſcovered land to the north-eaſt of them, which was the Cape of Good Hope.

From thence they ſteered for St. Helena, where they arrived on the 26th of May, and having refreſhed themſelves with what the iſland afforded, they departed on the 30th, and again croſſed the Line, in their way to Holland, where they arrived in ſafety in two months and fourteen days, caſting anchor before Amſterdam, on the 26th of Auguſt. 1601

The fleet in which Sebald de Wert was, of whom we made mention, conſiſted of five ſhips, called the Hope, the charity, the Faith, the Fidelity, and the Good News; Sir Jaques Mohu, was the admiral, Simon de Cordes, the vice-admiral; Benningham Beckholt, and Sebald de Wert were captains of the other veſſels. They ſet ſail from Amſterdam June 27, 1598. Account of Sebald de Wert's expedition.

The admiral dying, when the fleet had reached the Cape Verd iſles, Simon de Cardes ſucceeded him in the command. From thence they proceeded to Guinea, with intention to trade. A French ſailor came on board them while they were on this coaſt, who offering to do them ſervice with the Negro king, Sebald de Wert was ſent to his majeſty, whom they found ſeated on a throne about a foot high, and dreſſed in ſomething like a gaudy ſuit of livery. But the place was barren of proviſions, ſo that the admiral was obliged to dine upon his own, under the pretext of ſhewing his majeſty his country fare, to whom he drank in Spaniſh wine; and this great prince found the liquor ſo agreeable to his palate, that he drank till he was carried away aſleep. Two buffaloes, a boar, and a few fowls were all they could get there; ſo they left the place on the 8th of November, and after touching at Annabon, ſailed for the ſtreights of Maghellan in the beginning of January, and entered them at Penguin Iſland, on the 6th of April.

Having anchored in a bay 54° ſouth, on the 15th of April, they remained there till the 23d of Auguſt, in the courſe of which time, they loſt 100 of their company. On May the 7th, while they were employed in taking gudgeons, they were attacked by ſome of the gigantic ſavages, whom they repulſed with their ſhot, killing ſome of them; which they afterwards revenged by the death of three Dutchmen.* Some of the natives of theſe inhoſpitable regions defaced a monument left by the admiral of a ſociety in which he was engaged with ſix of the principal perſons; which was called *The Fraternity of the Golden Lion*; and likewiſe pulled the dead out of their graves and horribly diſmembered them. They left the ſtreights on the 3d of September, but were ſeparated on the 7th, Captain de Wert was obliged to ſtay, the Faith and Fidelity were alſo left behind, and in the midſt of ſickneſs, tempeſts, and unnumbered difficulties reached the ſtreights, where they met with admiral Van Noort, whoſe ſituation did not put it in his power to relieve his diſtreſſed countrymen. At laſt they had the ſatisfaction of leaving the ſtreights on the 22d of January, 1600, and arrived in the Maes, on July 14, 1601.†

THE VOYAGE OF GEORGE SPILBERGEN.

The admiral ſails from the Texel.

THIS admiral, with a fleet of ſix ſhips, ſailed from the Texel on the 8th of Auguſt, and paſſing the Canaries on the 11th of October, ſteered for the coaſt of Braſil, which they came in view of on the 13th of December, and on the 20th of the ſame month, came to the Iſland of Grandes; on the 30th one of the ſhips in company called the Hunter, engaged with the five barks of Portugueſe and Indians as they heard by the firing, and preſently came up to help her; but a freſh ſupply reinforcing the enemy, the Dutch were obliged to ſheer off. Lying ſtill before this iſland, a conſpiracy was diſcovered, for which two perſons who were found guilty, were executed in the beginning of the new year. After they left this place, 1614

The admiral ſails from the Texel.

* According to the Dutch, the weapons which theſe ſavages uſed, were darts, with heads the roughneſs of which reſembled ſaws, ſo that there was no relief for a perſon hurt by one of them till it was cut out of the wound.

† In the courſe of their voyage they diſcovered three iſlands without the Streights, to which they gave the name of the Sebaldine Iſles.

1615 place, they ſailed to St. Vincent, and took a bark which they burned; 18 Portugueſe whom they had made priſoners, being refuſed by their countrymen to be exchanged for a ſmaller number of Dutchmen with ſome goods taken in the prize which were offered into the bargain.

A mutiny. After having weathered a dreadful ſtorm on the 7th of March, holding on their courſe, a mutiny on the 21ſt broke out, which was quelled by the commanders. They entered the Streights of Maghellan on the 24th of the ſame month, but the winds and tides forcing them out again, they could not re-enter till the 2d of April. In the latitude of 54 degrees, they gave the name of Pepper-Haven to a place where they found the bark of the trees in taſte to reſemble that ſpice. They trafficked with the ſavages, exchanging knives, and ſuch ſort of commodities for a kind of pearl; but theſe people ſoon after ſlew two of their men, having ſurpriſed a company of them on ſhore.

At length, on the 6th of May they made good their paſſage into the South Sea, where they met with a dreadful ſtorm, by which they were much endangered, as they were in fear of ſplitting on ſome iſlands lying near.

Proceeding in the Pacifie Ocean they came to La Mocha, (which place had been fixed upon for a rendezvous in caſe of ſeparation). Here they trafficked with the natives, whom they found to be a warlike people, furniſhed with military ſtores, and enemies to the Spaniards. Here likewiſe the Dutch were ſupplied with ſheep and poultry. Coming on the 28th to St. Mary's Iſland, they were invited on ſhore by a Spaniard, but finding by the appearance of ſome ſoldiers, that foul play was intended, they declined the invitation, and kept the Spaniard priſoner. Landing afterwards, when they approached the town, the people retired, ſetting the church on fire; the Dutch did the ſame by the houſes; and four Spaniards were ſlain, and two Dutchmen wounded in a ſkirmiſh.—Here they took 500 ſheep and ſome poultry, and afterwards ſailed to meet three Spaniſh veſſels which they underſtood were ſent out in queſt of them.

After having paſſed Arica, on the 2d of July, and on the 16th taken a ſhip with ſome valuable commodities on board, they were met by the royal fleet of Peru, of eight ſail, commanded by Rodrigo de Mendoſa, which they engaged, ſunk the vice-admiral and one of their ſhips called the St. Francis, totally defeated the enemy, and ſo much damaged the admiral's ſhip, that ſhe alſo went to the bottom, after the fight was over. By this misfortune the king of Spain loſt a vaſt ſum expended on the ſhips and their preparation. The commander in chief died of his wounds, and it ſeems that "all the Spaniards who were not killed in the fight or drowned in the ſea, *were diſpatched by the Dutch*, who, on their part had 40 men ſlain, and 58 wounded. After this fight, the fleet ſailed for Callion de Lima, in purſuit of the Spaniſh admiral's ſhip, not apprehending that ſhe was ſunk at ſea. Purſuing their courſe for Callion de Lima, the Spaniards ſhot at them from the ſhore, and were very near ſinking one of the Dutch veſſels, called the Hunter, with a 36 pounder, having an army of horſe and foot on ſhore, which the viceroy himſelf commanded.

The Spaniards defeated in a ſea-fight.

On the 8th of Auguſt they came to Paytos, where they landed 300 men, after having battered it with their great guns. The people, notwithſtanding the ſtrength of their fortifications, had fled to the mountains, taking their property with them, ſo that the Dutch found nothing but bare walls left them.

Of the Spaniſh dominions in that part of America, Pedro de Madrigo, of Lima, had given them the following account.

State of the Spaniſh dominions in America.

"That Peru, Chili, and Terra Firma, were under the command of one and the ſame viceroy, which office was continued for ſix or eight years —that the profits of it were 40,000 ducats per annum; with 1000 pezoes for the extraordinary expences of entertainments at the feaſts of Chriſtmas, Epiphany, &c. and likewiſe Eaſter; and 2000 pezoes per annum, when he ſet out the ſilver fleet.—That the viceroy lived in all the pomp and ſtate of a king, not ſtirring out without his guard of penſioners, and if he went far, he was waited on by 100 lances, and 50 muſkets.—That there were in Panama, Quito, Carlos, and Lima, certain courts erected for the judging of all cauſes, civil and criminal, appeal being made to the Oviidores in civil matters, and to the Alcaids in criminal, both which offices were ſupported by a yearly ſtipend of 3000 pezoes; and there was a fifth court of this nature too, eſtabliſhed in Chili.—The city of Lima (the city of Kings) was honoured with the reſidence of the viceroy and the arch-biſhop; it ſtands in a pleaſant valley, extended a mile and half in length, and three quarters in breadth, and was then reckoned to contain 100,000 inhabitants, beſides foreign merchants. It had four large market-places, and a circado filled with 2000 Indian artificers.—It had plenty of large buildings dedicated to religion, and other pious uſes: here were the churches of St. John, St. Marcellus, St. Sebaſtian, and St. Ann. The monaſteries of St. Francis, St. Dominick, St. Auguſtine, and of Our Lady de Los Meriedes, each of which had two cloiſters of friars of their order, and no leſs than 250 religious within the bounds of every conſiderable monaſtery. There were two colleges of Jeſuits; the five nunneries of the Incarnation, Conception, Trinity, St. Joſeph, and St. Clare. The hoſpitals of St. Andrew, for the laity; of St. Peter, for the clergy; of St. Ann, for the Indians; of Charity, for women only; of S. Spirito, for ſailors; and of S. Lazaro, for incurables. There were likewiſe in the city two colleges, the King's College, and that of S. Tonne; in the former 24 ſtudents were maintained by the king, and in the latter as many by the arch-biſhop. There were reckoned 200 doctors of all faculties here, 400 maſters of arts, and 1000 inferior ſtudents. Here were alſo the king's treaſury, and a court of inquiſition; beſides the grand office of the cruſada, or court of the pope's bulls, with officers and penſions proportionable to the former. There were reckoned in the city, and the ſuburbs of it, above 20,000 ſlaves; and it was defended by a garriſon of eight companies of foot, and as many of horſe. Situate two leagues from the ſea, the walls of it were waſhed by a river, that ſometimes ſo much ſwelled by great rains, as to carry away the ſtone bridge of nine arches. The Indians who lived here were free as well as the Spaniards, only they paid every ſix months, two pezoes, alſo a hen, eight rials, and a piece of cotton or woollen cloths. The next port of Lima was Callao, in which were about 800 inhabitants.—He added, that Potoſi was famous for its ſilver mines, and there was a good trade thither from Arica, of beaſts, wheat, meal, maize, and axicoca, an herb for chewing: and for carriages they made uſe of a ſort of ſheep, that were formed ſomething like camels. There was a deſcent of 400 ſteps down into the mine, in which, as dark and deep as it was, there were above 20,000 Indians continually at work; and 100 more employed in grinding and carrying, and other things relating to the ſilver trade. This place was ſo cold, that nothing would grow for four leagues compaſs round about, but a certain herb, which they call yeho. It was reported too, that in Potoſi (beſides the other inhabitants) there were 1500 gameſters, that lived merely by their wits, and were obliged to a pack of cards for maintenance. That not far from thence was Chuquiſaca, adorned with religious houſes like Lima, and had a biſhoprick worth 30,000 ducats per annum. That at 70 miles diſtance lay the ſilver mine called Eruco; and about 180 Spaniſh leagues diſtant was the fair haven of Arica, in the way to which lay many villages well inhabited.——That there was another ſilver mine, as cold as Potoſi, that lay near Puna, called Chocola Choca, about which lived 5000 Spaniards.——That Cuſco had a biſhop, monks,

and two colleges, with ſome 600 ſtudents, and 6000 Spaniſh inhabitants——That Arequippa had about 2000 inhabitants, and was honoured with the reſidence of a biſhop, and a corrigidore——That St. Iago was the chief city of Chili, which was enriched with a gold mine——That Baldivia was celebrated for the ſame, and Coquimbo for its plenty of braſs——That Auroca was no very rich town, but it was defended by a fort, in which a company of Spaniards always lay in garriſon.

They took two ſtrange birds of the eagle kind in the iſland called Leubes, and an Indian veſſel, by which means a quantity of dried fiſh was added to the proviſions of the company. They put to ſea again on the 21ſt of Auguſt, and on the 23d anchored before Rio de Tumba. Afterwards they intended to put back to the Iſle of Coques, in latitude 5° ſouth but could by no means attain their end. A continuation of bad weather left their ſhip at the mercy of the elements: and it was not till the 1ſt of October that they anchored in the haven of Acapulco.

They traffic with the Spaniards at Lima.

Here a flag of truce being hung out, they trafficked with the Spaniards, receiving proviſions in exchange for priſoners, and, what was remarkable enough, the viceroy's nephew Hernando, came on board to take a view of his enemies ſhipping. Sailing from hence they took a bark intended for the pearl fiſhery, and anchored in a port in the latitude of 19° north on the 1ſt of November: after an engagement with the Spaniards on the 11th, they ſailed for the Nativity, where having got what refreſhment they wanted, they departed on the 20th, ſteering for the Ladrones, whither they came on the 23d of January. 1615

On the 7th of February they arrived at the Ladrones, where they found the Indians unwilling to trade with them, becauſe they knew them not to be Spaniards; and after having taken ſeveral barks in theſe ſeas, they held on their courſe homewards, paſſing by Mindanao, but not coming cloſe in with the ſhore for fear of the dangerous ſhoals upon theſe coaſts*.

Thus proceeding, after touching at Ternate, the Dutch fleet came to Jacatra on the 15th of September, where the veſſels were refitted, when they underſtood that they were in no danger from the Spaniſh fleet ſent before to the Moluccas, the preparation of which had taken up four years, as the admiral was no more, and the ſhips had retired to the Manillas. Here they met ſome ſhips of their own country full of Spaniſh treaſure; and on the 20th of October fell in with the Concord, a ſhip of Horne, which was joined to their little fleet. The Naſſau came to Bantham from Mocha, on the 10th of November, and on the 12th of December the Amſterdam, and the Middleburgh, came thither from the Streights of Malacca. The admiral ſetting ſail with theſe, touched at St. Helena on the laſt day of March, and having compleated his voyage, arrived at Zealand in the month of July, 1616. They arrive at Zealand.

THE VOYAGE OF WILLIAM CORNELISON SCHOUTEN, OF HORNE.

1615

THIS voyage was undertaken on the ideas only of Iſaac Le Maire, a merchant of Amſterdam, and William Corneliſon Schouten of Horne, that there was yet another paſſage to be found to the South Seas beſides that diſcovered by Maghellan†. For the purpoſe of making this experiment, two ſhips were equipped, called the Unity, of 360 tons, and 65 men, the one commanded by the adventurer, whoſe voyage is the ſubject of our relation, the other called the Horne, of 110 tons, of which John Corneliſon Schouten was maſter. Being properly provided with guns, ammunition and proviſions, the Unity came to the Texel on the 27th of May, and her conſort joined her on the 3d of June, 1615. From thence they proceeded on their voyage, touching in their way at Dover, and having ſailed by the Canaries, paſſed the tropics of Cancer on the 15th of July. Anchoring at Cape Verd, they procured a ſupply of freſh water, and departed on the firſt of Auguſt, and on the 21ſt of the ſame month made the high land of Sierra Leona. And, after getting clear of the ſhallows, anchored at the iſland of Madrabomba, which the Dutch deſcribe as full of bogs, and marſhes, a habitation for wild beaſts, where they live uninterrupted by mankind. From thence they came before the village in the road of Sierra Leona, where, having given a pledge for their good intentions, the natives carried on a traffic with them, and the woods on ſhore furniſhed the crews with lemons in abundance.

Schouten embarks.

The fleet comes to Madrabomba.

The ſhips ſailed from Sierra Leona, on the 4th of October, and the next day, being in 4° 27″ ſouth lat. a ſtrange incident happened, which is thus related: "This day at noon they were ſurpriſed with a violent ſtroke given to one of their ſhips in the lower part of it. No adverſary appeared, no rock was in the way to be encountered with; but while this amuſed them, the ſea all about them began to change colour, and looked as if ſome great fountain of blood had been opened into it. This ſudden alteration of the water was no leſs ſurpriſing than the ſhock ſuſtained by the ſhip. But of the cauſe both of the one and of the other they were equally ignorant till they had come to Port Deſire, and had there ſet the ſhip upon the ſtrand, in order to make her clean. Then they found a large horn, both in form and magnitude reſembling an elephant's tooth, ſticking faſt in the bottom of the ſhip: it was a firm, ſmooth, and ſolid body all over, there being no cavity or ſpungy matter in the midſt of it, but all over as compact and denſe a ſubſtance as it appeared in the exterior parts. It had pierced through three ſtout planks of the ſhip, and razed one of her ribs." It was afterwards concluded that this horn which had entered half a foot into the veſſel's bottom, leaving as much more on the outſide, had belonged to ſome monſtrous fiſh, that having made an aſſault upon the ſhip, was unable to withdraw its weapon, which breaking in the attack, occaſioned ſuch an effuſion of blood as diſcoloured the ſurrounding ocean. A ſtrange ſhock.

On the third of November they ſaw Aſcenſion Iſland, and the company having been appriſed of the deſign of this voyage, to which before they were ſtrangers, the veſſels ſteered for Port Deſire, but when they came to 47° 40″ ſouth lat. miſſing the channel, they ſailed into a crooked bay, which from the num-

* In theſe parts their beſt proſpect was nothing but a range of hills covered with ice. They ſaw a vaſt quantity of penguins, and ſuch numbers of whales that they were obliged to be very cautious in their ſteerage, leſt they ſhould run foul of their enormous bodies.

† The ſtates of Holland had forbidden all their ſhips, except ſuch as belonged to the Eaſt India company to paſs to the Indies, either by the Cape of Good Hope or the Streights of Maghellan, which prohibition ſet the invention of ſome to work to find another paſſage. Le Maire and our adventurer, in conſequence of ſuch a notion entered on this ſcheme, and the latter embarked in this expedition.

1615 number of ſmelts taken there, they called Smelts Bay, and there they were near loſing the Unity. But this danger paſt, they anchored in the haven of Port Deſire, on the 8th of November, in 20 fathom water, but the ground being ſlippery ſtones, the ſhips drove from their anchors, and both were likely to be loſt, the Unity lying with her ſide on the clifts, and the horn being ſtuck in ſuch a manner that a perſon might walk under her at low water. Yet a flood and favourable weather brought them both off, beyond the expectation of thoſe on board. The next day they proceeded farther up the river, where they found abundance of ſea mews, and furniſhed themſelves with ſome thouſands of the eggs of thoſe birds. Two days afterwards they ſaw oſtriches and a kind of harts upon the coaſt, and, according to the report of theſe voyagers ſome burial places were found wherein were depoſited bones of an unuſual ſize, which apparently had belonged to the gigantic natives of the country. And here while they were endeavouring to clear the horn, burning reeds under her bottom, ſhe took fire by accident, and was totally conſumed; the guns, anchors, and iron-work, however, were ſaved and put on board the other veſſel.

On the 15th of January the Unity ſailed out of Port Deſire, but being becalmed, was obliged to anchor before the haven, which Schouten left with the firſt fair wind, in order to proſecute his intended diſcovery. On the 20th he ſaw Steencroſs Drive, and being 20 leagues to the ſouthward of the Maghellanic Streights, by account, ſteered ſouth by weſt, and the next day ſaw land to the weſt and weſt ſouth weſt, and afterwards to the ſouth; and the north wind made them take in their top-ſails while they were lying by an eaſt ſouth eaſt courſe, to get above the land. Coming cloſe with the ſhore to the eaſt, on the 25th, they called it Staten Land, and to that which lay weſtward they gave the name of Maurice-Land. The land upon the ſouth ſide of the paſſage at the weſt end of Maurice Land, appeared to tend weſt ſouth weſt, and ſouth weſt, being a craggy ſhore as far as was within view.

Thus proceeding they found themſelves in a fair way for ſucceeding in the diſcovery, which was at length put out of doubt by obſerving the high land to the ſouth of the ſtreights of Maghellan to end in a point or cape, to which they gave the name of Cape Horne, and laid it down in 59° 48′ ſouth lat. and the ſtreights they had ſailed through were termed the Streights of Le Maire, who, as we have ſaid, ſailed with Schouten upon the expedition. Having loſt ſight of land, they perceived a large ſwell from the ſouthward, and a blueneſs in the ſea, that indicated the conflux of thoſe two mighty oceans, which here meet one another and extend their mighty arms to circle the vaſt continents of this habitable globe.

During their paſſage through theſe new diſcovered ſtreights they had a ſeries of blowing weather, and a foggy air, and when they loſt ſight of land were ſtill forced to encounter with heavy gales. But having ſurmounted all theſe difficulties, and gone as far as 59° 25″ ſouth, they were at length enabled to hold a northward courſe, and on the 12th of February had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the Maghellanic Streights to the eaſtward of them, on which they celebrated their ſucceſs in a cup of good wine, and preſently forgot all former difficulties.

From hence they reſolved to ſteer for Juan Fernandez, which they reached on the 1ſt of March, at noon, and reckoned it to lie in 33° 48″ ſouth lat. but though they were pleaſed with the appearance of the land, yet not being able to bring the ſhip up to an anchor cloſe by it, they departed, having taken a quantity of fiſh, and ſupplied themſelves with freſh water. Having paſſed the tropic of Capricorn, on the 3d of April, at which time the flux raged among them, on the 11th they came to an iſle, to which they gave the name of Dog Iſland, lying in 15° 12″ ſouth. Their only refreſhment here was ſome herbs, and they named the iſland after a ſet of animals like dogs (probably of the Peruvian breed) which could neither ſnarl nor bark. "On the 14th about ſun-ſet (ſays our account) they came within a league of a large low iſland, from whence a canoe advanced to meet them, the men naked, with long black hair, and their bodies of a reddiſh colour. They made ſigns to the Dutch to come aſhore, and called to them in their language, and though they anſwered them in their own, the Spaniſh, Molucca, and Javan tongues, yet the Indians underſtood them not; ſo that both ſides were in the dark as to each others minds. When they got up to the iſland and ſounded, they found no bottom, neither was there any change of water, though they were within a muſket ſhot of the ſhore. Here the Indians and they had another unintelligible conference, but the former could not be perſuaded to come up to the ſhip by any ſigns the Dutch could make to invite them to it, as neither would the Dutch go aſhore to them, though ſtill they kept pointing, while neither ſide underſtood one word that was ſpoken by the other.

"Sailing afterwards 10 leagues to the north-weſt, to get above the land, they coaſted the next morning along ſhore, where they perceived ſeveral of thoſe naked people calling to them (as they gueſſed) to land. Preſently after one of the canoes came towards the ſhip, but would not come up to it, yet ventured towards the ſhallop, where the Dutch and thoſe Indians fell to their myſterious converſation again.

"The Dutch gave them beads and knives, and ſeveral things that pleaſed them, which kindneſs emboldened them at laſt to come a little nearer the ſhip, but ſtill they would not go aboard her, but got back into the ſhallop. Neither had they any great reaſon to be fond of their company there, for they were a parcel of light-fingered fellows, having much the ſame degree of conſcience and honeſty as thoſe at the Ladrones. They liked iron as the Ladronians did, and they loved like them to ſteal it. The very nails of the cabin windows and the bolts upon the doors could not keep their places for them, but they would have them off; this was found to be true, by an inſtance of one of them, who had cunningly ſlipped into the ſhip, and pulled out all the window-nails, which for ſecurity's ſake he had ſtuck into his hair. Nay, they were ſo very impudent, that whatever they laid hands on was their own (tho' the owner looked on all the while) if he did not recover his right by force. When the Dutch gave them ſome wine, they drank the liquor and kept the cup, ſo when they threw out a rope to bring them to the ſhip, they would neither uſe the rope nor return it. And their qualities were not more odd than the figure they made; for (beſides that they were all naked, except the pudenda, which they covered with a piece of mat, their ſkin was all over figured with ſnakes, dragons, and ſuch like vermin, which were very ſignificant emblems of their own ſubtle and miſchievous natures."

The Dutch having a mind to try if any thing were to be done with them, or to be gotten in the iſland, ſent their ſhallop with eight muſqueteers and ſix ſwords-men beſides other company of the ſhip. They were no ſooner landed than 30 of theſe people ruſhed out of a wood upon them, armed with great clubs and ſlings and long ſtaves; they would have ſeized the ſhallop and taken away the ſoldiers arms; but the muſqueteers letting fly amongſt them, kept them from the ſin of robbery at that time, and forced them to be honeſt whether they would or not. This iſland they called the Iſle without Ground, becauſe they could not anchor there: it was not broad, but long, and full of trees, which the Dutch gueſſed to be cocoas and palmettos. It was a white, ſandy ground, and lay in 15° ſouth, about a hundred leagues from Dog Iſland.

Leaving theſe people, whoſe language they could not underſtand, and of whoſe manners and morals they had ſo bad a ſpecimen, the Unity departed, and in her courſe paſſed two iſlands, to one of which they gave the appellation of Water Iſland, on account of its

low and marshy situation, and named the other Fly Island, from a quantity of flies, which surrounding some of the crew who landed and went into the woods, became a mere pest to them and their companions at their return. It was about four days before they got rid of this plague of flies, and with an hearty good will set sail from Fly Island, where, previous to this inconvenience, a wild man, (which one would think was no very extraordinary sight in those parts) had struck a panic into their company.

The Dutch take an Indian bark.

At the distance of about 1510 leagues by account from the coast of Peru, in 15° 20′ south lat. they took a bark, the crew of which would not strike when two pieces of ordnance were fired at them, but yielded to the shallop with 10 musqueteers on board, most of the men throwing themselves into the water, and the rest with their women and children surrendering to the conquerors, who used them well (according to their own relation) dressed their wounds, entertained them on board the ship, and sent all that they had taken prisoners freely back again. The bark these Indians were in, the Dutch say, was formed in the following manner: "It consisted of two canoes fastened together, in the midst of which were laid two broad planks of red wood, to keep out the weather, and several others went cross from one canoe to the other, which were made very fast and close above, and hung a good way over on both sides. At the end of one of the canoes on the starboard side, there stood a mast with a fork in the end of it, where the yard lay; the sail was made of mats, and the ropes of such stuff as the fig-trails in Spain consist of. They had neither compass, chart, nor any furniture for the seas, but only a few fishing hooks, the upper part of each of which was stone, and the other black bone, tortoise-shell, or mother of pearl." What was still more extraordinary, we are told that they had no occasion for fresh water, as, besides having recourse to the liquor of a few cocoa nuts, not only the men and women, but even their smallest children could drink with satisfaction out of the sea which flowed around them. The Dutch saw another of these barks on the 11th of the same month, which sailed so fast, that few Europeans could out go her. That day they made two islands, at one of which they anchored. They reckoned it to lie in 16° 10″ south lat. and from the number of cocoas growing on the shores, denominated it Cocoa Island.

Cocoa Island.

Here they met with a people who seemed willing to trade and exchange provisions and other commodities with them; but like some of the other islanders in those parts, they found them treacherous enough when they had an advantage. These savages afterwards boarded the shallop in order to take her, and laughed at the first discharge of the musquetry, but the second being better directed, they were convinced of the execution which fire-arms could do, and taught better manners. After this they were as troublesome in their importunities to trade with the Christians, as before they had been in their attempts to rob and murder them. Admiring much at the ship's strength, they not only climbed up her side like clustering bees, but dived under her, and examined her bottom.

The Dutch were well enough pleased with this traffic, which was carried on in a friendly manner, and the king of the savages sent them a hog by the way of present, for which he had taken nothing in return; his son also was kindly entertained on board the ship, though his majesty declined coming in person. Yet notwithstanding all this, on the morning of the 13th, a vast number of large vessels and canoes, containing about 800 Indians surrounded the Dutch ship. Having in vain endeavoured to deceive the Christians by pretending that they came only to direct them to a place where they might be accommodated, these savages gave a sudden onset, the king himself who was present, leading the way, and pushing his vessel so forcibly on to the attack, that the heads of two of his canoes were dashed in pieces with the shock. But the great ordnance of the Dutch playing upon them, as well as the small arms, they were glad to desist from their purpose. This place the Captain called Traitor's island; yet at the very next isle which he came to, he found much the same sort of treatment, and would have lost his shallop but for the spirited resistance of the crew.

1616

Traitor's Island.

When they came under 16° 5′ south latitude, on the 18th of May, it was resolved to steer in such a manner as to fall in southward with New-Guinea. In consequence of this resolution, they directed their course N. N. W. and on the 19th they saw two islands, to one of which they came on the 21st, where they were defied by some Indians coming in two canoes from the shore; but having chastised the insolence of those savages by a discharge of their guns, which killed two of their company, they heard no more of them, but the next day received from their countrymen a supply of cocoas, ubes roots, and roasted hogs, for which beads, knives and nails were given in exchange. The habitations of these Indians, which were full in view, were ten or twelve feet in height, about 25 in compass, and thatched with leaves; their bed was dried herbage, and a club made the whole of their furniture, as well as their defence against their enemies. The Dutch exchanged hostages with these people, sending three of their principal men in the room of six Indians, whom they retained. The king, who seemed to entertain an idea of good faith, caused great respect to be paid to his guests on shore, and would not suffer any of his subjects to disturb such of the crew as came to water.*

But after all, there was very little to be gotten on this island, as the Indians themselves had not at that time a plenty of hogs, for which the Dutch chose chiefly to barter. And besides, it appeared (though the king and his company even set their tiaras of feathers on the heads of two of the Dutchmen)† yet they wanted their guests to be gone; for they would have bought their absence with 18 hogs and a quantity of cocoas, and would have engaged them in a war with the king of the other island. Though all this time both prince and people continued their marks of respect to the Christians, kissing their feet, and laying them cross their necks, in token of awe and veneration. The account of these voyagers, says——"The 30th was made a day of solemnities, by the coming of the king of the other island to visit the king of this. He came with a train of 300 of his naked Indians, that had bunches of green herbs stuck about their middles, of which they prepared their drink: And that he might be sure to be welcome, he also brought 116 hogs along with him. When these two princes were within sight of each other, they began to bow and scrape, and muttered out certain prayers to themselves: When they met, they both fell down with their faces flat upon the ground, and after several very strange gestures used, they got up upon their legs, and walked away to the seats provided for them; where, after they had muttered some more prayers and bowed very reverently to one another again, with much ado they sat down under a canopy provided for them. And now to make the strange king the more welcome, a messenger was dispatched to the Dutch ship, to get drums and trumpets ashore; so the trumpets sounded, and a march was beat up, to the very great entertainment of the two kings. After this they prepared for a solemn banquet; and in order to it, began to make ready their liquor,

Strange ceremonies of the Indians.

* One of the natives detected, was pursued and severely beaten by the king's officers, who said that if his Majesty had known the matter, the offender would have lost his head. This and much more might possibly be accounted for by the fear wherein they stood of the Dutch fire-arms, which was such that the king, though desirous to hear the ordnance go off, and apprised of the effect, yet ran into the woods with all his courtiers, as soon as he heard the discharge.

† These crowns were made of red, green, and white feathers; each of the king's council had one of the doves sitting by him upon a stick.

1616 liquor which they did in this ſlovenly manner: There came into the preſence a company of fellows, with a good quantity of cana, (the herb of which they make their drink) each of whom having crammed in a mouthful of it they began to chew together; having chewed it a while they put it out of their mouths into a large wooden trough, and poured water upon it, and fell to ſtirring and ſqueezing it, and having preſſed out all the goodneſs, they preſented it in cups to the two kings. They were ſo civil likewiſe, as to offer the Dutch ſome of it who were ready to vomit at the ſight of the preparation. As for the eating part of the entertainment, it conſiſted of ubes roots roaſted, and hogs dreſſed after a very *nice* manner. They had ripped up the bellies, and taken out the guts of them; and then putting hot ſtones into their bellies, and ſinging off the outſide hair, without any farther dreſſing, or cleanſing, they were fit for the king's table. They preſented two of theſe hogs to the Dutch, with all the form and ceremony they uſed to their kings, laying them firſt upon their heads, and then kneeling with much humility, left them at their feet. They gave them beſides, eleven more alive; for which they received a preſent of knives, old nails, and beads.—— Theſe people were of a dark yellow colour, ſtrong, and well proportioned bodies, ſo tall and big, that the largeſt amongſt the Dutch would have been matched by the leaſt of them. Some wore their hair curled, ſome frizzled, ſome tied up in knots; and ſome had it ſtanding up-right on their heads like hogs briſtles, a quarter of an ell high. The king, and ſome of his courtiers, had long locks hanging down below their hips, bound up with a knot or two, but the women were all cropped cloſe; and beſides, were very ugly figures, being ſhort and ill ſhaped, and their breaſts hanging down to their bellies. Both ſexes went naked all to the pudenda: They ſeemed to be a people wholly void of devotion, and all worldly care and prudence, living juſt as the inferior animals do upon what the earth itſelf produced, without the ſolicitations of art and induſtry. They neither ſowed nor reaped, nor bought nor ſold, nor did any thing for a livelihood, leaving all to the care of nature, which if it failed at any time they muſt ſtarve; and they had as little regard to the laws of decency and modeſty too as to thoſe of civil prudence and policy, for they made uſe of their wives openly, in the greateſt aſſemblies; even before their king too as much as they reverenced him"——In their manners, in many of theſe particulars, the reader will find a ſtriking reſemblance with thoſe of the Indians mentioned by our modern circumnavigators.

Horne Iſland. To this place the Dutch gave the name of Horne Iſlands, and called the bay Unity Bay, from whence they ſet ſail on the firſt day of June, and for 20 days ſaw no land, but on the 21ſt of the ſame month, diſcovered a low iſland, ſome of the natives of which came off in a canoe, and were in manner and appearance much like the Indians already deſcribed, except that they had bows and arrows, which were the firſt weapons of that ſort that Schouten's company had ſeen ſince their entering the Pacific Ocean. Theſe people gave theſe ſtrangers to underſtand by ſigns, that there was more land, and a likelihood of better convenience farther to the weſtward; and the latter ſhaped their courſe according to this information. On the 24th they fell in with three iſles, which they called the Green iſlands, and ſaw another on St. John the Baptiſt's day, to which they gave his name. Diſcovering, at the ſame time very high land to the ſouth weſt; they concluded it to be the point of New Guinea, and ſtood for it. Having reached it by noon, they coaſted along ſhore, and the ſhallop being ſent to ſound, was aſſaulted by the natives, as was alſo the ſhip the next day; but the Dutch having the victory in both conteſts, theſe ſavages who before would not underſtand their ſigns, nor anſwer to their kind offers, became more intelligent and tractable, ranſoming a priſoner taken in the night, at the price of 10 hogs, and ſupplying the ſtrangers with what they wanted by way of barter.

New Guinea.

The Dutch departed on the 28th, ſtill ſailing with the point of this iſland in view, and alſo ſaw ſeveral more. On the 30th ſome other Indians, in appearance more peaceable and modeſt, came to them in their canoes; and on the firſt of July they anchored between an iſland about two miles in length, and the firm land of New Guinea.

Here the ſhip was ſurrounded by about 25 canoes manned with thoſe people who had before ſeemed of ſo peaceable a diſpoſition, but who now came to try their ſtrength in war, in which conteſt, as in moſt of the like nature, the Europeans preſently gaining an evident advantage by means of their fire-arms, the aſſailants were defeated, and the Dutch were ſuffered to proceed unmoleſted. Thus continuing their courſe on the 6th they ſaw a very high hill to the S. S. W. which they thought to be the hill Geemanapi in Banda, but found their miſtake, ſoon after diſcovering three other hills, ſome of which were volcanos, on which account they gave the place the name of Vulcan's Iſland. "The iſland (ſays the writer of the voyage) was well inhabited, and full of cocoas, but there was no anchoring there. The people were naked, and extremely fearful of the Dutch, and their language ſo very different from all thereabouts, that none of the blacks they [the Dutch] had with them, could underſtand them. There appeared more iſlands north and north weſt; but they held their courſe to one that lay north weſt by weſt, whither they came that evening. The water there they obſerved to be of divers colours, green, white, and yellow, which probably was the effect of the mixture of ſome rivers, becauſe it was far ſweeter than the ſea water, and was full of leaves and boughs of trees, and ſome had birds and crabs faſtened upon them."

Volcanos.

The next iſland they came to, was inhabited by a people called Papoos, remarkable for nothing but their ill features, which were not at all ſet off by the uncomely ornaments of rings in their noſes, rows of hogs teeth worn round their necks, and ſuch ſort of ſavage finery. In ſhort, their appearance was ſuch as diſguſted even to loathing, a people not very curious in the arts of dreſs, and who have never been remarked for nicety of taſte amongſt the European nations. The houſes of theſe ſavages were elevated on ſtakes about nine feet above the ground, a cuſtom amongſt many of the Indian nations, who live as if they were in continual fears of a general deluge.—Leaving the country of the Papoos, the Dutch came to another iſland, from which they were frightened away, not by the deformity of the people, but by the dear rates at which they valued ſuch proviſions as they had to diſpoſe of. And now Schouten's fleet, ſtill proceeding, yet remained in uncertainty, whether they had really been all this while on the coaſt of New Guinea or not, the charts not agreeing with their obſervations.

Papoos.

As they ſailed, on the 15th, along ſhore of two iſlands, on which obſerving abundance of cocoa trees, the captain diſpatched a party properly armed, in the ſhallop and the boat, to procure ſome of the fruit, but, notwithſtanding all the advantage of their fire-arms, theſe were ſo roughly handled by the Indians, that they were obliged to return without having effected their purpoſe. Afterwards the ſhip came to an anchor at the ſmaller iſland, where a number of the crew landed, and burned ſeveral houſes of the natives, who afterwards came and made peace with them, bringing fruits of divers kinds, and being preſented with beads and toys, the difference was amicably adjuſted. Matters being thus accommodated, we find, "They continued trading for cocoas, bananas, caſſanie [caſſavi or caſſada] and papede, of the former they got as much as came to 50 nuts, and two bunches of banana a man. This papede and caſſanie are alſo Eaſt-India commodities; and the latter particularly is alſo admirably good in the Weſt-Indies, and far beyond what they met with here. The people made all their bread of it, and baked it into large round cakes for that purpoſe. They called their own iſland Moa, which was the moſt eaſterly, the other, over againſt

A party of the Dutch repulſed by the Indians.

They are reconciled with them.

against it Jufoh, and the farthermoft about fix leagues from New Guinea, Arimoa. Theſe people had probably been viſited by ſome Europeans before, as they had Spaniſh jars and pots, and were not ſurpriſed at great guns, as the other Indians uſually were, nor ſo curious in looking into the ſhip as abſolute ſtrangers to ſuch a thing might be ſuppoſed to be.

Proceeding by the land in a north weſt they came on the 21ſt at noon into lat. 10° 13″ north, and anchored near a cluſter of iſlands where they had tempeſtuous weather, and after their departure were overtaken by ſome canoes of Indians, who like the former ſeemed to be no ſtrangers to the Europeans; but were larger and of a more yellow complexion than thoſe of Moa. They brought a fruit like prunes, cocoas, and bananas, to barter, and others brought porcelain ware. They wore glaſs beads, and ear-rings, and were armed with bows and arrows. The next day they ſaw another iſle which they called Schouten's Iſland.

Schouten's Iſland.

Effects of an earthquake felt at ſea.

On the 29th as they were holding on their courſe, they felt a very ſenſible ſhock, which alarmed the ſhip's company, who thought no leſs than that the veſſel had ſtruck upon ſome unknown rock or ſhoal, but finding themſelves evidently clear of all ſuch dangers, and not being able to get ground upon ſounding, they reaſonably concluded that it was an earthquake which had thus ſhaken the watry regions. And when they put into a great bay the next day, the ſhock was repeated, and a moſt dreadful thunder-ſtorm enſued with torrents of rain, which probably preſerved them from the pernicious effects of the lightnings that glared around them.

In this variable weather, they had twice paſſed the equinoctial line; and, on the third of Auguſt, being in 35″ north lat. conceived that they had reached the end of New Guinea, having ſailed 230 leagues along the coaſt.

They now ſaw two iſlands to the weſtward, from whence came ſeveral canoes with tobacco, rice, and Indian beans. The people of theſe parts ſpoke the language of Ternate and the Malayan tongue, and ſome were acquainted alſo with the Spaniſh. Some were cloathed with looſe ſilks about their waiſts, others wore breeches, and the Mahometans among them had ſilken wreaths about their heads, which were alſo covered with fine black hair, and they were extremely fond of wearing rings of gold and ſilver. Linen appeared to be what they moſt wiſhed to receive in exchange for their commodities, notwithſtanding they bartered them alſo for beads and toys. The people were natives of Tidore, and this was Gilolo, as it was afterwards found, though the Indians were particularly careful not to tell the name of their country. The Dutch kept ſailing round the land with various weather; and, on the 18th, ſpoke with the crews of two canoes that had hung out a ſignal of peace. Theſe men were of Ternate, and informed them that an Engliſh ſhip, and a Dutch pinnace had lain three months in the road of Soppy to which they offered to conduct the ſtrangers, coming themſelves from a village which bore the ſame name. On the 19th they ſailed into a ſandy bay, where they bartered for Indian commodities, and for poultry, lying about a cannon-ſhot from the ſhore. And about the middle of the next month proceeded on their courſe to Ternate, whither they ſaw another veſſel which proved to be the Morning Star, ſailing with all expedition. The ſhallop which had lain in a creek with that veſſel reported the intelligence that 10 ſhips were waiting at the Manillas with a view to intercept the Spaniſh fleet that was bound for Ternate. They alſo learned that Peter Bot, on his return, was wrecked with four veſſels off the iſland of Mauritius, only one of the four eſcaping deſtruction. Schouten next came to Jacatra, and paſſing by the iſland anchored within the harbour. Here they loſt one of their crew, being the firſt man that death had deprived their ſhip of, and which, with two that the Horne loſt, made up the whole number that died during the whole voyage. 1601

Schouten comes to Jacatra.

But while the captain was here refreſhing his men, he little thought of the misfortune that awaited him. The Eaſt-India Company, who looked with an envious eye upon all adventurers but thoſe of their own aſſociation having (as has already been obſerved) obtained a prohibition, preventing any others from paſſing to the eaſtern countries by the Cape of Good Hope, or the Streights of Maghellan, were not at all pleaſed with the ſucceſs of Schouten's undertaking. In conſequence of this diſpleaſure, the ſhip and goods of this unfortunate captain were ſeized by order from the preſident of the company, coming from Bantam to Jacatra while he lay there. It was in vain to remonſtrate; he was told he might complain at home, (the reader will imagine to how little purpoſe) he was therefore obliged to put up with the injury. His ſhip's company afterwards diſpoſed of themſelves according to their various inclinations. While ſome went into the company's ſervice, others ſailed for their own country on board the Amſterdam, and the Zealand, under Admiral Spilberghen's command. And they had been but 17 days on their voyage when Le Maire, their principal merchant, died, and, on New Year's Day, the Amſterdam loſt ſight of the Zealand. His ſhip ſeized

They doubled the cape on the 6th of March, and made St. Helena on the 31ſt of the ſame month, where they again found and joined company with the Zealand. On the 24th of April they paſſed the equinoctial line; and at length came into Zealand on the firſt of July, with the honour of having ſucceeded in the attempt, but deprived of all the profit which they might and ought to have reaped from the undertaking.

The conduct of the Dutch government in this caſe appears to have been as impolitic as it was unjuſt. To give ſuch an unlimited encouragement to monopolies, can never be the intereſt of any commercial nation, and to deprive any man or ſet of men of the fruits of their labours muſt be a great bar to check others in the courſe of uſeful improvements, at the ſame time that it ſtamps indelible diſgrace upon the ſtate that authoriſes ſuch monſtrous oppreſſion.

The Hollanders, however, ill as they uſed their countrymen upon this occaſion, ſeem to have been proud of the diſcovery; while Schouten may be ranked among the number of thoſe projectors, who without ſerving himſelf, has contributed to the benefit of ſociety.

THE VOYAGES OF CAPTAIN DAMPIER,

With the BUCCANEERS of AMERICA.

THE Buccaneers of America were a ſet of people collected generally from among thoſe of low origin, or of deſperate fortunes, who from ſmall beginnings roſe into ſome conſequence in naval hiſtory, being rather famous, however, for the miſchiefs which they did the Spaniards in the new world, than from any benefit that Europe received from them, or indeed for any profit that moſt of them ſecured for themſelves; their irregularities, their want of officers properly commiſſioned, their perpetual diſſenſions among themſelves, often contributing to defeat their ſchemes, and generally hindering them from enjoying without interruption, what they had hazarded their lives to acquire.

1680 These men, however, such as they were, became a perpetual plague to the Spaniards in their settlements, when (following the example of Drake, Cavendish, and others already mentioned) they always found means to plunder and annoy. At first, they fitted out only small vessels, but in time as their company grew stronger, they became more daring, and entering the South Seas, ranged the Spanish main to the no small terror of the inhabitants.

We cannot here forbear observing that this was one of the *happy* effects of the discovery of the American continent in favour of the Spaniards, who neither deserved nor well knew how to preserve this acquisition to their own real advantage. Instead of growing greater, Spain since that æra has decreased in power, nor can all the gold of Mexico and Peru, restore to her that weight which she once had in the balance of Europe, whom the discovery of America has doubtless tended to aggrandise as well as refine, and many of whose states have reaped more solid advantages from it than the Spanish nation, whose vast supply of gold drawn from those parts has only made that metal cheaper on the one hand, while, on the other, it has constantly invited foreigners to plunder her richest settlements on an extensive coast, for the defence of which her greatest power has often proved inadequate.—But to return to the Buccaneers: Those people generally entertained some of the Moskito men on board their vessels, of whom the following is a true description:

"The Moskitos are a set of Indians that inhabit the main between Honduras and Nicaragua. They are tall, well-made, raw-boned, lusty, strong, and nimble of foot, long visaged, have lank, black hair, look stern, are hard favoured, and of a dark copper-coloured complexion. They are but a small nation, the same perhaps that Drake calls Symerons. They are very dextrous at throwing the lance, fisgig, harpoon, or any manner of dart, being bred to it from their infancy; for the children imitating their parents, never go abroad without a lance, which they throw indifferently at almost every object that falls in their way, till, by constant practice, they became masters of the art. They next learn to parry a lance, arrow, or dart; and the training of them to this exercise is in this manner: Two boys place themselves at a small distance, and throw light blunt lances at each other; one throws the lance and the other parries, alternately. He that parries holds a small stick in his right hand with which he turns aside the lance that is darted at him, and by constantly practising in this manner, they at last become so dextrous, that they will shoot arrows at each other, and parry them as fast as they are shot. This they will do with a small stick no bigger than the rammer of an ordinary fowling-piece. Before they arrive at manhood, they become so dextrous, that they disregard the arrows of their enemies; and, unless they are poured thick upon them, and come more than one at a time, they will suffer not one in a thousand to hit them. They are no less expert at striking of fish, and two or three of them will, in those seas, maintain a ship's company of 100 men. Turtle and manatee are their principal pursuit; the former will commonly weigh 600lb. and two Moskito men will strike two of them a day while the season lasts, for many days together.

The manatee is known also by the name of the sea cow, and is struck with a harpoon, so contrived by the Moskito men as to be thrown with a long stick; but they are very cautious of discovering their art even to the English."

Captain Dampier who was engaged with these buccaneers, is the person whose exploits we are about to relate, and who having circumnavigated the globe, deserves a place in this department of our work. He was descended from a family of good reputation in Somersetshire; but it does not appear that his parents were blest with the gifts of fortune. At their death he was removed from a grammar school to an English one, where he learned writing, &c. which are often found more necessary than what is called a learned education. Being afterwards placed with a master of a ship at Weymouth, he made a voyage to France, and when he returned from thence was employed in the Newfoundland fishery, where his station for the summer proved not at all agreeable. But after his arrival in England, leading what is generally termed a life of indolence, which by no means insured the favour of his friends, he retired for some time into the country. Having at length, however, fallen again into the company of some mariners, he was once more persuaded to try his fortune, and made a voyage to Bantam*, in the course of which his curiosity led him to acquire a knowlege of navigation, which proved of use to him in the course of his future life.

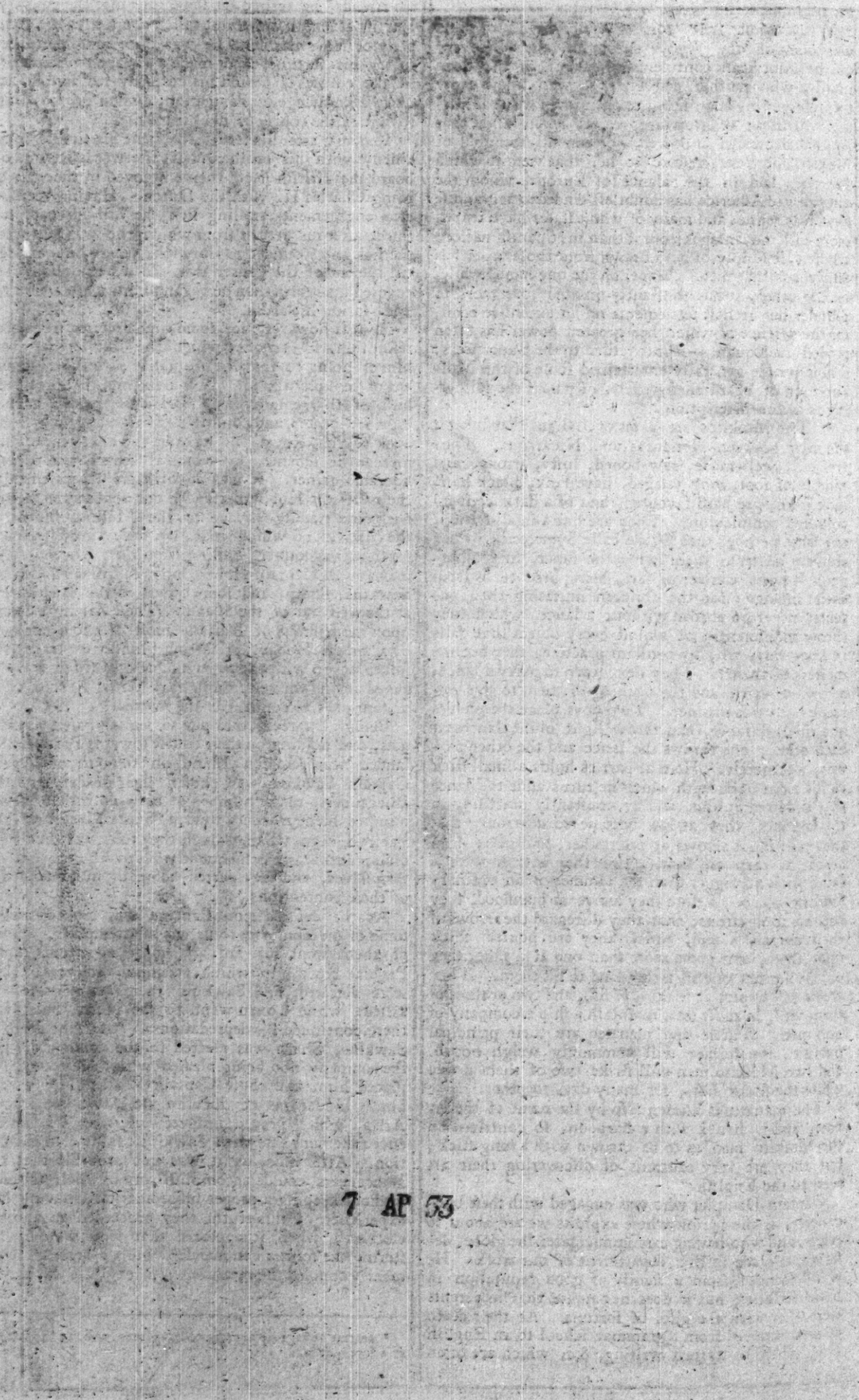
The year after his return, he spent his time at home chiefly with his brother, but afterwards entered on board the British fleet, then employed in the wars of King Charles II. with the Dutch. Having been in two engagements, falling sick, he had no part in a third, after his return from which, he was sent with the sick and wounded to Harwich, where he remained till the end of the Dutch war. But he no sooner recovered his health than he began to think of embracing a sea-faring life again.

He was however, for some time diverted from this resolution, by an offer which one Col. Hellier made him of going to Jamaica in quality of a superintendant of his plantation. But a six-months trial tired him of this employment. He afterwards turned logwood-cutter, and coming to England in 1678, went back to Port Royal in Jamaica the next year upon a mercantile scheme, by which it seems he was a considerable gainer. It was at this time a gentleman of the name of Hobby persuaded our adventurer to embark on a trading voyage to the Moskito shore, of the natives of which coast we have already given a particular account. Sailing from Port-Royal in Jamaica with Captain Hobby, they fell in with Coxen, Sawkins, Sharp, and some others of the Buccaneers at the west end of the island. These having a design upon the Isthmus of Darien, most of those engaged by Captain Hobby, preferring plunder to trade, resolved to go with them, and Dampier at last was engaged among the rest, though, it seems, he took three or four days to consider of the matter.

Being all agreed, they put to sea soon after Christmas, and holding on their course towards Porto Bello, landed near Golden Island on the 5th of April. Captain Sawkins was chosen their leader, and the Buccaneers, to the number of between three and four hundred men, marched towards Santa Martha, on the Pacific Ocean, which though they took, yet they were disappointed, and consequently fell to disputing among themselves, and they parted company in consequence of these contentions.

As the design upon Panama was looked on by some of the company to be worth attempting, a body of them went forward and made an attack upon Puebla Nova, in which attempt, however, they were defeated, and Sawkins their commander was killed; while Coxen went to the North Seas, and there continued his depredations. After the death of Sawkins, Sharp was elected to the command, but the company not being pleased with their choice displaced him, and chose Captain Watling to succeed him. Under his conduct an attack was made upon Arica, which proved unsuccessful, and he experienced the same fate with Sawkins, falling in the action. After this, as it was not probable that the Buccaneers could accomplish any of their schemes without keeping a proper subordination; having had experience of this truth, they proceeded to another election, when it appeared that some were for restoring the former commander, while others as vehemently opposed the measure. At length it was agreed that

* In this voyage he appears to have been only in the station of a foremast man.



7 AP 53

Engraved for Mavor's Voyages & Travels.

Granet pinx.

Affecting interview of two MOSKITO-MEN,
one of whom had been left Three Years on the Island of Juan Fernandez by Capt.n Dampier.

Pollard sculp.

that these parties should separate, and it being put to the decision of lots, which of them should keep the ship, Dampier's party proved unfortunate. This company consisted of 44 armed men, a Spanish Indian, two Moskito Indians, and five slaves taken in the South Seas. They had the ship's long-boat, and two canoes, with two patararoes, and some ammunition. With this preparation and a small proportion of provisions, they undertook to sail to Santa Martha, and from thence to travel by land to the North Sea; and having parted company with Sharp on the 13th of April, they made good their landing in the bay of Panama on the first day of the next month. But in the river called Santa Martha, up which they were to proceed, was a vessel of force which had been ordered thither on purpose to intercept them. Nevertheless their situation being such as would not admit of their being discouraged at a difficulty of this kind, they struck out a new track which was attended with much trouble and danger, yet at length they succeeded so far as to get safe to the opposite shore. Beginning their journey over land on the first of May, in the space of 22 days they completed their purpose, in which time they travelled 34 leagues, passing over high mountains through unfrequented vales, and fording through or swimming over deep and dangerous rivers, or passing them by such bridges as necessity prompted them to find out, and opportunity furnished them with the means of supplying. It is a just observation that there are in the mind and body of man particular powers which at certain conjunctures only can be called forth; and this is a maxim which was never more fully verified than in the circumstance of these people, who upon a hostile shore, unfurnished with a number of things apparently necessary for the undertaking, and having no resources left but in themselves, were yet found equal to the task of effecting a passage which scarcely any set of men upon the principles of mature and deliberate reason would ever have thought of undertaking.

In effect, they arrived on the north coast, and Dampier was amongst the first of the company who reached the promised shore. They immediately embarked on board the ship of Captain Tristrian, a French commander, and within two days joined eight other Buccaneering vessels, the adventurers who were embarked in them, having then a design of going on another expedition over land to Panama. But the danger attending such an undertaking being represented to them, they resolved to lay aside that scheme, and to proceed to make an attack upon Spanish Town, up Carpenter's river, for which purpose the ships sailed successively. That on board of which Dampier was, arriving at the place of rendezvous, found an English captain there whose name was Wright, and who had lately taken a Spanish tartan, that with 12 armadilloes, or small frigates of war, had been in quest of the pirates. All those who had come a tedious journey over land, joined in requesting him to fit out this tartan for them, promising still to act under his command, and on that condition their proposal was agreed to. As the expected remainder of the fleet did not arrive at the appointed time, it was justly concluded that they had been taken or dispersed by the armadilloes already mentioned. This conclusion leaving them at liberty to pursue their own particular designs, Captain Wright stood for Carthagena, and being joined by Captain Yankey, they took a prize laden with sugar and tobacco, and the ship by vote fell to Yankey, whose vessel Wright took, which was better than his own. After this the booty being shared, the commanders parted, Captain Wright sailing to the Caracca coast, and Captain Yankey a different way. The former took three barks, one laden with hides, another with European commodities, and a third with earthen wares. Captain Yankey sailing with one Cook on board, who, as quarter-master, was to be second in command according to the buccaneer custom, having taken a Spanish prize, he claimed the command; in consequence of which, all who were so

disposed were free to join him. There were some among them who had come over land from the South Seas, all of whom chose to follow his fortune; but the Frenchmen joining, plundered the vessel of goods, money and arms, and then left them on the Isle of Vacca, Captain Tristrian only taking on board about nine of them, among whom were the Captains Cook and Davis, who were carried into Petit Guavres, and found means to make themselves masters of the ship, and sailed to Vacca, where their companions came on board. Afterwards they made a prize of two vessels, with which they resolved to plunder the Peruvian coasts. All these ships arriving at Virginia, Dampier, and those who travelled over land, joined them there, and set sail in the prize commanded by Captain Cook, from Achamack river, on the 23d of August, and after weathering a violent storm came to Cape Verd, whence, after refreshing themselves, they proceeded to Sal, and thence by advice to Mayo, where the inhabitants refused to traffic with them on account of the treacherous dealing of one Captain Bond, who afterwards surrendered himself to the Spaniards, and taught them by fitting out fire-ships to annoy his countrymen. Departing from thence they came to the African coasts, after having got what supplies they wanted, they sailed for the Streights of Magellan, but having a contrary wind, doubled Cape Horne; after this they had a storm which continued from Feb. 14, till March 3. Yet by the 17th of the month they came to latitude 48° south, by means of a favourable gale. On the 19th, they met with a ship which at first they supposed to be Spanish, but afterwards found to be an English one, commanded by Captain Eaton. These vessels kept company to the island of Juan Fernandez. 1682

As soon as Captain Cook's ship was moored, Dampier was eager to go ashore to look for a Moskito man, whom they had left in this island, when they were driven from it in the year 1681, by three Spanish men of war, Dampier, being at that time in the ship commanded by Captain Watling, just after Captain Sharp was displaced. This man, when Captain Watling drew off his crew, happened to be in the woods hunting for goats; and the ship was under sail before he came back. Dampier was curious to know whether this Moskito man was yet alive, and if he was, how it had fared with him; and it seemed that the Indian was no less anxious to enquire after his friend, when he perceived the ships that were approaching were English ships. The poor fellow had observed them the day before when first they came in sight, and judging about what time they would come to an anchor, he had killed three goats, and gathered greens, ready to dress as soon as the company should be at liberty to come on shore. He was already upon the beach before the ships could be well secured, and was seen by one of his countrymen who happened to be on board, and it was no small pleasure to mark the excessive joy of these two Indians at their meeting. The Moskito man belonging to the ship was named Robin: he on the island Will. Robin was the first who leaped on shore, and running to Will, threw himself flat on his face at his feet, and who helping him up, and embracing him, fell flat in like manner with his face at Robin's feet, and was by him taken up and embraced as before. The surprize, the tenderness, the solemnity of the interview, which was exceedingly affectionate on both sides, was admired even by the crew of Buccaneers, who were spectators from the ships of what passed on shore. "When Dampier, who was his old friend, came up, Will was no less transported with joy to see him than to meet his countryman, but he expressed it in quite another manner: other friends too he met with among the crew who knew him, and they were all overjoyed at meeting so unexpectedly; for these men are very much beloved on board the ships wherever they sail, for their readiness to assist in whatever service they are put upon. When the ceremonies of congratulation were over, and they had time to make enquiries, he told

1683 told them that he was ſeveral times ſought after by the Spaniards, who knew that he was left upon this iſland; becauſe when the ſhip ſet ſail he was in ſight of the ſhore, and was ſeen by them before he could ſecret himſelf; but as he was continually upon the watch, and had diſcovered a ſafe retreat, they never had been able to find him. He had with him, he ſaid, his gun and his knife, a ſmall horn of powder, and a few ſhot. Theſe being ſoon ſpent, he contrived a way, by notching his knife, to ſaw the barrel of his gun in ſmall pieces, with which he made harpoons, lance-heads, hooks, and a long knife; heating the pieces firſt in the fire, which he lighted after the Engliſh manner, by ſtriking his gun-flint againſt the back of his knife: The iron, when it was hot, he hammered with ſtones, and formed it into various ſhapes to which he had occaſion to apply it. By continued labour and perſeverance, he had worked himſelf ſuch a complete ſet of inſtruments, for killing and catching his proviſions by land and water, as ſurpriſed the people when they were brought out for their inſpection. But (ſays Dampier) it is no more than theſe Moſkito men are accuſtomed to do in their own country, where they make their own fiſhing and ſtriking inſtruments, without either forge or anvil: and other Indians are ſtill more ingenious; for they make hatchets of a very hard ſtone, with which they cut down trees, make their canoes, and frame their houſes.

"Poor Will had built himſelf a little houſe about a mile and a half from the ſhore, which he had made warm and convenient, by lining it with goat-ſkins. He had likewiſe raiſed himſelf a couch about two feet above the ground, which he had alſo made ſoft with the fur of the animals he caught, and with the down of the young birds (for he could catch no others) which he occaſionally met with and plucked. Cloaths he had none; for he had worn them to rags among the buſhes and brambles, through which he was often obliged to purſue his prey. He had been on the iſland about three years, and in all that time had never converſed with any human being. He had ſeen Spaniards, but he always took care, after the firſt, that none of them ſhould ever ſee him."

The Buccaneers ſtayed on this iſland till the 8th of April, and then ſailed towards the Equinoctial line, and afterwards coaſted along from the iſland of Juan Fernandez to the 10th degree of ſouth latitude. On the 3d of May they took a ſhip laden with timber; and at the ſame time learned that the Spaniards were appriſed of their being in the ſouth ſeas, and where they had moſt reaſon to expect their viſits, had taken ſome pains to prepare for their reception.

A deſign on Truxillo abandoned.

After having formed a judgment of the ſtate of the coaſt, from the intelligence given them by their priſoners, they determined on attacking Truxillo, but having taken certain veſſels with flour bound to Lima, (in which they found a wooden image of the Virgin Mary, and a mule intended as a preſent from the viceroy at Lima to the preſident of Panama) as they found by a letter taken on board, that Truxillo was fortified; they laid aſide their deſign, and reſolved to go for the Gallapagos iſlands with their prize. Accordingly they ſailed thither, where they got together 500 packs of meal, which they laid up, to ſerve them for a ſea-ſtore, while they had plenty of turtle to anſwer their preſent occaſions.

From thence they ſailed for Ria Lexa, where they were given to underſtand there was much treaſure to be taken. An Indian priſoner promiſed to conduct them thither, to whoſe ſincerity theſe adventurers thought proper to truſt, with a deſign, however, to touch at the Iſland of Cocoas, in 5° 40′ ſouth lat. where they meant to depoſit ſome part of their meal, one of the ſtouteſt ſhips which had it on board being taken with them for their purpoſe; but they were forced to ſteer for the continent, not being able, with all their ſkill, to reach the intended port, and on their way loſt Captain Cook, whoſe death diſconcerted them, and whom they reſolved to bury in Caldera Bay.

Anchoring there, while ſome of the crew were digging the grave, three Indians entered into diſcourſe with them, who being afterwards ſeized on, proved to be ſpies ſent from a town about 36 miles diſtant. Turning this artifice of the Spaniards upon themſelves, the mariners diſcovered, after a cloſe examination that the very men who had been ſent to watch their actions, were capable of directing them to a ſpot where plenty of live cattle might be obtained.—It is eaſy to conceive that this piece of intelligence was attended to, and accordingly one of the priſoners being pitched on for a guide, 24 of the company ſet out upon the expedition, the ſucceſs of which will be ſeen by the following brief account:

"After a march of about four miles, they came in ſight of a Savannah, where numbers of cattle were feeding; of which ſome [very wiſely] were for killing as many as they could carry away, whilſt others were determined to ſtay all night, with a view to drive them into the pens, in order to ſupply the ſhips at once, before the owners were appriſed of the deſign. This reſolution ſeeming prevalent, Dampier with many of the company withdrew, taking the Indian guide back with them. The buccaneers fall into an ambuſh.

"In the morning when theſe drovers were expected to return with the cattle, none came; and as it was conſequently feared ſome diſaſter had befallen them, the boats were manned and ſent out to look for them. As they were rowing along, ſome of the company eſpied a number of people wading up to the middle in water, and approaching them, ſoon perceived that they were the very perſons whom they were in queſt of, and therefore made all haſte to take them on board. Had they not been thus eſpied in time, they muſt in all probability have periſhed, as the tide would have ſwallowed them up in the ſpace of an hour. It ſeems that they had been ſuffered to ſleep all night unmoleſted; but, in the morning, when they were ſcattered about among the cattle, and driving them to the pens, were ſurpriſed by the ſudden appearance of about 60 Spaniſh ſoldiers, well armed, who placed themſelves in a convenient ſituation to cut off their retreat. Alarmed at this unexpected ambuſh, they made haſte to join in a body, reſolving to ſell their lives dear if they found it impoſſible to make their eſcape. Accordingly, they looked round them, in order to diſcover an opening to ſome other part of the ſhore than that againſt which their ſhips rode, at the ſame time giving the enemy now and then a volley of ſhot to keep them at a diſtance. The Spaniards, generally not over eager to come to a cloſe engagement, kept themſelves ſheltered behind the buſhes, diſcharging only ſome random ſhot at thoſe who retreated, which luckily did not take place. In this cautious manner the ſmall band ſlowly proceeded towards the beach where Captain Cook had been buried. Then looking about for their boat they ſaw her in flames by the water's ſide, where they had grounded her the night before. Their hope of retreat now appearing to be quite cut off, the Spaniards with a view to make ſure of their ſurrender, having poſted themſelves in ſuch a manner as to cut off all communication with the ſhips, this little company conceived themſelves to be devoted to deſtruction; when fortunately, they eſpied a rock juſt riſing above the water, at the diſtance of about 100 yards from the beach. Rejoiced at this ſight, they all determined to commit themſelves to the mercy of the ocean [their cauſe was ſcarcely good enough to depend on that of *Heaven*] rather than to fall into the hands of the Spaniards. With this reſolution they ruſhed all together into the tide, holding faſt one by another, and determined that if one was loſt all ſhould periſh. In this manner they reached the rock, where they had continued for ſeven hours, when they happened to be diſcovered (in the manner already related) and their companions were ſuffered by the Spaniards to releaſe them without the latter firing a gun. They are relieved.

This was indeed a lucky eſcape, but the Buccaneers could not forget that it had been a vain attempt

to come at what, by this time they ſtood in great need of; but they durſt not hazard a ſecond enterprize of that nature, and therefore weighed anchor, and ſailed for Ria Lexa, which is known by a high peaked volcano. A little iſland, whereon the Spaniards kept an out-guard, was the firſt object of the freebooters. They ſurpriſed this guard, but from the intelligence gained from their priſoners, underſtood that the place was too well defended for them to make an attack upon it with any reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs. Abandoning this deſign therefore, they ſteered for the Gulf of Amapalla, where they careened their ſhips, having firſt agreed that Captain Davis ſhould go before with two canoes, in order to gain intelligence, which was accordingly done, as ſoon as they approached the gulph. On the firſt night Davis reached an iſland on which there was a town called Mangera, but he could not find it till the next morning, and when he found it, all the Indian inhabitants were fled, a friar only excepted with two boys, who ſhared his fortune. From this friar the captain underſtood, that there were ſeveral Indian villages in the gulph, but only three towns that had churches, and only one white man beſides himſelf who acted as a ſecretary to the Spaniſh government in theſe parts. In conſequence of this information, Captain Davis took with him the friar and the boys, and approached the eminence on which Amapalla was ſituated. While they were gaining the aſcent, the ſecretary, who was attended by the Indian chief, hailed them. Captain Davis ſaid they were Spaniards, ſent to clear the coaſt, and that their ſhip being foul, they were come thither to refit, and to demand the aſſiſtance of his majeſty's Indian ſubjects. The following account includes all the circumſtances of their proceeding:

Their adventure at Ria Lixa.

"They were bidden welcome, and received with every poſſible mark of reſpect, both by the ſecretary and the Indian inhabitants; and, after the firſt ſalutations were paſt, they were conducted to the church, where all buſineſs of a public nature was tranſacted. Accordingly, the friar entered firſt, and was followed by Davis and moſt of the by-ſtanders; but one or two of the Indians loitering behind, were puſhed in by Davis's men; they then ſuſpecting ſome miſchief, ſprang back again, and the reſt of the Indians followed their example, leaving Davis and the friar looking at one another in high conſternation, ignorant of the cauſe that had occaſioned the deſertion; while thoſe who had ſo ſtrangely cauſed it, fired upon the innocent Indians, for flying. In this confuſion the ſecretary was ſlain, undeſervedly meeting his death from his pretended friends. Davis's deſign was, when they were all at church, to have ſhut them in, and to make his own terms; but there was no need of practiſing farther treachery with them, for notwithſtanding all this brutality, the Indians ſhewed them every kind of civility, helping them to repair their ſhips, hewing down timber for them, and bringing it to the docks. They furniſhed them alſo with cattle and proviſions from the main, and aſſiſted them in carrying aboard wood and water. All this time the friar and his two lads were kept priſoners, and it was feared, when they were ready to ſail, that they would have carried them off; for theſe Indians had a great veneration for their prieſt. He had learned their language, and was very uſeful to them both by his kind offices and admonitions."

On the 3d of September, however, they ſet ſail, and left the friar and his two lads on ſhore, to the great ſatisfaction of the Indians: and the two companies having quarrelled, they were reſolved to purſue different courſes. Captain Davis directed his courſe along the main of Peru, and coaſting along the continent of South America, at length came to the Iſland of Plata; while Eaton, who had ſailed in a different direction, at laſt being in want of water, came to the ſame iſland (where Drake had formerly ſhared the plunder of the Cacafuego). Eaton's men ſaid that in their courſe they had met with thunder and lightening ſo dreadful that they feared every moment to be involved in elemental fire. This captain propoſed an accommodation, but when he found it was rejected, remained only one night off the iſland.

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Captain Davis's people the next day made an attack upon Manta, at about eight leagues diſtance. The place was deſerted by all the inhabitants, an old woman excepted, whom the Buccaneers brought off. By her means they underſtood, "That a great many ſtrangers had come over land from the north ſea; that they ſtill were in canoes and periagoes, and that the viceroy had commanded all the Spaniſh trading ſhips on the coaſt to be burnt, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

Theſe tidings being heard, Davis thought proper to return to the Iſle of Plata; and ſoon after arrived the Cygnet, an Engliſh ſhip, originally fitted out for trade by the London merchants. This veſſel was commanded by Captain Swan, from London, and intended for trade; but trade being ſtopped, he was prevailed upon to ſell his goods by auction, and to join the adventurers whom he had fallen in with by accident. The new-comers were headed by one Harris, who had the command of a bark under Swan. They regretted now that Captain Eaton had been ſuffered to leave them, and therefore fitted up a ſmall veſſel, which they ſent after him, to invite him and his crew to return and ſhare their fortunes.

They are joined by Capt. Swan.

After this the ſhips ſailed to Payta, and came into the road on the 3d of November, having fallen in with a ſhip of 400 tons, by which means they were informed that the viceroy had given orders for fitting out ten frigates to be employed in checking their depredations. When they landed at Payta, they found that the inhabitants had deſerted the place, and what was worſe, had not left a day's proviſion in the town. By a letter left by thoſe on board the bark ſent in ſearch of Captain Eaton, they underſtood that he had been there and burned a ſhip the week before, after which he ſailed weſtward, ſo that they concluded he was gone homeward by way of the Eaſt-Indies.

After this information, being under apprehenſion that ſome of the Spaniſh frigates might fall in with them, they examined their arms and ammunition, put every thing in order, and burning Captain Harris's bark, becauſe ſhe was a heavy ſailing veſſel, they fitted up another ſmall bark to ſerve as a fire ſhip, and having made all neceſſary preparations, ſailed for Lobas. They found that Captain Eaton had been there alſo, and heard that their bark was gone to Plata, which was the place of rendezvous appointed. Then they departed for the bay of Guiaquil; which runs in between Cape Blanco on the ſouth ſide, and Point Shanday on the eaſt; and in the bottom of the bay lies the Iſle of St. Clara.* The ſhips kept to the ſouthward in entering the port to avoid the ſhoals on the northern ſide, where they ſay a large wreck is ſunk†. The houſes at Puna, ſtand upon poſts ten or twelve feet high. They are thatched with Palmetto leaves, and their chambers are well boarded. They reckoned 7 leagues from Puna to Guiaquil, which latter they found was conſidered as a principal port in the ſouth ſeas. From this city are exported hides, tallow, ſarſaparilla, and other drugs, cocoas, and woollen cloth made at Quito. The buccaneers took a veſſel laden with this cloth, the maſter of which told them of the watch at Puna, and informed them

* The appearance of this iſland is like that of a corpſe in a ſhroud, the Eaſt end repreſenting the head, and the Weſt the feet.

† A perſon who came from the Spaniſh coaſt with a patent to fiſh for wrecks, was reported to have taken up ſome of the plate; but dying, the patent expired. The cat-fiſh, a wound from whoſe fin is mortal, ſwarming round the iſlands, rendered the attempt dangerous to the Indian divers, who were otherwiſe very expert at recovering what was loſt in thoſe ſeas.

1684 them that three ships with 1000 negros on board were to sail from Guiaquil, all of which they fell in with and took; but the town was alarmed, and when these adventurers made their attack it was so ill conducted for want of proper discipline and a regular commander, that it could not but fail of success.—The assailants were divided in two bodies, but these by no means co-operated with each other. Captain Davis's people accused Captain Swan of cowardice, because when he found how much they were exhausted he had advised a retreat; in consequence they all proceeded, having two Indian guides, one of whom was fastened by a string to one of Captain Davis's men who was a great boaster, but his courage failing him, as it seems, when he came within musquet shot of the town, he cut the string and the Indian ran away.—Then he cried out that somebody else had cut it on purpose to let the guide escape. This circumstance so much disheartened the people, that they would advance no farther. Accordingly having dressed a cow and taken a view of the forbidden ground, they embarked for Plata, taking 40 of the ablest men out of the negro ships, and turning the rest adrift. Thus ended their hopeful expedition, in which by misconduct they lost an opportunity of enriching themselves, and returned much dissatisfied with the repulse with each other.

When they arrived at the place of rendezvous they there found their bark in waiting, but the crew of her almost starving, having been in search of the ships from Plata to Lobas and back again. During the absence of their companions, who seemed to have paid little regard to them, these wanderers had made a descent upon Santa Helena, where they took some maize, and by the help of that and some birds, had made shift to keep themselves alive. The bark was now given to Captain Swan for a tender, and after a quarrel that happened between the crews, which was adjusted by the captains, an attack on Lavelia was resolved upon, and they set sail on the 23d of December, to put their design in execution.

In their way, they surprised a small village called Tomaco, and there took one Don Diogo de Pinas, a Spanish knight that came thither in a vessel from Lima, on board of which they seized about a dozen jars of wine, and let the vessel depart.——Happening afterwards to fall in with the Panama packet boat, and recovering the letters the crew had thrown over-board, by means of a buoy that had been fastened to the box, they found by the contents of them, that the president of Panama had received orders to hasten the Plate fleet from Lima, which occasioned them to change their course, and alter their resolution. They stood therefore for the gulph of Panama, and on the 23d anchored in the harbour of Galleria, and having cleared the barks, sent them to cruise in the gulph.—Four days afterwards one of these brought in a prize laden with fowls, salt beef, and corn, and having put their ships in order, sailed into the channel to intercept the Plate fleet. While they were here, they sent the Spanish knight upon his parole to the president with a letter. He was killed by some accident, but the next day they sent another letter, which being delivered, about 40 Spaniards were released, and English prisoners returned in their stead. Anchoring before Tobago, they had afterwards a narrow escape from destruction;—a person who pretended to be a merchant from Panama, came to them, and offered to trade with them secretly; his proposal being accepted, a bark came out in the night as had previously been agreed upon. But notwithstanding she hailed the ships with the proper watch-words, the buccaneers had the precaution to order her to cast anchor. This not been complied with by those on board, they were fired upon by the ships. In consequence of this act of hostility, finding their scheme detected a few minutes before it was ripe for execution, the crew quitted their bark, and immediately set fire to her, taking to their canoes. The ships immediately cut their cables, as they now perceived that this pretended smuggling vessel was a fire-ship, which without effecting the intended mischief, drove burning towards Tobago. She had been fitted out by Captain Bond*, who had surrendered to the Spaniards, and her direction was against Captain Davis's ship, which with difficulty escaped her; but about the same time the people on board Captain Swan's vessel observed a small float on the water which appeared to have a man in it, coming towards them; but observing that he was discovered, he dived, and they saw no more of the float, which they supposed had been furnished with some combustibles which were intended to be fastened to the rudder of Swan's ship. This danger being over, the ships returned to their buoys in the morning, where they perceived a number of canoes and privateers, and presently found that they were furnished with birds of the same feather as themselves. In effect, they contained a company of French and English buccaneers who were come into those parts to try what plunder they could get. They were commanded by two captains, the one named Grenet, the other Lequie, and reported that 180 Englishmen under the command of Captain Townley still remained on the isthmus; the French having the flour prizes given them, the English were taken on board Captain Davis and Captain Swan's ships, and, soon after, Captain Townley arrived, having taken two prizes, and learned from the prisoners, that the Lima fleet was ready for sailing. Falling in with a bark belonging to one Captain Knight, which had lost him at sea, she was taken by Captain Swan, and given to Harris in lieu of that which had been burned on account of her heavy sailing. They were now in high expectations of making their fortunes, but the following account will shew how much they were disappointed.

While the fleet from Lima was thus anxiously expected, some letters were intercepted that contained the instructions to the commanders which course to take. In consequence whereof the captains of the buccaneers held a consultation in what manner to steer, in order to intercept them; but while they were yet undetermined, word was brought that the Spanish fleet was advancing, and, as it should seem, to give them battle. This news was by no means agreeable. Such a mingled crew being but ill suited to stand a regular engagement. However, there was now no alternative, either they must fight or run away, in which case being taken singly, they probably would all be destroyed; but by fighting some might chance to escape. The Spaniards were fourteen in number, of which the admiral carried 40 guns, and 540 men; the vice admiral 40 guns and 400 men; the rear admiral 36 guns and 360 men; one ship of 24 guns and 300 men; one of 18 guns and 250 men; and one of eight guns and 200 men: they had likewise two fire-ships, and 6 ships with only small arms, some periagoes and tenders, having eight hundred men among them. The English who were to engage them, consisted of 10 sail; these were the only ships of force, the others being furnished with none but small arms; Captain Davis's ship of 36 guns and 156 men, mostly English; Captain Townley had 120 men, all English; Captain Grenet 308 men all French; Captain Harris 100 men, mostly English; Captain Branley 36 men, some English, some French; Swan's tender, eight men; Townley's bark eighty men; and a small bark

They surprise Tomaco.

Their vessels endangered by a fire-ship.

They are worsted by the Spanish fleet.

* Captain Bond steering for the south seas, and meeting with Captain Eaton, was prevailed on by his pilot to join company; but this very man getting on board Captain Eaton's ship persuaded him to drop his old commander, which was accordingly done after two nights sailing together. Bond thus deserted by the person whom he wanted to direct his course in the south seas, went for Porto Bello, where he surrendered himself to the governor, and was sent to the viceroy of Lima, and afterwards employed in checking the designs of the Buccaneers upon the American coasts.

bark of 30 tons made into a fire-ship, with a canoe's crew in her; the number of men altogether amounting to 960.

The Engliſh, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of the enemy, reſolved to begin the attack, having the advantage of the weather-gage, which gave them the choice either to fight or run. Accordingly, about three in the afternoon they bore down right before the wind, on the enemy, who kept cloſe upon a wind to meet them; but night came on without any thing material being done on either ſide.

When it grew dark, the Spaniſh admiral put forth a light as a ſignal for the fleet to caſt anchor, and preſently hoiſted a light on his top, which, after continuing there an hour, was taken down, and in a little time hoiſted again, the Engliſh being ſtill to windward, were not aware of this ſtratagem,; for the Spaniard, knowing what conſequence it was to gain the weather-gage, hoiſted the ſecond light upon the top-maſt of one of his barks, and edged away ſilently himſelf, followed by his capital ſhips, and, as ſoon as it was day-light, appeared to windward of the Engliſh. This was ſuch an unexpected ſtroke, as left them no other courſe to take but to fight or fly. Things being thus ſituated an unequal engagement began. Captain Townley being hard preſſed by the enemy made a bold puſh through a narrow gut that parted the iſles, and was followed by ſeveral of the ſmaller ſhips, by which means they eſcaped. Captain Harris was chaced to the weſtward; and Captain Davis maintained a running fight all day round the bay of Panama, with the loſs only of a ſingle man. At night, the Spaniards gave over the purſuit, and ſuffered the Engliſh to rendezvous at the ſame iſlands from whence they ſailed the day before to begin the attack.

The 30th, the Spaniards, without purſuing their victory, continued their courſe to Panama, and the Engliſh ſet ſail to the keys of Quibo in ſearch of Captain Harris, that being the place appointed to rendezvous in caſe of being diſperſed. Here they caſhiered the French captain, who never came into the engagement; and having found Captain Harris they held a conſultation about what courſe they ſhould in future purſue.

The reſult of all was, That they ſhould attempt ſomething upon the coaſt, ſince they had no farther chance of gaining any thing conſiderable upon the ſeas; and, after being joined by Captain Knight, who when he went in queſt of them, thought to have found them in poſſeſſion of all the Spaniſh treaſures; they ſailed for Ria Lexa, the neareſt port to Leon, with eight veſſels, having on board 640 men, and well provided with canoes for navigating the rivers.

They quitted their ſhips when they arrived within 24 miles of the ſhore, to the number of 250 men embarked in canoes, which had a very difficult and dangerous paſſage, but nevertheleſs landed without the loſs of a man, marching forwards in three diviſions. The foremoſt of thoſe conſiſting of 80 men under the conduct of Captain Townley, defeated a body of Spaniſh horſemen, entered the town, and drove the main body of the Spaniards before the other two parties came up. In the mean time the governor of Leon had formed an encampment near the town, and intended to aſſemble what forces he could, and fall upon the invaders. But a merchant of the name of Smith being taken among the ſtragglers, and carried before this commander; on examination, ſo far exaggerated the forces of the buccaneers, that he laid aſide all thoughts of that ſort, and ſent a flag of truce with propoſals for ranſoming the city.

But here the avarice of the free-booters out-going their reaſon, they demanded to ſuch an extravagant amount, as the governor perhaps had it not in his power to make good—and in conſequence the town was ſet on fire. In the mean time a Spaniſh gentleman was releaſed on his promiſe of ſending 150 oxen to Ria Lexa, which promiſe he faithfully fulfilled. 1684

They deſtroy Leon.

On the 16th of June they reached that place, and having forced a body of Spaniards from their intrenchments, and cut a boom laid acroſs the river, entered the town where they found nothing but 500 ſacks of flour, and ſome pitch and tar; ſome of the crew, whether by order, or of their own will, is not known, ſet fire to the houſes before they departed. After this expedition the Captains Davis and Swan, reſolved to ſeparate; Townley, with the two barks, accompanied Swan, while Knight and Harris reſolved to follow the fortunes of Davis*. When this ſeparation took place, Captain Davis ſtood for the Peruvian coaſts, but Swan went weſtward, intending to ſail home by way of the Eaſt Indies. On board his ſhip Dampier entered, chuſing rather to go with him than with Davis, whoſe voyage was likely to be confined within a narrower circle.

Ria Lexa is ſet on fire.

A ſickneſs which it was ſuppoſed they had caught at Ria Lexa, and a courſe of tempeſtuous weather marked their voyage to Guatimala, which they came in ſight of on the 14th. On this coaſt a high volcano, appears with a double peak. From between theſe peaks fire and ſmoke iſſue forth with moſt dreadful roarings; yet the inhabitants were not afraid to reſide even at the very foot of the mountain†. The city is ſituate at the diſtance of about eight leagues from the South Sea, and about fifty from the North, and is remarked for the rich commodities which the neighbouring hills produce. It is famous for anatta‡, ſilveſter, and cochineal. The volcano is to be ſeen at the diſtance of 75 leagues from the ſea. Thence they ſailed to the latitude of Togantabeque, and Captain Townley, with 100 men attempting to land on the coaſt the ſurges beating at the bottoms of the ſandy hills, proved very unfavourable to that purpoſe. Thus diſappointed, he coaſted along, the ſhips ſtill following his people who were in canoes, which the captain reſolved to run on ſhore, but overſet them in the attempt. A man or two they loſt, and others had broken bones: however the landing was made good, and their boats hauled on ſhore, though moſt of their ammunition was damaged by the wet, but they could diſcover no town on the coaſt, ſo that they were totally diſappointed in their expectations, and, what was worſe, returned even without any proviſions, and thus continued their courſe to Tangola. They next came to Guatulco, (or Anguatulco) where they came to an anchor, and intended prowling up the country, but after having travelled a few miles, though they ſecured ſome Indian guides, they found only a little village where ſome Vanellos were drying.—There was neither gold nor ſilver to be got there, nor any intelligence that might encourage the freebooters to proceed, they had therefore no inclination to ſtay here longer than to recover their ſick, and to prepare all things for the continuance of their voyage to parts more favourable to their wiſhes. In the interim they ſent four canoes before them, with orders to take what priſoners they could, and to wait for them at the Port of Angels; and following, on the 12th, they met with two of them in a very diſtreſsful ſituation. It ſeems the crews had miſtaken the harbour, and the boats were overſet on the beach. They reported that the other two canoes had left them on the 9th in the night, and, as it was afterwards found, had rowed as far as

Guatimala.

A fruitleſs expedition.

* The ſhips were commanded by Davis, Swan, Townley, and Knight; and they had beſides, a fire-ſhip and three tenders.

† How fearleſs ſoever the inhabitants of Guatimala might be, it is certain that they are ſometimes viſited by earthquakes, one of which, ſome few years ſince, deſtroyed numbers of people, overthrew their habitations, and made dreadful havock in the country.

‡ The Anatta is a red dye made from the flowers of a ſhrub. Silveſter is the ſeed of a fruit, ſomewhat reſembling the prickly pear; and Cochineal has been found to be a collection of inſects, bred in a ſort of fruit of the ſame ſize. The Cochineal and Silveſter produce a ſimilar dye, but the former is held in the higheſt eſtimation.

1685 as Acapulco. However they joined the ships when they came before the harbour, from whence there was an extensive prospect of a beautiful country. The brows of the hills were shaded with lofty trees, the plains, and savannahs watered by streams and rivulets, and the banks crowned with flowering shrubs, which exhibited a most agreeable picture. Here they landed at the grazing seat of a Spanish gentleman, from whence the people were all fled, but they found salt and maize in great plenty. On this coast also they got poultry, hogs, and cabaritos, and took as much of every thing they wanted as they were able to bring off. The harbour lies in 15° of north latitude.

Leaving Port Angels, they came to anchor, in 16 fathom water, under a small rocky island about six leagues to the westward. The next day they were greatly embarrassed by the following circumstance: "They weighed and continued their course; and, being a-breast of a small lagune, whence the missing boats had a few days before taken a quantity of fish, they lay to, and sent in a boat with twelve men to bring off a more ample supply. The Spaniards, on marking the trim of the ships, suspected their intent, and concealing themselves behind a rock at the narrow entrance of the lagune, discharged a volley of small arms at the boat just as it passed the place of their ambuscade, by which five of the crew were dangerously wounded. Alarmed at this sudden attack, and finding it impossible to retreat, because of the narrowness of the channel, they pushed forwards into the lagune, where they could lie out of gun-shot till the enemy dispersed, or till they should be relieved by the vigilance and valour of their own people. In this situation, however, they continued two days and three nights, till at length, Captain Townly, fearing some disaster had befallen them, manned his canoes, and beating the Spaniards from the rocks, opened the sufferers a free passage to the sea. Their joy was the greater, as the pains of the wounded men began to grow intolerable; and, had they not been relieved, they must in another day, nay perhaps in a few hours, have died in the greatest agonies. This lagune lies in lat. 16° 40″ north.

Having passed by a rock called the Algatross they found that the Spaniards had erected a breast-work a little to the westward; whence, however, they were driven, and the buccaneers made good their landing. At about three leagues distance from the entrance of the river they came to a house wherein they found a Mulatto servant who offered to guide them farther up the river, where they might get plenty of cattle and maize, and told them that a stout ship from Lima was then at Acapulco, whither Captain Townly, who wanted a better vessel, was eager for sailing in hopes to exchange his own for it; but Swan thought it more proper to insure provision, that they might wait well provided for the Manilla ship, which was expected off the southernmost point of California, in her way to Acapulco. The matter being put to the vote, it was decided in favour of Captain Townley's proposal, and accordingly the ships set sail on the 5th upon this expedition. At the distance of 12 leagues the captain embarked with 140 men on board, and a number of canoes, with a view to take the ship by surprize; but had not sailed above four leagues before they met with a dreadful tornado. Having escaped the dangers of this storm, they were driven into Port Marquis, about a league from Acapulco, where they stayed to refit their furniture, and in the night of the succeeding day, rowed softly into the harbour of Acapulco.* In order to prevent being heard, we find, "They hauled in their oars, and paddled softly by the castle; then struck over to the town, and found the ship riding between the breast-work and the fort, about 100 yards from each."——

Attempt to take the Lima ship defeated.

When they had well viewed her, adds Dampier, and consulted the danger of the design, they thought it impossible to accomplish it; therefore they paddled softly back again, till they were out of command of the fort; and then they attempted to land, but were opposed by a company of Spanish soldiers, who fired at them, and kept them at a distance from the shore till day-light; when taking a view of the town and castle, and not liking their appearance, they returned on board tired, hungry, and heartily mortified at their disappointment.—Finding that nothing was to be done there, the ships sailed from Acapulco, and continued coasting along the shore to the westward. The land which is low towards the sea, rises gradually to a very great height, and it is hazardous to land, though at a mile's distance there is a good anchorage. As they proceeded thus they discovered a small river, at the entrance of which 170 of their men being landed, were guided by an old Mulatto woman to a farm-house, where they found 60 mules laden with flour, cheese and chocolate, which they readily eased of their burdens, as also some oxen, which together with 18 cows, that they afterwards took they cured, and conveyed on board, the lading of the caravan being carried safely to their ships, which quitted the harbour on the 21st, where they had so happily accommodated themselves with provisions.

Holding on their course, they came in sight of the volcano of Colima, in lat. 15° 56″ north, on the 28th day of the month. At the foot of this burning mountain lies the town of the same name, and all the surrounding valley, according to the Spanish description, is remarkably beautiful; but as the surf ran so high as to prevent the buccaneers from making any attempt to land there, they proceeded to Sallagua, in lat. 18° 52″ north.—Here two hundred men being landed, engaged and defeated a body of Spaniards, and going up into the country, were informed the road they had taken led to the city of Oarrah, and that the party they had defeated, were sent to escort some passengers from India, that were expected to land in Sallagua Bay, from on board the Manilla ship; a piece of intelligence which hastened their departure, in order to meet with the long expected vessel.

Volcano of Colima.

With this view they steered for Cape Corientes, which they came in sight of on the 11th of December. In their passage Captain Dampier was afflicted with a dropsy and an ague, which he found to be common disorders on this coast. In the mean time provisions growing scarce, Captain Townly's bark was sent to examine the coast to the westward of the cape, but returned on the 17th without having brought any intelligence. And all the ships which had been properly stationed, sailed for the Island of Chametly, about, 18 leagues to the eastward. Being arrived, they caught a number of rock fish, and Captain Swan returned to his station off the cape, 60 men being sent to a village to procure provisions. The canoes returning on the 24th, reported, that they had rowed to the Bay of Val d'Iris, or Valderas, where they found a most beautiful and fruitful country, on attempting to seize some of the cattle that were feeding at large in the savannahs, they had a skirmish with a body of Spaniards some of whom were horsemen. They repulsed them, but not without the loss of four Englishmen killed, and two much wounded, after which they returned without attempting any thing farther. On Christmas-day they took three Jew fish, and on the 28th Captain Townley brought 40 bushels of maize, and thus they continued cruising till the 1st of January, when they steered towards Valderas, and anchoring that night in 60 fathoms water, landed the next day, and being divided into two bodies, one party kept watch while the other seized and killed the cattle; so that within five days they had salted beef enough for two months provision.

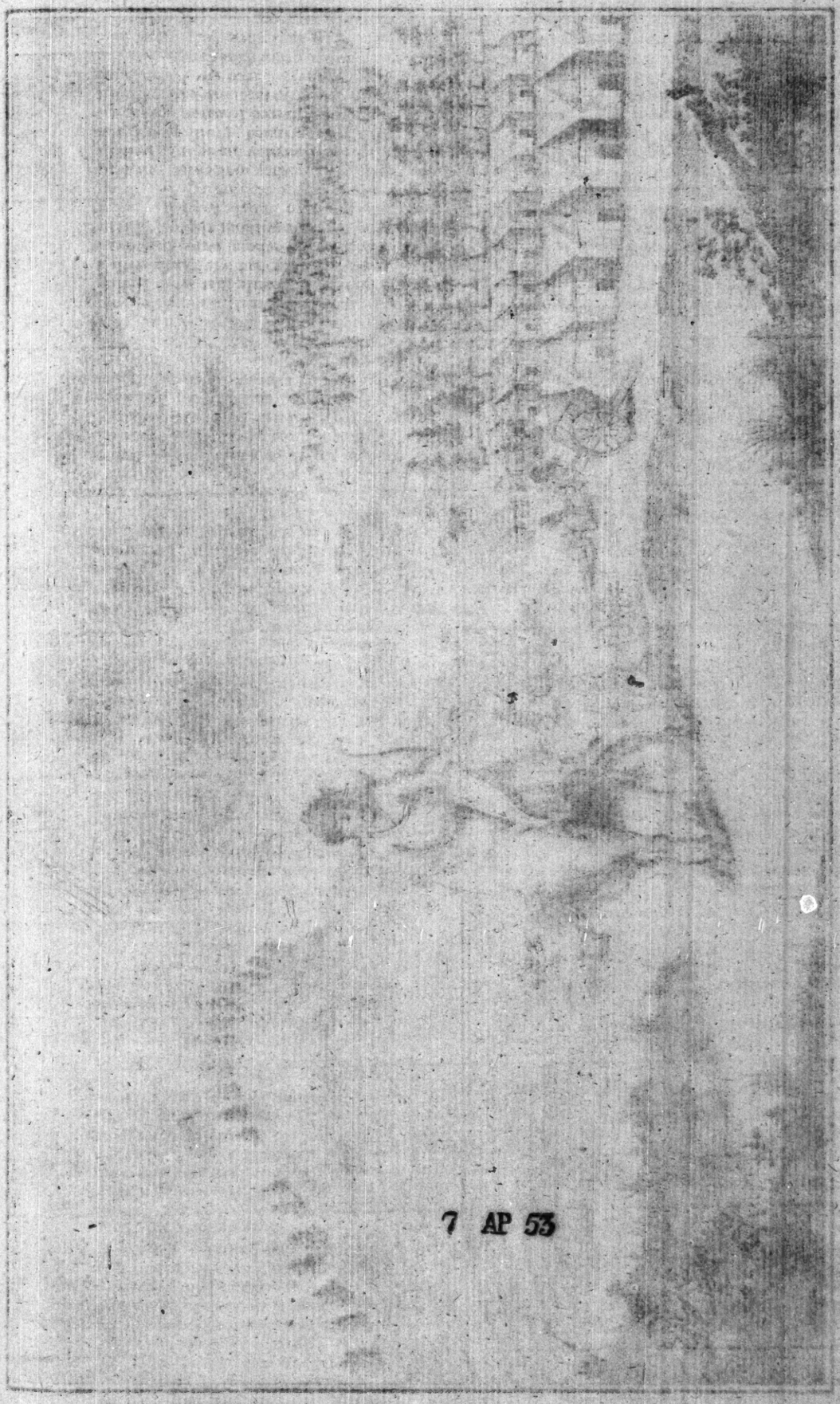
The

* The port of Acapulco is distinguished by three hills, that in the middle rises like a sugar-loaf, the most westerly of the other two has two hillocks on its top. Acapulco lies in lat. 17° north, on the western side of the American continent. Its trade is to the East-Indies and to Lima, in which three ships are regularly employed.

Engraved for Moores Voyages & Travels.

Rennoldson sculp.

The Dress, Agriculture, Encampment, &c. of the TAGURI-TARTARS



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The time which they thus employed in victualling, as Dampier obſerves, they ſhould rather have ſpent in cruiſing if they had properly conſidered the nature of their enterprize, which, he affirms, proved unſucceſsful on that account.

The Captains Swan and Townley, now parted again; the former reſolved to ſteer eaſtward, and took with him a Moſkito chief and three of his men, who left Swan's ſhip in order to go with him that he might have an opportunity of ſetting them on ſhore at ſome convenient place on the coaſt, from whence they might travel over land to the other ſea. Captain Swan (with whom Dampier continued) held his courſe intending for a weſterly navigation, and before night he paſſed Point Pontique, in lat. 20° 50″ north, about a league from whence lie two iſlands of the ſame name. To proceed with the relation—"On the 14th they came in ſight of a ſmall white rock, in lat. 21° 15″ north, which at a diſtance, ſeemed like a ſhip under ſail. From this place the land ran ſtill northerly, the ſea tumbling in with ſuch violence upon the ſhore, that, for many leagues together, there was no landing, but they found good anchoring as far as the Iſland of Chametly. Theſe iſlands are ſix in number, and different from thoſe of the ſame name on the eaſt of Cape Corientes, being a little within the tropic of Cancer, and not above three leagues from the main. On theſe iſlands grows a fruit called the penguin, of which there are two ſorts, the yellow and the red; the yellow grows on a thick ſtem, about a foot high, the leaves are narrow, and about half the length of the ſtem edged with prickles. The fruit grows out from the top of the ſtem in two or three cluſters, 16 or 20 in a cluſter. It is round and in ſize like a ſmall pullet's egg; the outer coat is thick and tough, and the pulp in the inſide is full of little black ſeeds. The red penguin is in ſhape like a little nine-pin, grows upon ſtools from the ground in cluſters of 60 or 70 on a ſtool, ſtanding upright like the leaves of a houſe-leek, and is ſmaller than the yellow; they are ſurrounded by leaves a foot and a half long, edged with prickles like the former. Theſe have a ſharp, pungent taſte, and are wholeſome; but thoſe who eat too freely of them, find them very heating. In the Bay of Campeachy one can hardly range the plain for their prickly leaves."

Paſſing from hence, Captain Swan, with 150 men, in 12 canoes, entered a lake called Rio de Sal, to the N. N. W. of Chametly. He landed ſome of his men at a grazing farm, and they perceiving two Indians, wounded one of them with their ſmall ſhot, who being brought on board, informed them that there was an Indian town, ſituate on a ſavannah, where was plenty of cattle at the diſtance of about four leagues. In conſequence of this intelligence they prepared to ſet out for the place deſcribed; but, on their way, were attacked by a body of Spaniſh horſe, but theſe were defeated by the Engliſh, who were nevertheleſs afterwards much embarraſſed by a ſtratagem of the enemy. Their way lay through a country abounding with that ſort of high graſs, which has already been mentioned as growing commonly about the Iſthmus of Darien; to this the Spaniards ſet fire, and it was not without great difficulty that the conquerors eſcaped the fury of the flames that every where ſurrounded them. In the mean time, their oppoſers had leiſure to recollect themſelves, and concert meaſures for making ſome more effectual ſtand. This they endeavoured to do at the village towards which the Engliſh marched the next day, and found it garriſoned; but the want of fire-arms among the Spaniards, and the remembrance of their late defeat had ſuch an effect upon them, that having loſt ſome of their officers, they retired, and left the place to the Engliſh, who had only one man killed, and their ſurgeon much wounded in this ſecond engagement. A few leagues from hence, they were informed of two rich gold mines, but they were more inclined to plunder the village and ſtore themſelves with proviſions than to go in ſearch of this treaſure. The captain with 80 men made another excurſion on the 2d of February, to ſeek for the river Roſario, at the entrance of which he landed, and having marched to an Indian town, took away 90 buſhels of maize, and ſome other proviſions, making no attempt upon the gold mines which it ſeems were not above two leagues from the town; the next day the ſhips came to an anchor at the mouth of the river, in lat. 22° 51″ north, and on the 7th the captain, with his company, came on board, having but a ſmall quantity of any proviſions in proportion to the number of his crew (the beef they had ſalted at Valderas excepted) and therefore a party was ſent on the 8th in ſearch of Oleta River, but they found it not, and returned without effecting any thing. 1685

They next anchored near the river St. Iago, up which 70 men ſailed on the 11th to examine all the creeks and inlets, and to get what intelligence they could relative to the neighbouring country. Theſe people having taken an Indian who was ſet to watch a field of maize were informed by him that there was a town called Santa Pecaque, about the diſtance of four leagues, and offered to guide them thither, where he ſaid there was plenty of proviſions. Upon this information 140 men were embarked in canoes, and proceeded with the Indian guide, about five leagues up the river, landed in the night, and the next morning entered the town, which they found entirely deſerted.—As they had not been deceived, in regard to the quantity of proviſions to be found there, they acquainted their captain with their ſucceſs; he immediately ſet out for the place, and on his arrival, uſed all his endeavours to keep ſome order among the men, who now thought of nothing but plunder, and ſeemed not to be under any apprehenſions of an enemy in their ſituation, though thoſe that had been left to guard the canoes in their abſence had been attacked by the Spaniards and loſt one of their people in the engagement. Nay, ſo infatuated were theſe plunderers, that though there was intelligence of a thouſand men being aſſembled to fall upon them, yet they would not depart with what they had got, but reſolved ſtill to return at different times to St. Pecaque till there ſhould not be a ſingle load of proviſions left in the town. Nor would they either be prevailed on by command or perſuaſion to march in a collected body. The conſequence was that a party of 50 of them, with as many loaded beaſts, proceeding in a line, each man leading his horſe, fell into an ambuſh laid for them by the enemy; and when Captain Swan, with another party, hearing the firing, came up in order to ſupport them, he found them all ſtripped of their arms and plunder, and weltering in their blood, a ſcene which ſtruck him with horror, and quite damped the ſpirits of the ſurvivors, though the Spaniards ſatisfied with this revenge, retired and ſuffered the reſt unmoleſted to repair to their ſhipping.

Fifty of Captain Swan's men cut to pieces.

St. Pecaque, in their expedition to plunder which town, the followers of Swan ſo ſeverely ſuffered, is ſituate on a ſpacious plain at the ſide of a wood, and has a ſquare in the middle, where the houſes are neatly built, and furniſhed with balconies. It is but ſmall, but has two churches, the Indians are moſtly Chriſtians, and, at that time, it was accounted to be the conſtant reſidence of about 70 white families, beſides the carriers from the mines who came thither occaſionally, and the merchants of Compeſtella.

Deſcription of St. Pecaque.

The Buccaneers not thinking it expedient after their late check, to attempt any thing farther upon this coaſt, ſhaped their courſe for Cape St. Lucar, on the Iſland of California, but could not reach their port, and were obliged to put in at the Maria Iſlands, in lat. 21° 40′ north, and at the diſtance of 40 leagues from the cape, for which they intended.*

Captain Swan leaves the coaſt.

* Dampier, who, as we have obſerved, had long been afflicted with the dropſy, was here cured by ſtripping himſelf naked, and lying down upon the hot ſand for half an hour. To a profuſe ſweat occaſioned by the exceſſive heat he attributes the ſucceſs of this remedy, which actually reſtored him to his health.

1685 At their first coming hither they lived only upon seals, but in a few days were supplied with turtle, conies, and pigeons, and while the crew were working upon the ships, the officers employed themselves in surveying the stores, as Captain Swan declared his design of coming home by way of the East-Indies. This declaration caused a division of the company, some applauding, and others condemning the measure. On the whole, it appeared that many difficulties were likely to attend this scheme. At the utmost, they had but 60 days provision on board—the maize rated at little more than half a pint a day for each man, besides that the rats were continually devouring a part of it. From Cape Corientes to the nearest land (the Island of Guam) was accounted 7000 miles, and that island was subject to their mortal enemies the Spaniards. On these considerations, nothing could have prevailed on the majority of the adventurers to proceed on this voyage but a promise which they, in a manner, extorted from Captain Swan, to endeavour to intercept the Manilla ship, by the taking of which they reckoned they should make them amends for all the difficulties and dangers they had sustained in the course of their South Sea expedition.

Takes his departure for the East-Indies.

All things, however, being now agreed, (the Cygnet) Captain Swan, with 100 men, the bark, Captain Teat, with 50, took their departure from Cape Corientes, on the 31st of March. At noon the next morning, they were carried by variable winds to the distance of about 30 leagues from the cape, and then by a fresh gale were carried into the course of an E. N. E. wind, which continuing, they proceeded with all the sail they could spread, and had frequent observations; but in a track of 6700 miles in latitude, saw none of the islands, such numbers of which lie in the same latitude on the other side of the line.—Though every thing seemed favourable to their wishes, a constant wind carrying them on with great swiftness, yet when about three weeks had elapsed, the mariners began to grow impatient, and insisted upon having their allowance enlarged, with which requisition Captain Swan was obliged to comply, notwithstanding the imprudence of it was evident, as there was still a danger that the wind might fail them, or that they might not get supplies when they should arrive at Guam. The allowance, when so enlarged, was 10 spoonfuls of maize for each man. Some of the ship's company did not drink above once in nine or ten days; some not in twelve, and there was one who did not drink in seventeen days, and then said that he was not thirsty.

But this spare diet so heavily felt by most of the crew that were in health, contributed to the establishment of Dampier's health, who was strengthened by it. He was not, however, one of those who could subsist without drink, (a thing almost incredible in those latitudes) on the contrary, though he had been so severely afflicted with the dropsy, he drank three times in a day, and continued mending daily. At this time we are told of an instance of severity in Captain Swan, which in such a situation might well have been omitted. He ordered a man found guilty of theft to receive three lashes with a two inch rope from every one on board, himself setting the example by giving the first stroke.——This strictness in punishing robbery by a buccaneer captain, who, as such, might be considered in the light of a common plunderer was rather extraordinary; but with all Captain Swan's faults, it must be observed that he was led into buccaneering with some reluctance, and seemed all along desirous of quitting that bad employment, as soon as opportunity should offer. As to his general line of conduct it appears to have been dictated by a spirit of discontent, arising from the disagreeable circumstances in which he found himself with a company of men who were head-strong and ungovernable, and whose object was nothing but plunder, while he had his views still fixed upon trade, to which they had an utter aversion.

The murmuring of the mariners increasing, Swan had endeavoured to persuade his people that though it was no less than 7200 miles from Cape Corientes to Guam, by the Spanish account, yet they might run it in 50 days, as Drake and Cavendish had done before them, adding that by the English account it was but 5700 miles; but this only served for a temporary expedient, for, when they had run down this reckoning, the men began to be quite mutinous, and to throw out bitter invectives against their commander. During their course, they had hitherto seen neither fowl, bird, or insect, except once when at the distance of 4975 miles from Cape Corientes they saw rushes, which they imagined might have come from some neighbouring land, but they fell in with none, in consequence of these tokens. Impatience of the crew.

Swan was now obliged to change his manner of reasoning;——he observed that it was still probable the Spanish reckoning might be right, and as they had still the continuance of the breeze if it lasted but a few days longer they would be likely to see an end of their hardships. Thus encouraged, they proceeded with some little hopes, which were kept alive by their having some rain on the 18th of May, the clouds settling in the west, and giving tokens of their approaching land. The barks being three leagues advanced before the ship, on the 20th, ran over a shoal where there was only four fathoms water, and numbers of fishes were seen swimming about upon the shoal. On this Captain Teat lay by, to speak with the ship, and coming on board, reported what he had seen. They were in 12° 55′ north latitude, and, clapping on a wind, steered to the northward, as Guam was laid down in 13° north in the Spanish charts, yet as no such shoal as they had just passed was noticed by them, there was yet a room to doubt whether they were in the right track. Trusting therefore the event to fortune, they followed the most probable course, and to their great satisfaction, saw the island of Guam, at the distance of about eight leagues at four in the afternoon,—"And happy it was, says Dampier, that we got sight of it before our provisions were gone, of which we had but enough for three days more, for, as I was afterwards informed, the crew combined to kill Captain Swan and eat him when the victuals were gone, and, after him, all of us who were accessary in promoting the voyage." Such was the savage disposition of these men, whose behaviour had all along been sufficient to sour a milder temper than that of their commander, whom though they did not kill and eat at sea, yet they afterwards found means to abandon to his fortune, as will be seen in the sequel. They discover land.

Guam is one of the Ladrone islands, which Dampier places in lat. 13° 21′ north, computing the meridian distance from Cape Corientes to be about 7302 miles, supposing the south seas to be 25 degrees broader than it is generally computed. This island is about 36 miles long and 12 broad. There was a Spanish fort of six guns, with between 20 and 30 soldiers in garrison, commanded by a governor, with one or two subordinate officers. They found the climate healthy, and the people active and ingenious, being particularly expert in building and navigating their boats, which would run 24 miles within the hour. A Spanish friar and three Indians came on board as soon as they had cast anchor; and being received with great civility, and acquainted that the English came thither in a friendly manner to purchase provisions; the captain was informed that they were rather scarce at that time upon the island, but that the governor would supply them to the best of his power. To him they sent letters with a present, and in the mean time, a boat of theirs which was dispatched to purchase cocoa nuts came back laden to their satisfaction. Afterwards the governor sent the captain half a dozen hogs, a dozen of musk melons, and as many water-melons; and gave orders to the Indians to assist them in fishing and gathering fruits, and to take bread-fruit for them every day. But while they were carrying on this friendly intercourse, the Manilla ship coming in sight, was warned to bear away, in doing which she struck They arrive at Guam.

upon

upon a ſhoal, and might have fallen into the hands of the adventurers, but that Swan found means to prevent his men from attempting this enterpriſe. They ſtayed at Guam all the remainder of May; on the 30th of the month the governor ſent the captain a jar of bread made of fine flower, two jars of pickled mangoes and pickled fiſh, ſome hogs, and a quantity of rice, and was furniſhed with powder and ſhot in return, and preſented a fine Engliſh dog, to which he had taken a particular fancy. Swan was likewiſe deſirous of the governor's letter to the merchants of Manilla, with a view to trade, but this was a ſecret which he did not communicate to his men.

They miſs the Manilla ſhip.

As to the friar, the commander gave him an aſtrolabe, a large teleſcope, and a braſs clock, who in return for the civility ſent the captain ſix hogs, a pig, ſome buſhels of potatoes, and half a hundred weight of Manilla tobacco.

The ſhip and bark being plentifully provided with all things that the iſland afforded, having on board cocoa nuts, bread-fruit, and 50 hogs in pickle, ſet ſail from Guam on the 2d of June, ſteering for Mindanao, which is the principal of the Philippine iſlands. They arrived on the coaſt about the middle of June, but not coming to that ſide of the iſland where the principal town was ſituated, they courſed round the land, till the middle of next month, before they came to an anchor, which as ſoon as they had done, they fired ſeven guns, and were anſwered by three from the ſhore. A raja, and one of the emperor's ſons afterwards coming on board, demanded who they were, and being anſwered that they were Engliſh, were bid welcome to the iſland, at the ſame time they were aſked whether their intention was to ſettle a factory. This at firſt ſurpriſed Captain Swan; but it ſeemed that one Captain Goodluck had been there before, with propoſals of that kind from the Engliſh Eaſt India company.

They anchor before Mindanao.

At the time that they lay before Mindanao, the prince of one of the neighbouring iſlands privately ſent his nephew to Captain Swan to invite him to come and ſettle in his dominions; but for ſome unknown reaſons, no regard was paid to this propoſal. In the mean time, it was foreſeen that the weſterly monſoon which was near approaching, would oblige the ſhips to continue in the port; on which account Capt. Swan, having laid aſide all thoughts of continuing his piratical depredations, reſolved to take pains to ingratiate himſelf with the ſultan of Mindanao, to whom accordingly he ſent rich preſents, nor were his chief miniſters forgotten upon the occaſion. Theſe civilities had a very good effect; the preſents were graciouſly received, and the ſultan had an hour's converſation with Mr. Moore (who had ſailed from London in quality of a ſupercargo) in the courſe of which he aſked many queſtions by means of a Spaniſh interpreter. Captain Swan was the next day invited on ſhore, with whom alſo the king diſcourſed much, and once more demanded whether the Engliſh were come to ſettle there in conſequence of the letters he had received from the Eaſt India company. This converſation, as may be eaſily imagined, was very entertaining, Swan deſcribing to the ſultan the adventures he had gone through, and the various countries he had ſeen, and the Indian prince entertaining him with accounts of the nature and produce of his country. After Captain Swan left the royal preſence he was entertained by Raja Laut, the ſultan's uncle, with a banquet of boiled rice, fiſh, and fowls, after the Eaſt India faſhion. In order to ſhew the raja's regard for the captain, the latter was given to underſtand, "That while Mr. Goodluck reſided in that city, he had been robbed by a ſervant belonging to Raja Laut, and that the fellow abſconded till Mr. Goodluck took his leave; but that he now returned, and was ready to be delivered up, to be puniſhed in ſuch manner, and with ſuch ſeverity, as crimes of the like nature are puniſhed with by the laws of England. But Capt. Swan told him, that in his country none but the injured party could proſecute the criminal; and as the man had committed no offence againſt him, he could take no cogniſance of his crime. The raja heard him with aſtoniſhment; and, to ſhew that the princes of Mindanao were far from countenancing ſuch practices, he cauſed the fellow to be ſtript naked, tied to a poſt, and expoſed a whole day with his face to the burning ſun; while the moſkitos continually tormented him, without a poſſibility of being able to bruſh them off, a kind of torture that few are hardy enough to ſurvive. This condeſcenſion was followed by a like offer from the captain, of delivering up every one of his men who ſhould offend againſt the laws of the Mindaneians; but the miniſter returned the compliment, and left the puniſhment to the captain himſelf, who, upon the leaſt complaint, puniſhed his men with a ſeverity that ſhewed more of revenge than of juſtice. Among thoſe who felt the effects of his indignation was Captain Teat, his chief mate, who commanded the bark that accompanied him in his run acroſs the ſouthern ocean; and others who had offended him on board he remembered, now he had the countenance of the court on ſhore."

Captain Swan entertained by Raja Laut.

1685

All this time Captain Swan was greatly honoured by the chiefs of the iſland, and the water running low, a number of the natives aſſiſted his men in lightening the ſhip to float her up the river, and moor her ſecurely. The natives came on board, and the Engliſh, in return were invited on ſhore, where they were well entertained, and many of them formed connexions with the beſt families of the iſland. In the mean time the young women were not wanting in diſplaying attractions, which to ſailors come on ſhore from ſuch a voyage, could not but be agreeable. Thoſe who had gold, as is always the caſe in ſuch circumſtances, had the preference, and the females generally took care they ſhould pay well for their favours. As there were artificers who worked in the gold and jewelling way on the iſland, they took care to come in for their ſhare of the advantage, making thoſe who beſpoke toys for their miſtreſſes give a ſufficient price for their love-preſents. When they took the ingots of gold preſented by the Engliſh for exchange, they gave them juſt what ſum they pleaſed:——Thus ſome got 16 or 18 dollars an ounce, while they put others off with 12; and even the price of neceſſaries was advanced after the arrival of theſe adventurers at Mindanao. The captain himſelf, though generally ſuppoſed by his people not to be of the moſt generous diſpoſition, yet gave countenance in a great meaſure to the diſſipation of his followers. The ſultan's palace, or that of Raja Laut, was his conſtant reſort, eſpecially the latter, where ſome of his followers who were not poſſeſſed of any property came, and were entertained with victuals dreſſed up in the ſame manner of the natives, who made no uſe either of knives or forks, but crammed themſelves with as much as their mouths would hold. To the hoggiſh cuſtoms even of the loweſt of theſe people, the voyagers could have no objection while they were received hoſpitably, and made no doubt but they were entertained at free coſt. Some apologies were made to the commander on account of its being the Ramadam or Lent in thoſe parts. On this account likewiſe there was a ſuſpenſion of the diverſions of the country, the people being Mahometans.

The expected rains coming on in the month of Auguſt, with ſtormy weather, the river ſwelled and large trees driving down upon the veſſels, they were in perpetual danger of driving on ſhore. The ſeaſon ſuſpended buſineſs as well as pleaſure, in the city, which ſtood in the midſt of water, without any other communication between the houſes, while the inundation continued, in which caſe the poſts whereon their dwellings were erected, proved very ſerviceable in ſecuring them from the effects of the water.

Having paſſed the Ramadam, and waited for the ſubſiding of the waters, Raja Laut entertained Captain Swan, with ſome of the dances of the country; thoſe who were employed in them, performing to vocal muſic, which from ſlow went on to ſwift time,

1686

The captain entertains the Indians.

and the dancers moved their heads, arms, and bodies with amazing quickneſs, their legs and feet being but little employed in theſe fantaſtic meaſures. In order to return this compliment, Captain Swan, who always wiſhed to impreſs on the iſlanders a high idea of his own conſequence, gave them a dance after the Engliſh manner, to which the ſultan, the chiefs, and their women were invited. The room being hung with ſilks, adorned with gold and ſilver lace, and illuminated with a great number of wax candles, made ſuch an appearance as aſtoniſhed the Indians. After the dancing was over, they were unwilling to withdraw, though their appetite as well as their ſight had been feaſted, ſavoury diſhes and ſweetmeats having been provided for the purpoſe. It was near daybreak when the ſultan retired, and his women reluctantly accompanied him. — Raja Laut and his female train ſtaid after his majeſty was departed; and wine was drank among them, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the Mahometan law. This entertainment furniſhed great matter of converſation among the Mindaneians, who of all the dancers they had ſeen, liked none ſo well as one Jack Thacker, a common ſailor, who had learned to dance horn-pipes at Wapping, with which he had exceedingly diverted them.—The Raja enquiring who he was, one of his meſſmates told his highneſs that he was an Engliſh nobleman, who travelled merely for his diverſion, adding that the reſt were gentlemen who had left England from a deſire of travelling. Captain Swan hearing of this, vexed perhaps at the impoſition, and conſulting an ill ſupported dignity rather than the dictates of good-nature, exhibited on this occaſion another inſtance of ill-timed ſeverity. He cauſed this man, who, it is ſaid, was ignorant of what had been reported of him, to be ſtripped of his fine clothes and laſhed in the preſence of the Raja.

This prince, who had ſo long been conſidered by the Engliſh, and particularly by their commander, as their beſt friend, when they prepared for their departure, gave ſome tokens of his inſincerity. Examining the bottoms of the veſſels, they found that of the bark to be eaten by the worms into holes like the cells of a honeycomb, and unfit for ſervice, the ſhip being ſheathed, had only her falſe bottom deſtroyed. In theſe circumſtances, application was made to the Raja, for planks to renew the ſheathing of the latter, who coming down to view it, ſeemed much diſconcerted, obſerving, this was the firſt ſhip he had ſeen with two bottoms. This gave occaſion to ſuſpect that he wiſhed the ſhip had been rendered unſerviceable as well as the bark, by which means he might have had her guns, as he had ſeen a Dutch ſhip thus diſabled, that could never put to ſea again. His never appriſing Captain Swan of the danger which he could not but be acquainted with, confirmed the ſuſpicion. As to the natives, they generally hauled their veſſels upon the beach, to burn their bottoms, and let them lie there till they were wanted again. It was about the middle of November that the Engliſh began to examine their veſſels, and having repaired the ſheathing, and put the ballaſt, ſtores, and guns on board, the month of December was taken up in their neceſſary employment, and it was the beginning of January when they began to fill water. At this time they applied to Raja Laut to furniſh them with buffaloes, which he had promiſed them ſhould not be wanting. Theſe buffaloes, being wild, he pretended every day to take his men out to hunt them, but, on their return, their gueſts were always given to underſtand that they had not met with ſucceſs. Nor did Captain Swan himſelf ſeem very eager to ſet ſail. In return for lead and iron ſold to the Raja he expected a certain quantity of rice and beef; but the Raja, had not fulfilled his agreement. He had beſides borrowed 20 ounces of gold of the captain, but would not return it; charging him a greater ſum for his own and his mens board. Thus things went ill on ſhore, and all was ſtill worſe on board, where the majority were for continuing

The Raja's conduct ſuſpected.

their piratical ravages; ſome were for getting home as ſoon as poſſible, and ſome having formed connexions with the natives, would willingly have ſtayed at Mindanao. In the midſt of this Babel of confuſion, thoſe who wiſhed to return home, purchaſed a veſſel, deſigning privately to depart for Borneo, where they underſtood they ſhould meet with an Engliſh factory; and from thence they ſuppoſed they might find an eaſy paſſage to England. But the deſign was diſcovered, and thoſe concerned in it were threatened to be puniſhed as deſerters. Another ſet of male-contents withdrew and concealed themſelves, in order that they might be left behind in the country. In the mean time, thoſe who continued on board the ſhip ſent iron on ſhore, to be exchanged for honey and arrack, the latter of which intoxicating them, added to their diſorders.

Diſorders among Capt. Swan's crew.

Repreſentations had been made to Captain Swan, that in order to ſettle all theſe diſturbances, it was highly neceſſary for him to declare himſelf, and it is highly probable that if he had exerted his good ſenſe upon the occaſion, and ſettled matters on board inſtead of attending ſo much to his intereſts on ſhore, he might ſtill have brought matters to a happy iſſue. A day was, however, fixed (the 13th of January) when he promiſed to come on board and ordered the whole crew to attend him; but two days before his gunner going on board for ſomething, which the captain wanted, his journal fell into the hands of John Read, an artiſt, who finding the mutinous behaviour of the crew noted in it, and particularly the conduct of a nameſake of his, a Jamaica man, this journal was handed about, and the conſequence was, that the whole ſhip's crew, ſtimulated by Captain Tent, ſwore that they would never ſail again under their old commander. This reſolution being taken, moſt of them were for departing immediately, but neither of the ſurgeons was on board.

The next morning they ſent to deſire the preſence of the ſurgeons, on pretence of a man's having broken his leg. The chief ſurgeon did not come, but ſent his mate, Mr. Herman Coppinger, and Dampier went with him. Having ſo far effected their purpoſe, they diſpatched their canoe to the ſhore to bring away all who choſe to come on board without making Swan acquainted with the matter. On the 13th in the morning, they weighed and fired a gun, whereupon Mr. Nelly, the chief mate, was ſent to demand the reaſon of this proceeding. They ſhewed him the journal, and complained heavily of the captain's treatment. By him, however, they were perſuaded to wait for the captain, though they declared againſt a reconciliation. But Captain Swan, whoſe character was reſerve and diffident either choſe not to truſt himſelf with thoſe who conceived he had injured them, or diſdained entering into a conference with men whom, from his heart, he hated and deſpiſed, and who had ſo often given proofs of their wiſhes to ſhake off all authority.

Their ſtratagem.

However that might be, he and 36 others were left behind in the town. When to theſe were added 16 who died, as ſome ſuppoſed, of poiſon, and ſeveral who deſerted, the number of thoſe that departed was reduced from 150 to 80, who ſet ſail on the 14th of January, at three o'clock in the afternoon, reſolving to truſt to themſelves for the chance of their future fortunes.

They ſet ſail without their commander.

On the 17th they anchored in a bay on the weſt ſide of a ſmall iſland, where they proceeded to the election of their officers.* Having ſupplied themſelves with water, they afterwards continued their courſe: in their way they ſtruck upon a rock, on which they lay for two hours, but being heaved off by the riſing of the tide, got clear of the danger, with the loſs of a piece of their rudder. They anchored afterwards at the north weſt end of the Iſland Mindera, and here a canoe with ſome Indians coming up with them, told them

* On this occaſion John Read, the Jamaica man, was choſen captain, Thomas Teat, maſter, and Henry More, quarter-maſter.

them that if they had any intention of trafficking with the Spaniſh merchants they might obtain for a trifle a recommendatory letter from a certain friar which would be ſerviceable to them had they been inclined to ſuch an honeſt occupation. But they were differently diſpoſed. Havock and ſpoil were their delight, they therefore declined this offer, and proceeded on their courſe to Luconia, which they reached on the 23d of February, where they took a Spaniſh bark, bound for Manilla, laden with rice and cotton cloth. The maſter of this veſſel was boatſwain to the Acapulco ſhip that paſſed by Guam, and he was the perſon who related by what means ſhe had eſcaped them there, with the reſt of the circumſtances already mentioned. This piratical crew now determined to go to Pulo Condore, to wait there for the Acupulco ſhip which generally arrives at Manilla about the latter end of the month of May. They caſt anchor at Condore on the coaſt of Cambodia,* on the 14th of March, and on the 16th entered a harbour where they careened their ſhip, being aſſiſted by the Indians, who brought them hogs and turtle in exchange for rice, of which they had a great quantity in ſtore. While they were thus employed, two men who were ſuppoſed to have been poiſoned at Mindanao, died, and when they were opened by the ſurgeon, their livers were found dry and black, ſomewhat reſembling pieces of cork. The reaſon Dampier aſſigns for the Mindaneians thus poiſoning the Engliſh was, that ſome of their gueſts had made too free with their wives, and the huſbands thereupon took this method of revenging themſelves.

They ſail for Siam.

From Condore they ſailed for Siam on the 21ſt of April, being piloted thither by an old Indian who was converſant in the Malayan tongue. Thus conducted, they arrived in the bay of Siam after a run of three days: Their intention here was to get ſome dried fiſh; but being diſappointed in that particular, they left the place on the 21ſt of May, and returned to Pulo Condore. In their courſe they overtook a Chineſe junk, which accompanied them all the way, and by her crew they were told that the Engliſh had a factory at a place called Silleber, on the iſland of Sumatra. When they reached the place of their deſtination, Read obſerving a Malayan veſſel at anchor within ſhore, ſent a canoe to know from whence they came, at the ſame time giving his men a caution not to truſt themſelves with the ſtrangers, but to hail them from the canoe. But they, as regardleſs of his advice, as many of them had been of their old commander's, went on board unarmed. The conſequence was that the Indians ſuddenly falling upon them, ſtabbed five or ſix with their ſhort daggers. The reſt jumped overboard and reached the boat, and amongſt them one Daniel Wallis who knew nothing of the art of ſwimming, nor ever ſwam before or after that time; yet he got to the boat as well as his companions. This alſo is another inſtance to illuſtrate that maxim of thoſe hidden powers in man which are never known till they are exerted upon ſome preſſing emergency. At this place Herman Coppinger went on ſhore with an intention of ſeparating himſelf from the ſhip's company whoſe manners and proceedings were by no means agreeable to him; but Read ſent an armed party to bring him on board again; and thus his deſign was defeated. They remained on this iſland, being detained by bad weather, till the 4th of June, and then departed, after having taken on board a Malayan Portugueſe from the junk, as an interpreter, and at laſt, they weighed anchor with a contrary wind. Ten days they expected its ſhifting, ſo as to carry them to Manilla; but at laſt perceiving all their hopes were vain, they directed their courſe towards Prata, in the 20th degree of north lat. with the idea of fiſhing up ſome of the treaſure ſaid to be loſt in the China ſhips that had been caſt away there. But they could not make this iſland, the wind driving them to that called St. John's on the coaſt of China, where, however, they were ſupplied with hogs and buffaloes. 1687

They abandon their deſign on the Acapulco ſhip.

Some of the ſhip's company went over to the continent, but found nothing there that anſwered their expectations: And on the 3d of July they left St. John's, weighing anchor with a gentle gale; but the next day began a moſt violent ſtorm, the wind blowing from the north-eaſt. This tempeſt continued to increaſe till midnight. At that diſmal ſeaſon, the clouds poured down all their torrents, the thunders roared, the lightenings flaſhed inceſſant; and the ſea itſelf reſembled a ſheet of liquid fire, except when at intervals the moſt horrid darkneſs reſted upon the ocean. In the mean time the riſing ſurges at one moment were ready to lift the ſhip to the clouds, and the next threatened to plunge her for ever in the gulphs beneath. The ſeas continued breaking ſhort upon the veſſel, which laboured dreadfully in this conflict of the fighting elements. The rails of the head were carried away by a breach the waves made over them, and by the ſame ſurge the ſheet anchor, though ſtrongly laſhed was diſlodged, and ſtriking againſt the bows of the veſſel, was expected to pierce through her planks. To prevent this, they were obliged to ſteer before the wind; and having once taken this courſe they could by no means alter it while the ſtorm continued, but were obliged to be driven juſt whither the winds and ſeas impelled them. The violence of the tempeſt continued till four in the morning, when it abated, and the ſailors ſaw that well-known meteor called a Corpus Sant, ſhining like a ſtar at the maſt-head, in which caſe it is reckoned a favourable token; but if it appears on the deck, is deemed a very bad ſign; for which concluſions there may be philoſophical reaſons aſſigned; but ſea-faring men never give themſelves the trouble to inquire into them. A dreadful tempeſt.

The gale though ſtill ſtrong, ſubſided by degrees into a perfect calm. So that, after ſcudding before the wind till ſeven in the morning, they then lay to under their mizzen till eleven. Then the gale died away; but ſtill the heavens wore a lowring aſpect, ſuch as preſaged another ſtorm, which accordingly came on from the ſouth-weſt, attended with violent ſhowers and the ſhip was once more obliged to be driven before the wind, till ten at night, when all was calm and tranquil again. Having referred to their charts, they were now of opinion that the beſt courſe they could take would be to ſteer for the iſlands called Piſcadores, ſituate in 23° north lat. and by the 20th of July they came in ſight of them. As they knew nothing more of theſe iſlands than their name, they were ſurpriſed to find a ſpacious harbour, and to ſee a number of junks paſſing and repaſſing. As ſoon as they had anchored, and attempted to land, a Tartarian officer aſked who they were, and to what port they were bound. Being anſwered, that they were from England, and in diſtreſs, they were given to underſtand that they ſhould be furniſhed with what they wanted, but that they muſt not come on ſhore. Accordingly they were ſupplied with the beſt of proviſions, and ſtayed till the 29th, when they departed, after the captain had preſented the governor with a ſilver-hilted rapier, a carbine, and a gold chain, in return for his civility.

The Engliſh then directed their courſe to a cluſter of iſlands which lie between Formoſa and Luconia, the place on which their hearts were ſet, and arrived in ſight of them on the 2d of Auguſt. They found them well inhabited, and ſtored with goats and ſwine, but by no means abounding in poultry. Theſe iſles not having received any names before, Read gave them the general name of Baſhee iſlands. Baſhee Iſles.

The accounts of this voyage inform us that the ſituation of their towns were very remarkable "They were built on precipices on every ſide inacceſſible but by ladders placed at the end of the ſtreets, which ran

* Dampier obſerves that among the productions of the cluſter of iſlands upon this coaſt, there is a tree three or four feet in girt, from which the natives draw a juice that when boiled becomes exactly the ſame as our tar, poſſeſſing all its qualities.

1687 ran in parallel lines, whereon the houſes roſe in ranges one above another, till they ended at laſt in a ſingle row. The inhabitants were acquainted with the uſe of iron, and had a ſort of yellow metal, like gold, among them, which they exchanged for it; but unfortunately Dampier could get none of it, becauſe he had nothing to give in return. They were very ingenious, had large fiſhing boats, and lived in a different manner from any whom theſe Buccaneers had ever ſeen. In regard to their food, they were ſo far from being nice, that they would gather up the goats ſkins and goats paunches, which the ſailors threw away and after ſinging would broil and eat the former, and having ſtewed the other without much trouble in cleanſing, would mix it with raw fiſh, and ſtrewing it with ſalt, make a ſtrange ſort of ſalmagundy. But the paunches of the ſwine they did not chuſe to eat. They ſeemed to be very cleanly in their perſons, and were good-natured, and ſo honeſt that they would take nothing but what was given to them; neither were they ever made angry with ſtrangers, though cauſe ſufficient was frequently given; nor did they quarrel with each other. They had this praiſe, that no provocation could make them angry, nor any temptation induce them to tranſgreſs the rules of honeſty.

Theſe Indians conſtantly ſupplied the ſhips with hogs, goats, potatoes, and the fruits of the country; where Read having remained till the veſſel was accommodated with proviſions and their caſks filled with water, after a ſtay of a month, and ten days, prepared to ſail on the 24th of September, when, juſt as they were ready to ſet ſail, a tempeſt forced them to cut their cables, and though ſix of their beſt hands were left behind, to put to ſea in the utmoſt confuſion.

Thus driven by the winds, they ran under their bare poles, nor were they able to return to their ſtation till the firſt of October, when their men were brought on board by the natives, who had been remarkably kind to them in the abſence of their companions, endeavouring, however, to perſuade them to adopt the Indian cuſtoms, and offering each the choice of a wife, with a little piece of land, and planters implements by way of a dowry. For their care and humanity they were rewarded with three bars of iron, which was the only ſort of metal that they coveted. The crew by this time began to be heartily tired of their voyage, and deſirous to return; but Read and Teat ſtill wiſhed for opportunities to try their fortune. However, finding the men determined to ſtay no longer on thoſe coaſts, they perſuaded them (for there was no ſuch thing as commanding) to have patience till they ſhould arrive at Cape Comorin, after which every man ſhould be at liberty to take his own courſe if he diſapproved that of the commander. This point being ſettled, they propoſed to coaſt along the eaſt ſide of the Philippines, and to keep ſouth to the ſpice iſlands, for fear of meeting Engliſh or Dutch ſhips, and ſo paſs into the Indian Ocean near Timor. With this deſign they proceeded on their voyage, on the 3d of October, leaving the iſland of Luconia on the weſt and quitting all thoſe golden projects with which once they had flattered themſelves. And thus they ſtood on to the ſouthward till they came in ſight of the Iſland of St. John, on the coaſt of Mindanao, and, on the 16th came to an anchor on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of that iſland.—Having thus conducted our adventurers once again to the ſame country, where they left their captain, we will here give a ſhort ſketch of the iſland, and the manners of its inhabitants before we proceed with our narrative.

They return to Mindanao.

The Iſland of Mindanao lies in 7° of north lat. yet by means of the gentle ſea breezes in the day and the cooling land winds at night, the air is generally temperate, and the country fruitful and covered with a perpetual verdure. The hills abound with gold, and the plains are watered by rivers and ſprings. The lawns are interſperſed with groves and trees, ſome of which yield a cooling ſhade, whilſt others are more uſeful, producing food for the natives of that happy climate. Deſcription of the iſland.

Their houſes, as we have already obſerved, are all built upon poſts, and even the ſultan's palace has but one floor though it has a number of apartments, ſtands upon 180 poſts, and is 20 feet above the level of the ground. The roofs of all their dwellings conſiſt of palmetto leaves. As to the area beneath their houſes they conſider it as a ſort of common ſewer, into which all manner of filth is thrown, and remains there till the violence of the currents, which are ſometimes ſo ſtrong as to overturn the houſes, carries it away. The iſlanders bathe conſtantly every day, and are very clean in their perſons, uſing generally the ablutions of the Mahometans, and holding ſwine in abomination. Bread fruit, rice, ſago, plantains, cocoa nuts, and other fruits of the country form the chief part of their diet. Beef and fowls are more rarely uſed, and conſidered rather as dainty diſhes than common or ſubſtantial food. The people in general are low of ſtature, with ſmall heads, and of a copper complexion. The women are fairer than the men, but their noſes are ſmall and flat, which renders them on a near approach, rather diſagreeable. They were found to be extremely amorous, and fond of white men, who could ſcarcely walk the ſtreets without being invited and almoſt forced into their dwellings. Their hair is black and long, and they are better dreſſed than the men. The habit generally worn conſiſts of a looſe jacket and a petticoat. The jacket ſleeves are wide at the ſhoulders, but cut in the ſlope to the waiſt, where they are extremely ſtraight and tight. Silks and fine calicoes are uſed for cloathing by the higher ſort of people, but for the lower ranks an ordinary ſort of cloth called Saggen, which is woven from the plantain tree. They had ſhip-builders, carpenters, ſmiths, and goldſmiths, among them, who work by no means contemptibly conſidering the ſimple nature of the tools which they employ.* There is only one moſque in Mindanao, which is not much reſorted to. In the room of a clock they notify the hour by means of a vaſt drum kept in the moſque for that purpoſe, which is bell-ſhaped and placed over a large cavity, and the head of it is covered with braſs. This inſtrument is called a Gong, and is attended by a number of perſons who relieve each other watching by night and day. Theſe people have a ſtick, which has a ball at the end of it; with this at certain intervals they ſtrike the gong, and the ſound that proceeds from it is loud enough to be heard through all the town. The natives make uſe of circumciſion, which is not performed among the common people till about the age of twelve, but the princes of the blood undergo this operation (which is attended with much ceremony) at the end of eight days.

With regard to the trees and fruits of Mindanao, the following is a ſummary of the account given of them in this voyage. On the hilly ground the natives cultivate potatoes, yams, melons, and many other vegetables, and rice grows in the marſhy grounds. They make a ſort of bread out of the pith of ſome of their trees as well as extract a pleaſant drink from the ſap of others. Here are found cloves and nutmegs; alſo oranges, plantains, bananas, betel nuts, durians, and cocoas, beſides the bread-fruit of which we have made mention.

As to the plantain, Dampier prefers it to all the reſt

* Captain Dampier ſays the ſmiths bellows are conſtructed in the following manner: The inſtrument is compoſed of two hollow cylinders, like large wooden water-pipes: they are cut flat at both ends, about four feet long, placed upright at the diſtance of about four feet from each other, on a ſtone hearth, before the fire. A pipe is placed within two inches of the bottom of each, which project like a cock towards the fire, bending in ſuch a manner that the pipes from both cylinders meet and end in one before they reach it. Being fixed firm, a man keeps up a perpetual blaſt with two light bruſhes, made of feathers which they work alternately like two piſtons, nor have they any other vice or anvil than a large ſtone or the but-end of an old cannon. The carpenters have neither planes nor ſaws, yet by perſeverance they continue to ſplit and ſmooth their boards very neatly, and the work proves more durable, the grain of the wood remaining unbroken.

reſt, calling it the king of fruits. "The tree that bears it is between three and four feet in circumference, and riſes about ten or twelve feet high. When at its height, there ſprings from the top a ſtem about the ſize of a man's arm, round which the fruit grows in cluſters in ſhape, not unlike the Turky cucumber, the coat of which is of a yellow colour when ripe. The incloſed fruit is of a delicate flavour and melts in the mouth like marmalade, [when over-ripe it has a taſte ſomewhat like that of a mellow pear]. It is highly eſteemed by all Europeans, and all their ſettlements are furniſhed with plantain walks, ſome families ſubſiſting wholly upon that fruit. The bonance [or banana] differs but little from the plantain except in ſize, being ſmaller and leſs luſcious.

"The nutmeg and clove-trees are rare in this iſland, but thoſe that grow are large and fine. The natives diſcourage their growth, for fear of exciting the jealouſy of the Dutch who have monopoliſed the whole trade for ſpices, and who keep a company of armed ſoldiers in pay to cut down the ſpice trees in the uninhabited iſlands, leſt the European nations ſhould avail themſelves of their plenty. In ſome of the eaſtern iſlands, it is uſual to ſee, at the ſhedding time, cloves lying three or four inches thick under the trees.

"Of the betel nut all the eaſtern people are immoderately fond. It is the fruit of a tree that grows like a cabbage-tree, to the height of ten or twelve feet, without either leaf or branch, and then ſends forth ſhoots on every ſide, among which the fruit is found in cluſters, on tough ſtalks, about the bigneſs of a man's finger. It is larger than a nutmeg and rounder; they cut it in quarters, (when green) wrapping each quarter up in an Arkca-leaf, and chewing both together. It taſtes rough, dyes the lips red, and makes the teeth black.

As to the durian it grows on trees like apple-trees, and are in ſize as large as pompions, covered with a rind, which, when ripe, opens and ſends forth a ſtrong ſcent, not unlike that of roaſted onions: It divides into chives, each about the ſize of a pullet's egg, the inſide of which is of the conſiſtence of cream, and if not eaten in its prime, there is no enduring its rankneſs. The jacca differs very little from the durians; except the inſide of the former is yellow, and that of the latter is white."

To return to the thread of Dampier's narrative, he ſays, That while they lay in the bay they had intelligence by means of the young prince whom we have already mentioned as coming from a neighbouring iſland, that Captain Swan* and his people remained ſtill at Mindanao, and had acquired great honour in the wars of Raja Laut, though thoſe who had deſerted him always pretended to doubt the courage of their commander. It ſeems he had offered 40 ounces of gold for a ſhip to convey him from the iſland, but the Raja (a circumſtance not uncommon among the the eaſtern princes) would not ſuffer his departure.

The prince of Meangis having promiſed to give Read a handſome reward for conveying him to his own iſland, the Engliſhman promiſed to wait three days, during which time Dampier, who approved not the behaviour of his companions to their old captain, took occaſion to try how far there was any likelihood of reſtoring him to his command. His firſt trial with a party that was on ſhore filling water, gave him hopes of ſucceſs, as they ſeemed well enough affected to his project, and were intreated to take no notice of the matter; however it happened unluckily that one of them though he appeared very zealous for the cauſe betrayed the matter, and the conſequence was that Read immediately took meaſures for his departure, and weighing anchor, on the 2d of November ſet ſail, and ſtood to the weſtward, without waiting for the prince, who was to have come on board that day. 1688

On the 9th the wind changing they came to Ubes, in 3° of north lat. and anchored in a ſandy bay. Here they found a ſort of creeping vine, the leaves of which being pounded and boiled with hog's lard proved a cure for ulcers. The people being informed of its uſe, filled their cheſts with it, and found they were not deceived in their ideas of its virtues. They ſet ſail on the 30th to the ſouthward, and in the afternoon met with a violent tornado, and ſaw a water ſpout. Afterwards they continued proceeding ſlowly till, on the 4th of December they came up with the north-weſt end of the iſland of Bouton, where they found an Indian that brought them to a harbour where they ſaw the ſultan, who gave them liberty to purchaſe ſome turtle, which proved very ſerviceable to them.† Having taken leave of him they ſet about weighing up their anchor, but as it had ſtuck in a rock, they were obliged to be contented with the cable only, and ſteered to the ſouth-weſt, ſailing by ſome iſlands where the natives beat drums in the night during their paſſage. In their courſe towards Timor they paſſed by Omba, and ſteered to the ſouthward, with a deſign to touch at New Holland. They fell in with this coaſt on the 4th of January, in 15° 6′ ſouth lat. and came to a point, from whence the land tended eaſt and ſoutherly for 10 leagues. They fell in upon the weſt ſide, of which part of the country (uncertain whether an iſland or continent) Dampier gives the following deſcription. They arrive on the coaſt of New Holland.

"The land is of a dry ſandy ſoil, deſtitute of water, except you make wells. There are divers ſorts of trees, but the woods are not thick, nor trees large. Moſt of them were dragon trees of the ſize of apple-trees.—We compared the gum with the gum dragon [Tragacanth] we had aboard, and found it the ſame. We ſaw no trees that bore fruit. We ſaw no animal nor any track of animal but one, and that was of the ſize of a maſtiff-dog. Few land birds, and none bigger than a black-bird; few ſea fowls; few fiſh, (turtle and manatee excepted.) The inhabitants are the moſt miſerable people in the world; without houſes, without cloathing; without conveniences of any kind; and ſetting aſide their human ſhape, very little different from brutes. They are tall, ſtrait-bodied, thin, have ſmall limbs, great heads, round foreheads, and large brows; their eye-lids are alway half-cloſed; they have great bottle-noſes, full lips, wide mouths, and two fore teeth in the upper jaw wanting in all of them; but whether they draw them out or not, I know not. They are long viſaged, without beards, of an unpleaſing aſpect, with no one graceful feature in their faces; their hair black, ſhort and curled like the negros, and their colour coal-black. They live in companies, 20 or 30 men women and children together; their food is fiſh, and their manner of catching them is in weirs, acroſs little inlets of the ſea, in which every tide leaves ſome; they have no inſtruments to take great fiſh. In other places they fiſh for cockles, muſcles, periwinkles, but of theſe there are but few; of what they catch all partake alike; all watch the tides, for all depend upon the ſea for their ſupport; the earth producing neither herb, root, pulſe, or any ſort of grains. Theſe poor creatures have a ſort of weapons conſiſting of a piece of wood, ſhaped ſomewhat like a cutlaſs, and a long ſtraight pole with a ſharp end hardened in the fire; with theſe they made a ſhew of frightening us; but on firing one gun they all ran away frightened‡."

Dampier tells us that, wretched as the appearance of

* He and his men (we are told) ſtayed a long time at Mindanao; Harthop and Smith, his merchants died in theſe remote parts; Meſſ. Nelly and Rofy, his mates, got their paſſage to Batavia in a Dutch ſhip, and from thence at laſt came ſafe to Europe.

As to the commander he was run down and drowned, as he was trying to get on board a Dutch veſſel. This was done by the natives, by order of his old friend Raja Laut, and was probably owing to the avarice of the Indian, as well as to his deſire of keeping an experienced European in his country.

† The ſultan alſo preſented Read with a boy who had a double range of teeth, one ſet within the other in each jaw.

‡ The reader will find this account to be different in many reſpects from that given by Captain Cooke, who touched here in the Endeavour. It is however to be obſerved that he viſited the eaſtern ſide of the iſland.

1688 of these natives were, the crew made acquaintance with them, and gave them meat. This they devoured readily enough, but paid no regard to the ship, nor any thing that they saw about them, appearing to be quite devoid of that sort of curiosity which might naturally be expected upon such an occasion.*

Finding that nothing was likely to be had here, they quitted the coast on the 12th of March, intending at first for the Isle of Cocoas in the 12th degree of south latitude; but the wind proving unfavourable to their design, they stood for the isles on the west of Sumatra. On the 28th they came to an island where they killed several of the birds called Boobies, and men of war's birds, and also found a large animal in shape like a crab, without claws, which burrowed in the ground after the manner of rabbits, and proved to be excellent meat. Leaving this island, they held on their course, and came in sight of Sumatra on the 7th of April, and on the 17th made an island named Triste, where they supplied themselves with turtle. As they were cruising among these islands, they chaced and took a praw of Achin, laden with cocoa-nuts, and cocoa-nut oil, with four men on board, whom they detained prisoners, and, boring a hole in the bottom of the praw, sunk her, after they had taken out of her what they thought fit. The men thus taken shewed them all the channels and openings which led to Achin, where the English had a factory.

About 40 leagues to the N. N. W. of Sumatra they fell in with one of the Nicobar islands, the inhabitants of which were an independent people, trading with any nation that came among them. Ambergris and fruits were the commodities in which they traded, but the ambergris they were very apt to adulterate. The island of Nicobar lies in 7° 30′ of north latitude.

It was here that Dampier at last found means to bring his scheme to bear, of leaving these pirates, to whose conduct he had so great a dislike. Indeed their behaviour was in every respect such as none but the worst of men could approve. Their desertion of their commander which they justified on principles of retaliation was cruel, and contrary even to those rules which Buccaneers for the sake of order should observe. It is true that Captain Swan did not act prudently in suffering them to remain together at liberty to urge each other to mischief. But it is most probable that being highly embarrassed by the loss of his bark, into which he might have put some of the most mutinous of his crew, and then dropped their company, and finding himself deceived in Raja Laut, he scarcely knew which way to proceed. He had thus lost his hopes of trading with the 5000l. which he had in his hands, the money resulting from the sale of commodities which he had been led to put up at auction, when this motley crew forced themselves upon him for the purpose of buccaneering, and thus disappointed in his aims, he was unsettled in his resolutions, and began at last to be unwilling to trust himself with those who gave tokens of the depth of former resentments. When all these things are considered, it may be said that his death was, in effect, occasioned by the disorderly conduct of his crew. But, to return to Dampier: having considered his own situation and the disposition of his companions, he concluded that it would not be easy for him to make his escape; he resolved therefore to ask Read to set him on shore at this island as soon as he found that the ship was about to sail, and Read consenting, with a view of getting rid of one who was continually finding fault with his conduct, our adventurer quickly collected all his moveables, and persuaded some of the crew to row him on shore in the ship's canoe†. Accordingly he was landed in a sandy bay, and had reason to think he was now fairly delivered from his disagreeable associates. But in an hour's time Teat came with an armed force to fetch him on board again. When he entered the ship, he found all there in confusion, many others insisting on being set on shore likewise, among whom was Coppinger the surgeon, who jumped into the boat with a gun in his hand, threatening to fire it on those who should endeavour to prevent his purpose, but they were so fully determined not to lose so useful a person, that one of them ventured his life to get the gun from him, and others following, he was once more brought on board. Read, however, when matters were quiet, consented to let Dampier be carried on shore, together with one Mr. Hall, and Ambrose a sailor. The four prisoners taken from the praw, and the Portuguese from the Chinese junk being also left at Nicobar before the ship departed, they all joined company; and these eight persons determined to row to Sumatra, at the distance of forty leagues, for which purpose they bought a canoe of the natives for an axe, (with which the man who rowed the Englishmen on shore had presented them on parting) and having on board a sufficient quantity of provisions, embarked for this purpose on the 10th of May, 1688. Dampier is left at Nicobar.

But almost as soon as they had put to sea, their canoe overset. However as they were near the shore they swam to it in safety. The chests and fire-arms were recovered, and the powder being sealed up was preserved from the wet, but the books and papers of the English were much damaged by the sea-water. While they were employed in drying these, the Achinese were not idle: they provided a stout mast and a sail for their boat, and to prevent her from being again overset, they furnished her with out-leaguers, a sort of beams or poles which are placed across the body of the canoe, which project a yard or two over the sides, and are united at the extremities by transverse boards, joined to the end, which while they remain firm will never suffer the boat to sink or overset.

Their little vessel, not much bigger than a wherry, being thus fitted up, they next thought of recruiting their provisions, for which purpose they were obliged to have recourse to a different part of the island, where some disputes at first arose between the English and the Indians, which Dampier by his prudent management found means to accommodate, and having brought the natives into good humour again, the provisions were accordingly obtained.

Dampier has observed that there is not a people on the face of the earth that he should be afraid to approach unarmed and alone, provided no previous injury had been done them by any of his company unprovoked. For, he says, that an European has it always in his power to insinuate himself into the favour of the most savage people by some slight, by shewing them some toy, by smiles and submission, or even by shewing them the method of lighting a match with a flint and steel. As they are apt to lie in ambush and kill by surprise, he says, the only danger is from their first onset, and if that can be avoided, the fiercest of them may be brought to be as gentle as a lamb. This observation is generally true; but it is a rule to which we conceive there are some exceptions, as, if the accounts of voyagers may be credited, there are some barbarians of such a ferocious disposition as neither force nor kindness can tame. And besides, in the ideas of some, the very attempt of any man or set of men to land upon their coast may be considered as an indication of an intended injury, which they imagine they ought to resent.

Be that as it may, Dampier succeeded so well in his endeavour at Nicobar, that nothing farther occurring to prevent the adventurers from pursuing their

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* Dampier endeavoured to persuade the men to go to some English factory, but was threatened to be set on shore for having suggested such a scheme, as soon as Read was informed of the proposal.

† Besides Dampier's wish to leave Read and his crew, he had also at first an idea of establishing a trade for ambergris with the natives of Nicobar, and thus gaining a considerable fortune; as, by rowing with the natives, mixing among them and conforming to their manners, he thought he should find the secret of their getting and preparing this valuable commodity.

their project; the Engliſh, Portugueſe, and the Achineſe, committed themſelves in their canoe to the mercy of the watry element.

The wind at their firſt ſetting out, was favourable, the weather hot, and they proceeded, rowing and ſailing occaſionally, Dampier and Mr. Hall taking turns at the helm. Yet after two days labour, they found that they had got no more than four leagues from Nicobar. On this they changed their courſe, but a contrary current oppoſing them, they found that they had made but little way on the third day.

Having thus miſſed of improving the fair weather, they were threatened on the 18th with an approaching ſtorm. The wind began to riſe, the ſky was clouded over, and a circle round the ſun gave token of their danger. In this ſituation, having conſulted what was beſt to be done, they determined to furl the ſails, to ſettle the yard about three feet above the boats ſide, and ſtand before the wind to whatſoever land might be right a-head of them. Theſe preparations being made, they waited with very uneaſy apprehenſions the expected tempeſt.

A dreadful tempeſt.

About noon the gale came on, and continued increaſing for many hours. In the mean time the ſea ran mountain high, and perpetually threatened by breaking over the canoe, to ſend her to the bottom of the deep. But her out-leaguers, which we have already deſcribed, effectually prevented her overſetting, and the thinneſs of her body, with a high ſtern and narrow prow, cutting the waves, inſured her ſecurity. Even the ſeas that broke over her were ſo divided, that inſtead of coming down with a thundering weight ſufficient to ſever her frame, the water fell only in ſhowers which could not ſink a veſſel ſo ſecured, and which was baled out by the Achineſe, who laboured chearfully while Dampier and his friend Hall were attentive to every circumſtance that could leſſen the apparent danger. Notwithſtanding what we have obſerved of thoſe fortunate circumſtances that contributed to the ſafety of this little veſſel, yet when the ſituation of theſe adventurers is conſidered, the reader will eaſily perceive that they had the greateſt occaſion to be under the moſt terrible apprehenſions, and the more ſo, as had their out-leaguers failed them in ſuch a ſea, the canoe could not have lived a moment. The evening of this day was dreadful, and no leſs dreadful was the operation which this ſcene had upon the minds of thoſe who were embarked on this tempeſtuous ocean. In times of danger a multitude of ideas ruſh into the head, a thouſand feelings affect the heart of man, which in proſperity are totally unknown, in times of tranquility are not attended to. Dampier who had paſſed through many perils, found himſelf here quite at a loſs to maintain his fortitude, as the following deſcription of the ſtorm and of his own feelings will ſufficiently evince.

"The ſky (ſays he) looked very black, being covered with dark clouds, the wind blew hard, and the ſea was already roaring in a white foam about us: a dark night coming on, and no land to ſhelter us, and our little ark in danger to be ſwallowed up by every wave; and what was worſt of all, none of us thought ourſelves prepared for another world. I had been in many imminent dangers before now, but the worſt of them all was but a play-game in compariſon with this. I muſt confeſs that I was in great conflict of mind at this time. Other dangers came not upon me with ſuch a leiſure and dreadful ſolemnity. A ſudden ſkirmiſh or engagement was nothing when the blood was warm, and ruſhed forward with eager expectations; but here I had a lingering view of approaching death, and little or no hopes of eſcaping it: And I muſt confeſs, that my courage that had hitherto kept me up, failed me here, and I made very ſad reflections on my former life, and looked backward with horror and deteſtation upon actions which before I diſliked, but now I trembled at the remembrance of them. I had long before this repented me of that roving life, but never with ſuch concern as now. In this temper of mind, we ſubmitted ourſelves to God's good providence, taking all the care we could to preſerve our lives. Mr. Hall and I took turns to ſteer, and the reſt took turns to heave out the water; and thus we provided to ſpend the moſt doleful night I ever was in. About ten o'clock it began to thunder, lighten, and rain; but the rain was welcome to us, having drank up all the water we brought from the iſland. The wind at firſt blew harder than before; but, within half an hour, it became more moderate, and the ſea aſſuaged [abated] of its fury. And then by a lighted match, which we kept burning on purpoſe we looked on our compaſs, to ſee how we ſteered, and found we varied but little from our courſe and finding our veſſel lively enough with the ſmall ſail that was aboard, we began to bear up to the true point, to which our views were directed. But about two in the morning, we had another guſt of wind, with thunder, lightning, and rain, which obliged us again to put before the wind. The hard rain ſoaked us thoroughly that we had not one dry thread about us, and the cold rain chilled us extremely, for any freſh water is much colder than the ſea-water, and much more unwholſome for man's body. 1689

"In this wet, ſtarving condition, we ſpent the tedious night. Never did poor mariners on a lee-ſhore more earneſtly long for the dawning light than we did. At length the day appeared, but with ſuch dark, black clouds near the horizon, that the firſt glimpſe of dawn appeared dreadful. We continued our courſe before the wind till eight o'clock in the morning of the 19th, and then one of our Achineſian friends cried out, *Pulo Way*. We thinking the fellow had ſaid *Pull away*, were at a loſs to conceive his reaſon; but preſently, obſerving his motions, we found he pointed to his companions, to ſhew them land. We, dropping with wet, cold, and hungry, were overjoyed at this ſight. It bore ſouth, and the wind was ſtill at weſt, a ſtrong gale; yet with our ſmall ſail, no bigger than an apron, we changed our courſe, and bore up to it. Here our out-leaguers did us good ſervice; and, though our boat's ſide was preſſed down very much, we could brook it well enough; and the next day we ran to the mouth of a river in the iſland of Sumatra, called Paſſage Jonca, where all fell ill of fevers, of which ſome died; and I that ſurvived was a whole year before I recovered my ſtrength."

Having reached the ſhore the Engliſh were kindly entertained by the natives, as the Achineſe had given theſe Indians to underſtand that the ſtrangers were priſoners on board the piratical veſſels as well as themſelves, and had been ſet on ſhore altogether, the truth of which latter part of the information ſeemed to confirm that of the former.

In this place the natives uſed many endeavours to perſuade Dampier and his companion Mr. Hall, to ſtay in order to improve them in the art of building and navigating veſſels; but it will readily be conceived that people who had gone through ſo much abroad were not willing to liſten to ſuch propoſals. On the other hand as there was an Engliſh factory at Achin, they made it their choice to be conveyed thither, and embarking on board a veſſel provided accordingly, they arrived there in three days. At Achin the two Engliſhmen were received with great kindneſs, and entertained by an Iriſh gentleman of the name of Driſeal, but Dampier's ill health ſtill continuing, he had recourſe to a Malayan profeſſor of phyſic, who gave him ſuch a ſtrong medicine as procured 60 evacuations in one day; this ſeemed to be adopting a ſort of dangerous if not deſperate remedy; but our adventurer who ſeems to have had the ground-work of a good conſtitution to carry him through, bore it all, and afterwards gathered ſtrength daily. Dampier's reception at Achin.

The Achineſe were reſtored to their families, but the Portugueſe died the day after their arrival, and Ambroſe the ſailor lived but a little while after him. Dampier when he found his health growing better, undertook to ſail to Nicobar with one Captain Bowry. Dampier's voyages in the E. Indies.

1690 Bowry*. Accordingly they embarked and set sail from the road of Achin, in the beginning of the month of June, but a storm obliged them to return; and Captain Welder at this time arriving at Fort St. George engaged Dampier to go with him on a voyage to Tonquin, his description of which, as well as of the city of Malacca [or Malakka] we have here omitted, as they will be found more at large in the subsequent part of this work, which treats of voyages to the East Indies.

They left the river of Tonquin in the month of February, standing away to the south, the shoals of Brasil being on the larboard, and the coasts of Cochinchina, Campa and Cambodia on the starboard, the latter of which Dampier describes as a low, woody country, somewhat like Tonquin, situate on a large river, which rising in the north, passes through a large tract of land, and empties itself into the sea near the Isle of Condore. Thence they steered westward, and passed through the streights of Malacca, and after a short stay there, made for Achin, where Dampier had first landed, with whose account of the country we shall here present our readers.

Description of Achin. "This kingdom, (says he) is the most populous of all the petty kingdoms in the Isle of Sumatra, and extends fifty or sixty miles from the north-west to the east. Near the north-west end of Sumatra stands the Golden Mountain, within two leagues of the city of Achin, which mountain may be seen at the distance of 40 leagues at sea. The road of Achin is inclosed by a range of islands, the easternmost of which is called the Isle of Way, a circumstance that accounts for the Achinese in Dampier's canoe having called out *Pulo Way*, Pulo signifying an island in their language.

"Plantains, bananas, durians, citrons, oranges, and most of the fruits known in the torrid zone, grow in the island, as likewise rice and pepper; camphire also and gold, are found in the kingdom of Achin. Their land animals are elephants, bullocks, deer, hogs, goats, horses, porcupines, monkeys, squirrels, lizards, and serpents, &c. Of tame fowls they have only dunghill fowls and ducks; but the woods afford macaws, parrots, paroquites, pigeons, and turtle doves of divers sorts; and the sea and rivers furnish them with plenty of fish.

"The inhabitants of the kingdom of Achin are originally Malayans, speaking the same language [with them] with very little difference, being of the same Mahometan religion, and of the same temper. For the rest;—they are of a middle size and well shaped;—Their complexion is dark like the rest of the Indians; their hair lank and black; with black eyes, tolerable good noses, thin lips, and black teeth. They are naturally lazy and idle, and the poorer sort are addicted to theft, but good-natured to strangers. They build their houses on posts: Their common food is rice; but the better sort eat fowls, fish, and buffaloes flesh, seasoned with garlic and pepper, and dressed with pickles. The poor wear a pair of breeches only, and a turban; the rich a cap fitted to their heads, and a piece of silk thrown over their shoulders; also a pair of sandals, but no stockings.

"The city of Achin, the metropolis of the whole kingdom, is seated on the banks of a river two miles from the sea; not far from the north west end of the Isle of Sumatra." "It contains (adds Dampier) about 8000 houses, much larger and better furnished than those of Mindanao, and inhabited, besides the natives, by the English, Dutch, Danes, Portuguese, Chinese, and those of Guzarat. The chief trades of Achin are carpenters, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and fishermen; the last of whom are the richest and most in number. Their gold mines are near the golden mountain; none but Mahometans are permitted to go thither; these carry such commodities, through very difficult ways, as are wanted by the miners, in lieu whereof they bring back gold. The English are highly esteemed here; such of the Hollanders as are free merchants may trade hither; but the Chinese outdo all the rest; many of them dwell constantly in the city, the rest come with the ships in June, and take up their shops in the Chinese quarter, where they sell their commodities, for two or three months. They do not much frequent the mosques, yet are very zealous in their religion. They are very strict and short in the administration of justice; for as soon as a criminal is brought before the magistrate he is either acquitted or punished upon the spot. Theft is punished with the cutting off a hand or a leg, the stump they bind up tight with a piece of leather or bladder, to stop the blood. Such as deserve death are generally impaled: but those of a noble extraction have the privilege to fight for their lives with their usual weapons, which, however, stand them in little stead; for the whole multitude fall upon them and dispatch them in an instant.

"The kingdom is governed by a queen who is elected out of the royal family. She must be a maid, and is in a manner confined to her own palace; the management of all affairs belonging to twelve Oronkey's, or great men of the kingdom." The captain observes, that there was mention made of a king in James the First's time, yet he was sure that in later years Achin had been governed by queens, and that there was an election for a new female sovereign during his voyage to Tonquin, that occasioned a civil war, which, however, was at last settled to the new queen's advantage. He says the weather at Achin is much the same as in other countries to the north of the line; and so are the dry and wet seasons, and the floods, and the river running only a short course for ever overflows its banks and the city. It seems they frequently wash in this river, both upon a religious account and in respect to health. "For my part (adds he) I can assert, by my own experience, that it cured me of the flux, that had afflicted me so long before, which I attributed to its cooling quality, of which I found the effects in my bowels, as often as I washed in the river. The heat is not so excessive here as at Tonquin, for they are constantly refreshed every twenty-four hours by the sea and land breezes."

From Achin, Dampier set sail as mate to Captain Minchin, who had purchased a vessel there, and made a voyage to Malacca, in the course of which nothing remarkable occurred; they arrived in safety, loaded their ships and departed.

Island of Dinding. On their return, they touched at a Dutch island near the continent, called Dinding. They found it inhabited only by Dutchmen, who had a fort there, without bastions, in extent about 12 feet square, standing in a small creek defended by 14 guns and a garrison of 30 soldiers. Here the governor treated the English kindly, and invited them to supper; in the midst of which they were disturbed by an alarm that was spread of the approach of a number of Malayans from the continent; but this turned out to be a false report. The next day they set sail, and returned to Achin about the beginning of November.

During Dampier's stay at Fort St. George, a vessel laden with clove-bark from Mindanao, arrived there having on board one Mr. Moody, in quality of a supercargo.—The reader may remember our having made mention of a prince of Meangis who had solicited Read to carry him from Mindanao to his own country. This prince and his mother having been driven off their own coast in a tempest, had been seized at sea by some Mindanean fishermen, who sold them as slaves at Mindanao. Mr. Moody being at that time on the island, his attention was attracted by the curious manner in which this Indian prince was painted; he therefore purchased the royal slave with an intention of bringing him over to England. But the governor of Fort

Account of the India prince

* Captain Bowry was the person who sent the letter from Sumatra to Mindanao, where he supposed an English factory then subsisted, while his countrymen concluded from that letter there was then one at Sumatra.

Fort St. George, offering this gentleman the place of chief of Indrapore, in the room of one Mr. Gibbons, who had lately reſigned, he endeavoured to engage Dampier to go with him as his gunner, and to encourage him to comply made him a promiſe of purchaſing a veſſel to carry the prince and his mother to their country, of which he would ſend him as a commander, and alſo give him power to eſtabliſh a trade at Meangis. Dampier thought this ſuch an offer as he ought by no means to reject, and accordingly embarked for the new ſettlement.

The weather was fair and pleaſant till they came to the weſtern coaſt of Sumatra, when a ſtorm ariſing drove them into the harbour of Bencouli. Here they were well received, and our adventurer being offered the place of gunner of the fort, accepted of it with Mr. Moody's leave, who was not ſure that he could accompliſh the promiſe he made of ſending him with the prince to Meangis.

Moody alſo aſſigned him a half ſhare in the two ſlaves, who remained with him at Bencouli, while the new chief repaired to his ſtation at Indrapore, Dampier, however, at length grew weary of his ſtation, and made application for his diſcharge to the governor and council: the latter thought his requeſt reaſonable, and the former made no objections; but that was at a time when there was no veſſel to be obtained, to carry him home. Afterwards, when the ſhip called the Defence, Captain Heath, which was bound for England, came thither, he at firſt found excuſes, and at laſt peremptorily refuſed to let Dampier go. It ſeems that this ſhip before her arrival at Bencouli, touched at Indrapore, Moody had conſigned his half ſhare of the ſlaves to Goddard, the chief mate of the ſhip who in vain joined all his intereſt to that of the captain in order to prevail on him for our adventurer's diſcharge, Moody having been previouſly acquainted with his deſign, of returning home. In conſequence of his aſſignment, the prince of Meangis who was reduced to the ſituation of a common ſlave, was put on board the Defence. He was but juſt recovered from an infectious diſtemper, of which his mother had died in India, and at her death he had given ſuch an example of filial affection as well deſerves remembrance among the more refined and civilized people of Europe.

Inſtance of filial affection in an Indian.

This Indian, who was known by the name of Yeoly or Jeoly, was conſoled as much as poſſible by Dampier, on the loſs of his parent; yet it was feared that he would not long ſurvive her. A grave was therefore, immediately dug in order to hide the body from him, which was ſhrouded in a piece of fine new calico; but the ſon could not be ſatisfied till he ſaw all her cloaths wrapped round her, together with two new pieces of chintz, given her by Mr. Moody, ſaying, as they were hers, ſhe muſt have them. At laſt ſhe was interred in a very ſolemn manner, but it was long before her ſon ceaſed to grieve for his mother's death.

The governor continuing inflexible, Captain Heath ſecretly agreed that Dampier ſhould be received on board his ſhip, provided he could make his eſcape. This adventurer who had no other chance for reviſiting his native country, depended intirely on the captain's honour in which dependence he was not diſappointed.

Dampier eſcapes from the gaol.

When the letters were put on board, and all things in readineſs for ſailing, proper notice being given, Dampier after many eſſays got away about the middle of the night and creeping through one of the port-holes of the fort eſcaped to the ſhips boat, which carried him on board; and on the 25th of January, the captain ſailed for the Cape of Good Hope. 1691

They had at firſt fair and favourable weather and the proſpect of a ſucceſsful voyage; but they had not been long at ſea before a ſtrange diſtemper ſtole upon the crew, which proved ſo univerſal, that there was hardly one to be found who did not experience it in a greater or leſs degree, ſo that the people were generally unable to work the ſhip when neceſſity required their utmoſt exertion.* While they were in this condition, they were ſeaſonably relieved by the humanity of the captain, who having brought ſome jars of tamarinds from India, diſtributed them daily among his crew, at this time of general ſickneſs and diſtreſs.

Captain Heath's humanity.

But the wind coming foul, and the paſſage which had already been a long one, being likely to prove ſtill more tedious, Captain Heath, calling all his men together, deſired the opinion of every individual relative to what was beſt to be done in the preſent exigency. The reſult was, that notwithſtanding the wind was unfavourable, they ſhould ſtill proceed towards the Cape.

But now another difficulty aroſe:—to put this reſolution in force, it was neceſſary for thoſe who were in health to exert themſelves in an extraordinary manner, in order to ſupply the place of thoſe that were ſick on board. Here the captain's policy appeared as conſpicuous as his humanity had been in the inſtance juſt related. He promiſed a month's extra pay to every one who would engage to aſſiſt on all occaſions, when required, whether it were his watch or not. The propoſal was firſt embraced by the officers, and then all the men capable of duty entered into the ſame engagement.

This ſalutary expedient had the deſired effect. And (ſays Dampier) "In a ſhort time it pleaſed God to favour us with a fair wind, which being improved to the beſt advantage by the inceſſant labour of thoſe new-liſted men, wafted us in a ſhort time to the cape; and being brought ſafe to anchor by the aſſiſtance of 100 Dutch ſailors, who unbent the ſails, and did every thing for us they were required to do, the ſick were preſently ſent on ſhore, where they remained for ſix weeks, and all but three or four recovered."

They took their departure from the cape in company with the James and Mary, and the Joſeph, Eaſt-Indiamen, ſhaping their courſe towards St. Helena, and in their way were incommoded with a ſwelling ſea, ſoon after they had doubled the cape, which Dampier obſerves was a token "That the ſouth-weſt winds were violent in the higher latitudes towards the ſouth pole [where it was almoſt the middle of winter] we having found clear weather all the while." They arrived at St. Helena on the 20th of June, from whence, after four or five days ſtay, they ſet ſail for England, and without meeting with any thing remarkable, after a proſperous voyage, arrived in the Downs on the 16th of September, in the year 1691.

Thus Dampier returned in ſafety to his country; but this was a bleſſing denied the prince of Meangis. This unfortunate Indian, it ſeems, was ſold to people who carried him about the kingdom for a ſhow, and told a number of ridiculous tales about him, which it was not in his power to contradict.† After having experienced all the viciſſitudes of this roving life, prince

* One of the cauſes of this diſtemper, according to Dampier, was their bad water, which they filled from a river into which ſeveral ſtreams emptied their dregs in the dry ſeaſon. He alſo mentions another circumſtance, namely, its being ſtowed among the pepper in the hold, which rendered it ſo hot that a man could ſcarcely hold a bottle filled with it in his hand. Either of theſe cauſes, though ſo widely different might have produced very diſagreeable effects; the firſt ſeems, however, to have been the moſt probable ſource of the evil.

† Among the reſt, they told a tale of his having a beautiful ſiſter at Mindanao, whom the ſultan took to his bed. They ſaid alſo, that the paint with which he was adorned was a ſecurity againſt venomous creatures. Both theſe reports were equally falſe. With regard to the colouring, it ſeems that he was painted all down his breaſt, between his ſhoulders, on his thighs, and round his legs and arms like bracelets. Dampier obſerves, that he could not liken the drawings to the form of any animals; but, he adds, "They were very curious, full of great variety of lines, flouriſhes, chequered work, and innumerable convolutions; keeping a very graceful proportion, and appearing very artificial, even to the wonder of all that beheld him." According to this account it ſeems that this prince was marked after the manner called *Tattowing*, in uſe among the natives of New Zealand.

1703 prince Jeoly died at Oxford, an inſtance of the inſtability of fortune.

Another voyage. Dampier, who (as the reader will remember) had never yet been advanced to the ſtation of a commander, was ſo much recommended by his voyages, that he was afterwards employed by the government, to make diſcoveries, in which line, however, he does not ſeem to have met with any great ſucceſs. Sailing from the Downs on the 14th of Jan. 1698, in his majeſty's ſhip the Roebuck with 12 guns, and 50 men, and 20 months proviſion on board, he proceeded till he fell in with the coaſt of New Holland,, where little was found beſides what Dampier had before ſeen and deſcribed when his voyage round the world was publiſhed. They ſaw on this coaſt no other land animal than a ſort of racoon, that differs from thoſe in the Weſt Indies chiefly in the ſhape of their legs, which being ſhort before, they jump as they run along; and a ſort of lizards which having legs ſo formed that they can walk either forward or backward, and being without a tail, ſeem to have two heads, tho' philoſophers are of opinion that there is not ſuch a double formed animal in nature. Here Dampier was much diſtreſſed for want of water, and while he was on ſhore digging a well, he was attacked by ten or twelve of the natives. A young man being ſurrounded by three of them, and wounded with a lance, it was thought proper to ſhoot amongſt them. When a gun was fired over their heads, thoughit made them ſtart at firſt, had not the deſired effect; however, when a man fell by another diſcharge, they exhibited ſigns of dread and aſtoniſhment, and fled precipitately from the ſcene of action. There was one among the ſavages who were in this engagement, that had the appearance of a chief. He was neither ſo tall nor ſo agreeable as the reſt, but was more active and courageous. He had a white circle painted round his eyes, and a white ſtreak down his noſe from his forehead to the tip of it. This ſeemed to be done not to make him appear more beautiful to his friends, but more terrible to his enemies. In this ſecond voyage, Captain Dampier confirms what he ſaid in his firſt, That the natives of New Holland are the moſt diſagreeable people he ever ſaw, while Captain Cook gives a quite different account of them. In endeavouring to reconcile theſe different relations it will ſeem ſtrange that there ſhould be ſo great a difference between the people inhabiting the eaſtern and weſtern coaſts of the ſame land; yet we have no authority for diſputing the authenticity of either of theſe accounts.

In September 1699, Dampier left this diſagreeable coaſt, when he could neither find freſh water nor a harbour proper for careening his veſſel, and arrived at Timor on the 15th of the ſame month, where he was ſupplied with water and proviſions, by the chief of the Dutch factory, and was alſo well entertained by the Portugueſe ſettled there. From thence he ſailed to New Guinea, where finding the land divided into two parts, he gave the name of New Britain to the eaſtern ſhore. On his return, he touched again at Timor, and from thence ſailed to Batavia, where he took in ſupplies. Thus provided, he proceeded for the Cape of Good Hope in October, and having doubled it continued his voyage to S. Helena, where he arrived on the laſt day of January, 1700.—In his courſe homeward his veſſel ſprung a leak, and he was forced to run her a-ground at Aſcenſion Iſland. There the crew landed, and took on ſhore their proviſions. Afterwards they diſcovered a fine ſpring of water, and remained on the iſland till ſome Engliſh men of war touched there, which were convoying the Canterbury Eaſt Indiaman, and theſe brought them home at laſt to England. The reader may here perceive that no ſucceſs attending this voyage was ſufficient to engage a man to embark in another; but Dampier was of a roving diſpoſition, and not eaſily diſconcerted by diſappointments.

Still wiſhing to be diſtinguiſhed in his profeſſion, it was not eaſy for ſuch a one to reſiſt the opportunities that offered to gratify his darling paſſion. Accordingly, in the year 1703, we find him again employed, in conſort with Capt. Pulling in an expedition to the South Seas. Each of theſe had a ſhip of 26 guns under his command, manned by 120 men. Dampier's ſhip was called the St. George, and Pulling's the Fame: they had a commiſſion from Prince George of Denmark, the Lord High Adm. of England, to proceed againſt the French and Spaniards, and were victualled for nine months; but the expedition, as it ſeems, partaking of the nature of thoſe fitted out by private adventurers, though countenanced by a government commiſſion, began in the firſt ſetting off to give tokens of thoſe diſagreements which are common in theſe caſes among the commanders and officers of ſhips under this predicament. They had not got out of the Downs before ſome differences aroſe between the captains, in conſequence of which Pulling ſet ſail alone. Dampier thus left to take his own courſe ſtopped ſome time on the coaſt of Ireland, where he was joined by the Cinque Port Galley, commanded by Captain Charles Pickering: ſhe was of 90 tons burden, and carried 16 guns, and 63 men.

Our voyager ſet ſail from Kinſale in Ireland on the 11th of September, 1703, little doubting of the ſucceſs of the projects he had formed, which were—— If poſſible to ſurpriſe the Spaniſh galleons at Buenos Ayres; if they ſhould miſs of them to ſail through the Maghellanic Streights, and cruiſe on the coaſts of Peru for the Baldivia ſhips, which carried gold to Lima; or if they ſhould fail in both theſe enterpriſes, then to endeavour to intercept on the coaſts of Mexico the Manilla ſhip that annually comes to the town of Acapulco. Dampier embarks again.

Dampier's ſhip, and Pickering's galley arriving at the Madeiras, they were given to underſtand that the galleons had left Buenos Ayres, and were then at Teneriff; and thus they found the firſt part of their ſcheme had proved abortive. As they had no time to loſe, on receiving this intelligence, the two veſſels proceeded on their courſe to the Iſland Le Grand, on the coaſt of Braſil, where the captain of the galley died, and Lieutenant Stradling was choſen to command her.

They ſailed from this iſland on the 8th of December, and doubled Cape Horn on the 20th of Jan. and the two veſſels parted company in a violent ſtorm, then Dampier changing his direction, and ſteering northward, proceeded towards Juan Fernandez. Anchoring in the great bay there, the St. George met with her conſort, and they continued at the iſland till the 29th, refitting their ſhips, when deſcrying a ſail, they put to ſea and came up with her; Dampier fought her about ſeven hours, after which ſhe ſheered off, the galley having taken little part in the engagement. Returning to Juan Fernandez the next day, they narrowly eſcaped from two French men of war, and left their anchors, cables, and five of their men, with a ſet of ſails; all of which they could but ill ſpare behind them.

The Baldivian ſhips were the next object they had in view; but the Baldivian ſhips were ſailed, and the gold was ſecured. Thus diſappointed, they determined to attack the town of Santa Maria, in the gulph of Panama; but their intention having been diſcovered by the Spaniards, an ambuſcade was laid for them; four were killed, ſome wounded, and the reſt were glad to ſave themſelves by flight. Thus ended that expedition. The commanders diſpirited by their ill ſucceſs, were now ready to part from each other, when, luckily for them, a large ſhip came to an anchor cloſe by them, which was deeply laden with flour, ſugar, brandy, wine, marmalade of quinces, and ſalt; alſo a quantity of linen and woollen cloth. They boarded and took her, and were happy in this ſupply, which came at a time when five green plantains was the allowance for ſix men. Notwithſtanding this the captains determined to ſeparate from each other; and within three days afterwards Captain Dampier fell in with a Spaniſh ſhip of war, which it ſeems had been fitted out with a view to take him; but the two ſhips parted in the night by conſent, af-

ter a ſmart engagement. Not long after this, the dæmon of diſcord raging among them, Clippington, our voyager's firſt lieutenant ſeized the ſhip's tender, with the ſtores, ammunition, and 21 of the men, and when he had cleared the iſlands, gave an invitation to all that choſe to follow his fortunes to come on board; and it is likely Dampier would have been left almoſt alone, had it not been for the hopes formed of his laſt project, that of attacking the Manilla ſhip, which kept thoſe remaining on board his ſhip ſtill ſteady to him. Clippington too had the generoſity to reſtore all the powder and ammunition, except what he wanted for his own uſe. In the mean time, Dampier took a ſmall bark laden with plantains in the bay of Taccames, which he named the Dragon, and deſigned to keep her for a tender. The maſter of this bark was named Chriſtian Martin, born in Spain, but having been taken priſoner when a boy, was brought up in England. Him they ſecured, and proceeded on their laſt grand project to attack the Manilla ſhip, which they came up with on the 6th of December, and bearing down on her, gave her ſeveral broadſides before ſhe could bring her guns to bear, which threw the crew into great confuſion. It was now that their priſoner Captain Martin gave them ſuch advice as had it been followed would probably have ſecured their prize; for he adviſed them to lay their veſſel aboard immediately, before the Spaniards could have time to recover from their diſorder. If a proper authority had been exerted, and the ſeamen on board the St. George diſpoſed to obey inſtead of wrangling among themſelves, the ſcheme might have taken effect; but inſtead of this, there were two parties, the one for following Martin's advice, the other againſt it. In the mean time the Spaniards got out a tier of 24 pounders, whoſe weight was too much for the Engliſh veſſel. After having received a ſhot between wind and water in the powder-room, by which two feet of her planks were driven in on each ſide of the ſtern, the St. George was beaten off with diſgrace, and all the golden projects of the adventurers were at an end. —The mariners were, however, prevailed on to cruiſe for ſome weeks upon the Mexican coaſt, and paſſed the ports of Acapulco, Port Angels, Anguatulco, and many other places, but met with nothing of any conſequence, and therefore the people grew more and more impatient every day.

Is diſappointed in his deſign on the Manilla ſhip.

Account of Read's adventures.

At this time a number of the men projected a deſign of returning home by way of the Eaſt-Indies. The encourager of this party was Mr. Funnel, the chief mate, who commanded the Spaniſh prize. The owner's agent dividing the proviſions between them, Funnel ſeparated himſelf and 33 men from Dampier, and having watered at Amapalla prepared for his voyage. The other party conſiſting of 27 perſons remained with their old commander; but of the adventures they met with we have no other accounts except that Dampier returned home in ſafety, but publiſhed no account of this voyage. As for his chief mate, and thoſe who ſailed under his conduct, they quitted the Gulph of Amapalla on the firſt of February, 1705. On his return, his veſſel was ſeized by the Dutch, the effects confiſcated, and moſt of the crew confined and half ſtarved. Funnel being releaſed however, got ſomething like a redreſs, though by no means what he had a right to expect. With two of his company, he embarked for Europe, on the 2d of November, and arrived in the Texel in July the next year. After viſiting the principal towns in Holland he returned to England and publiſhed his voyage, from whence the accounts of this laſt expedition of Dampier are extracted. 1705

As the reader may be curious to know what became of Read and Teat our adventurer's old companions in his voyage with Captain Swan, it may be proper to obſerve that after Dampier's return to Achin from his voyage to Malacca, he met with one Mr. Morgan, that had formerly belonged to the Cygnet, but was then on board a Daniſh veſſel, who gave him the following account of them: "That when they left Nicobar, they ſteered for Ceylon, but not being able to weather that iſland, they went to the coaſt of Coromandel, where they began to form new projects, which not ſucceeding, Read's people left him. Morgan and Coppinger, with ſome others, entered into the Daniſh ſervice, two or three others repaired to Fort St. George, but the main body went up the country and inliſted in the Great Mogul's ſervice, where a few of them continued orderly for ſome time; but Oliver, the quarter-maſter, and a party with him ſoon left the camp, and rambled about, plundering and robbing the villages. He added, that Captain Read having thus loſt the better half of his men, after having taken rice and water on board, ſailed again, ſtill intending for the Red Sea. Off Ceylon he had taken a rich Portugueſe ſhip and plundered her of what he liked; but not being able to bear up againſt the weſterly winds, he ſtood for Madagaſcar. There, after various adventures, Read with half a dozen of his followers, ſlipping away from the reſt of the company, embarked for New York. Teat, who ſucceeded to his command, having joined Captain Knight, their old companion, they ſailed ſome time in company; but as the Cygnet proved leaky, Knight got away from her, on which ſhe returned to Madagaſcar, and ſunk at laſt in the Bay of St. Auguſtin."

Such was the end of all the ſchemes of Captain Swan's piratical crew, from whom our voyager ſo luckily ſeparated himſelf at Nicobar. Of his other undertakings we have given a ſummary of all that was worth notice as far as our authorities extend. Of the latter part of his life we have no account. We have followed him through all his buſy ſcenes, and have endeavoured to repreſent him to the reader ſuch as he appears to have been, one of a ſpirit rather reſtleſs, with a thirſt for gold, to which, however, [if we ſet aſide the depredations he committed in common with others on the Spaniſh coaſts] he does not ſeem to have ſacrificed his idea of ſtrict honeſty. With a bluntneſs of manners he ſeems to have joined no ſmall ſhare of humanity; and more than once we find him expreſſing in high terms his diſapprobation of cruelty and injuſtice. A deſire of knowledge ſeems to have been one of his predominant paſſions, and this he had many opportunities to gratify, but in his wiſhes to attain riches he ſeems generally to have been diſappointed. On the whole, Dampier, though not the beſt calculated to command, appears to have been a man of good natural parts, and was certainly a very able navigator.

THE VOYAGE OF MASTER COWLEY, ROUND THE WORLD.

1684

COWLEY, as well as Dampier was engaged in a league with the Buccaneers of America. His firſt ſetting out was in the ſame prize wherein Dampier ſailed from Virginia under the conduct of Captain Cook; and during his life, he continued to ſerve him in quality of maſter, after which he ſailed with Captain Eaton into the South Seas. The account of his voyage is written by himſelf, from which the ſubſequent relation is extracted.

He ſailed from Cape Charles in Virginia, in the Revenge, Captain Cook, in the month of Auguſt, 1683, under an idea of navigating the ſhip to Petit Guavres, whither he accordingly directed his courſe; but was ſoon given to underſtand, as he quitted the ſhore, that the veſſel muſt be brought to Guinea, from whence, as ſoon as a ſhip could be gotten, they were to ſail into the Pacific Ocean.

Standing for the Cape Verd Iſlands; when they came to St. Nicholas, a conſultation was held, the ſubject of which was, whether they ſhould ſail directly for the South Seas, in the ſhip they had, or whether they ſhould proceed to Guinea, to accommodate themſelves with a better, as had been at firſt intended.

It was at laſt concluded that they ſhould try the road of St. Jago, one of the Cape Verd Iſlands, and if they could there find a veſſel that might ſuit their purpoſe, they ſhould immediately endeavour to make prize of her.

A deſign of taking a Dutch ſhip miſcarries

"On our approach to this iſland (ſays Cowley) on the eaſtern ſide, we deſcried a large ſhip from the maſt head, which proved to be a Dutch Eaſt Indiaman, of 50 guns, and, as we afterwards learned, of 400 men, moſt of whom were on ſhore; but ſeeing us ſtand towards the road, they inſtantly repaired to their poſts, clapped a ſpring upon their cable, heaved their broadſide to us, run out their lower tier of guns, and made themſelves ready to receive us. We had now advanced too near; but marking their force, and that it was in vain to attempt a conqueſt, we put before the wind, and ſailed directly for the coaſt of Guinea, where we had no ſooner arrived than we fell in with a new ſhip of 40 guns, which we boarded and carried away. Upon examination, we found her well ſtored with brandy, water, and proviſions; and, in order to furniſh her with other neceſſaries from our old ſhip, we put into Sherborough, reſolving to put into no other port till we ſhould come to the the Iſland of Juan Fernandez."

Their firſt deſign being thus accompliſhed, they ſteered for the Braſilian coaſt, and afterwards came into 47° ſouth lat. "Where (ſays our voyager) we found land never before diſcovered. It proved an uninhabited iſland, to which I gave the name of Pepy's Iſland, and at which ſhips may conveniently wood and water, having a good harbour where a thouſand ſhips may ride in ſafety. On this iſland we ſaw plenty of fowls, and round it there is no doubt of fiſh, but it blowing a ſtorm we could neither dare approach it, nor examine its coaſts."

Pepy's Iſland.

They now ſtood to the ſouthward, intending not to attempt the Maghellanic ſtreights, but to make Terra del Fuego, where finding great riplings, and being apprehenſive of danger, they determined to attempt the paſſage diſcovered by Bartholomew Sharp in 1681, and to ſail round all, leaving Staten Land to the north. They came abreaſt of Cape Horn on the 14th of February, "where chuſing Valentines, and diſcourſing of the witchcraft of women, there aroſe a ſtorm which continued till the laſt day of the month, and drove the veſſel into latitude 60° 30' ſouth."* According to the notions entertained in thoſe days, they concluded that talking of the wiles of women at ſea was very unlucky diſcourſe. However the wind coming to the ſouth in the beginning of March they were carried into a warmer latitude. Steering northward, they met with the Nicholas, Captain Eaton, in the 40th degree of ſouth latitude, in conſort with whom they ſailed to the iſland of Juan Fernandez, which was the place where the Moſkito men met each other, as has been related in Dampier's account.—From thence they ſailed north-north-eaſt, till they made the high land of Arica, in 18 degrees ſouth latitude. Being before the bay, they held a conſultation whether they ſhould enter, the reſult of which was that they ſhould proceed to Cape Blanco, and wait there for the Plate fleet coming to the bay of Panama.† In their way they took a ſhip laden with timber, having 30 men on board, with which they ſailed to Lobos, and afterwards reſolved on an attack upon Truxillo; they alſo made prize of three ſhips laden with flour and ſweet-meats, and afterwards lay by at the Gallapagos or Inchanted iſlands, as the reader has ſeen in Dampier's relation.

They came to an anchor in a very good harbour towards the northernmoſt end of a fine iſland under the Equinoctial Line, where there was plenty of fiſh and land tortoiſes——Cowley adds, "That there were fowls of various ſorts, and ſo tame (ſays he) that at firſt they would often light upon the hats and ſhoulders of our men, as they walked abroad; but not being able to ſatisfy their hungry appetite by catching them alive, the ſailors ſo ſcared them by frequently firing upon them, that they became at laſt like other birds, very ſhy. Cowley called this the Duke of York's Iſland, and to another which he obſerved when viewed in various directions to aſſume a different ſhape, he gave the name of Cowley's Inchanted Iſland.—It was on the Duke of York's Iſland alone that he found freſh water.

Sailing from hence the firſt land they made upon the main was Cape Treſpontew, where the Captain died. The ſecond day, ſays he, three Indians came down, whom our men brought on board. Being ſtrictly examined concerning the ſtrength and opulence of Ria Lexa, they gave very ſatisfactory anſwers; but, while they were under examination, our long-boat being ſent on ſhore to get beef, a party of Spaniſh Indians came down, and ſet their boat on fire, and drove their crew for ſhelter to a rock, where they were forced to remain till we ſent another boat with 20 men to ſecure them. We retained the three Indians, and led them, with ropes about their necks, as guides to conduct us afterwards to Ria Lexa; but one of them having got his neck out of the collar, made his eſcape, and alarmed the town; ſo that our men returned very much diſcouraged at this ſecond diſappointment."

Cowley afterwards mentions their having careened their veſſels in the bay of Amapalla, where Captain Davis and Cook's ſucceſſor parted from Captain Eaton, and our voyager accompanied the latter. They then ſteered for Cape St. Franciſco, and coming to Payta, they ſet two ſhips on fire that were lying at anchor there, the Spaniards refuſing to ranſom them.

Standing

* Cowley ſays, he found the weather ſo cold there, that they could drink three quarts of burnt brandy a-piece without being at all intoxicated.

† By this determination they miſſed of a ſhip with 300 tons of ſilver on board, then lying in Arica Bay.

Standing W. N. W. they came almoſt as low as the rocks of St. Bartholomew, and at laſt having paſſed the rocks, went for the Iſland of Guam.

They arrive at Guam.

"It was on the 14th of March (ſays Cowley) that we ſaw land. When we arrived, we had a very ſickly ſhip, no man being free from the ſcurvy. At twelve o'clock we were in latitude 13° 2′ north by obſervation. The next day we ſailed about the ſouth-weſt part of the iſland, and came to an anchor in a fair bay from whence we ſent a boat aſhore with a flag of truce; but, on landing, we found that the natives had burned their houſes, and had fled. However, our men felled ſome cocoa trees, and brought a hundred or two of the nuts on board, to refreſh the crew. In the mean time, a party of Indians ruſhed from behind the buſhes, and in a hoſtile manner threatened to attack us; but we made ſigns of friendſhip, and one of the Indians returned to the wood, and having peeled a ſtick ſo as to make it appear white, he came forward, when one of his companions perceiving that he had no cap, to compliment our people, called him back, and preſented him with one for that purpoſe. From Sunday the 15th, till Tueſday the 17th, we continued a free trade with the Indians; but, on that day, our men going over to a ſmall iſland on the weſt ſide of Guam, the Indians fell upon them with ſtones and lances, which occaſioned a fray, wherein four of the Indians were killed upon the ſpot. Two days after, the governor, who was a Spaniard, came to a point of land near the ſhip, and ſent a letter, written in Spaniſh, French, and Dutch, demanding in the name of the king his maſter, Who we were, whither we were bound, and from whence we came? Our anſwer was written in French [importing] that we were employed by ſome gentlemen in France upon the diſcovery of the unknown parts of the world. On the return of the meſſenger, the governor ſent a letter of invitation to the captain to come on ſhore, with which he inſtantly complied, and was received under a triple diſcharge of cannon from the fort, which was anſwered by the ſame number of guns from the ſhip. They ſoon came to a good underſtanding. Our Captain made an apology for killing ſome of the Indians in his own defence, and the governor anſwered, That if he had killed them all, he ſhould have eſteemed the favour the greater. We were afterwards told that the Indians on the ſmall iſland were in rebellion."

The governor's civility.

Mutual civilities now paſſed between the governor and the Engliſh. A Spaniſh Captain was ſent on board who continued 24 hours in the ſhip. He brought 10 hogs together, with potatoes, plantains, and other fruits of the country, and the captain in return made the officer a preſent of a rich ſword, and ſent the governor a diamond ring.

A captain, a jeſuit, and a friar, were afterwards ſent on board with a requeſt to Captain Eaton to ſpare the governor ſome powder; four barrels were accordingly ſent, and an offer was made him of four great guns, which offer he declined with great politeneſs, but accepted the powder, and ſent a box with 1600 pieces of eight, deſiring the captain to pay himſelf out of the money. However the box was returned with the money untouched, but the governor afterwards ſent a very valuable preſent to the captain.

In the mean time the Engliſh went out every day chacing the Indians with licence to kill and deſtroy them. But it ſeems that the latter finding they were not Spaniards, became ſo tractable as to do all that could be expected from them. But ſome time after when the Engliſh thought that all was peace, "The Indians (ſays Cowley) made ſigns for as many of our men as choſe it, to come on ſhore and ſee them haul the ſeine. Our men, not ſuſpecting any deſign, manned the boat, and went to look at them: But while they were amuſing themſelves with the ſport, the Indians had very artfully brought their ſeine round the boat with an intention to draw it on ſhore, and thereby entangle both boat and crew; but the ſailors diſcovering the plot, gave the Indians no time to put it in execution; for being provided with fire-arms, they fired amongſt the thickeſt of them, killed a great many of them, and drove the reſt away. 1685

Cowley adds that "Theſe Indians are large of ſtature, ſome of them being ſeven feet and a half high. He ſays they go ſtark naked and never bury their dead, but leaving them in the ſun to rot. They have no arms but ſlings and lances, the ſharp ends of the latter are pointed with dead mens bones, being cut like ſcoops, and jagged at the edges like ſaws, if a man happens to be wounded by them and is not cured in nine days, he certainly dies. Our people took four of theſe treacherous ſavages priſoners, bound them and brought them on board; but they had not been long amongſt us before three of them leaped into the ſea, and with their hands tied behind them, ſwam away like fiſhes. However we ſent a boat after them, and found that a ſtrong man at the firſt blow could not penetrate their ſkins with a cutlaſs."—He adds, "One of them, in my judgment, *received forty bullets in his body before he died*, and the laſt of the three that was killed, ſwam a good Engliſh mile, not only with his hands tied behind him, but with his arms pinioned, before he expired."

The Engliſh here had good encouragement for deſtroying the Indians, as the more harm was done to theſe people, the better the Spaniſh governor was pleaſed, who, the day after the affair abovementioned, ſent the captain a preſent of 30 hogs, and ſome of the fruits of the country.

They leave the iſland.

When they had rigged their veſſel, and taken in wood and water, they prepared for their departure, weighing anchor on the firſt of April, and having received the governor's laſt preſent on the 3d. On the 4th they ſet ſail, and proceeded till they came to a cluſter of iſlands, lying to the northward of Luconia; where they perceived no inhabitants, but ſaw ſome goats, and found a great many nutmegs. From hence they ſteered for Luconia, and afterwards came up with Cape Mindato, where the ſouth-weſt monſoon overtaking them, they were forced to go for Canton in China. There they might have taken 13 Tartarian veſſels, full of rich goods, of which the Tartars had plundered the Chineſe two years before, but they being under no command refuſed to attack them. From Canton they proceeded for Manilla, in queſt of the ſhip that annually ſailed thither, but though they came in ſight of her, ſhe eſcaped them by ſwift ſailing, which was no ſmall diſappointment. Afterwards they bore away for an iſland to the north of Luconia, intending to remain there till the wind would permit their ſailing for Bantam, which they knew not had been taken from the Engliſh by the Dutch. At this iſland they ſupplied themſelves with goats, guanoes and fruit, and found an Indian who gave them a direction to a place where there was plenty of cattle. As ſoon as the wind was fair, they proceeded to the ſouthward, and in the tenth degree of north latitude, were ſo much intangled among a cluſter of iſlands, that they expected to be wrecked, but happily eſcaped that danger, and held on their courſe to an iſland at the north end of the Borneo. There they hauled the ſhip on ſhore, ſet up a tent and fortified themſelves, erecting a battery on ſhore. At firſt the natives were very ſhy of them, having never ſeen any white people, and having met with one of their canoes full of women, among whom was the queen of the country, all that were on board leaped into the ſea at ſight of the ſtrangers; but theſe being taken up, and treated with kindneſs, the people by degrees grew more familiar, and ſupplied the Engliſh with ſuch fruits as the iſland produced, beſides trafficking with them for muſk, civet and bezoar, while they ſtayed in the country.

Cowley ſeparates himſelf from Captain Eaton's crew.

Towards the end of the year, they left this place and ſteered for Timor.—There finding the crew mutinous and not under command of their captain, Cowley, one Hill, and eighteen others, bought a large boat, in which they ſailed to Java. The wind not proving favourable to carry them to Batavia, they went to Cheriboa, a Dutch factory, to the eaſtward of that place, where the Dutch governor received them

1685 with kindneſs. The worthy perſons beforementioned now divided themſelves into three parties, two of which concluded to ſail for the Bay of Bengal, but the third remained with Cowley. Conſidering that Batavia was the Dutch magazine in India, they repaired thither and met with an agreeable reception, and I (ſays the author) with Mr. Hill, and another friend, who were all my party, were promiſed our paſſage to Europe in their Eaſt India fleet. At this time the general was ſending five ſhips of war with ſoldiers, in order to procure ſatisfaction from the king of the iſland, for the ſlaughter of a party of 80 Hollanders. Theſe ſhips, however, were firſt deſigned againſt Sillebar, an Engliſh ſettlement on the weſtern coaſt of the iſland of Sumatra, but the outrage abovementioned, had cauſed the Dutch to change their purpoſe.

The Engliſhmen at Batavia hearing thoſe tidings, would willingly have gone to Sillebar; but this was what the Dutch would not ſuffer; and they ſeized a ſloop which had been bought for that purpoſe, the prime coſt of which they returned, but according to a law forbidding the ſubjects of the republic in India to ſell a veſſel to any foreigner, they puniſhed thoſe that tranſgreſſed it; and Cowley, together with Mr. Hill, and another friend embarked on board the Solida Indiaman, bound to Holland, and ſaw their old commander's ſhip coming in, juſt as they were going out of the road. The wind not being fair, they turned down to Bantam to take in proviſions, and from thence ſteered to Prince's Iſland, where they lay three weeks, and then ſtood for the Cape of Good Hope. In their courſe thither the Dutch loſt their captain who died on the 27th of May, at which time they found they were coming in with the land in 30° 2″ of ſouth lat. and on the 3d of that month at night they came to an anchor at the cape in nine fathom water. The following is Cowley's deſcription of the place, and of the natives of the country.

His deſcription of the Hottentots.

"This day (ſays he) four of the natives came down to the city, dancing naked, and offering their wives to the Hollanders for bits of tobacco [other voyagers have obſerved that they are ſevere in puniſhing adultery]. They were the filthieſt men I ever ſaw. The next day my two friends and I walked about the town in which were about 100 houſes, built very low to ſave them from the boiſterous gales of wind, that blow here, in the months of December, January, and February: but the Dutch have here a ſtrong caſtle, with 80 guns well mounted, and a ſpacious garden with walks, and planted with almoſt every kind of fruit, flowers, and herbs.—This was the greateſt rarity that we ſaw at the cape. We walked, moreover, without the town, to the village, inhabited by the Hodmandods [Hottentots] ſo called by the Hollanders. Theſe people are ſaid to be born white, but make themſelves black by anointing their bodies, and expoſing their infants to the ſun and ſmoke. Their houſes or huts are built round (like the cabins in Ireland of the *wild Iriſh*) with the fire-place in the middle, round which they lie in common, covered only with the ſkins of ſome beaſt, and without any other bed than the aſhes of the wood on which they dreſs their meat. They eat any thing that is foul, and will gather from the dunghill the offal that is thrown out by the Dutch, to feed their dogs. Their men are not at all jealous of foreigners; but will beat their wives unmercifully for lying with their neighbours. When the women marry, they cut off a joint of the middle finger, and if the huſband dies, ſhe cuts off another joint, and ſo many men as they marry, ſo many joints they loſe. They are ſuppoſed to worſhip the moon, becauſe at the full and change they aſſemble in great numbers, dancing and rejoicing when ſhe ſhines, but howling and lamenting when they are deprived of her light.

It happened while we were at the Cape, that one of the natives drank himſelf dead at the fort, of which his countrymen getting intelligence, they aſſembled about him, and with oil and milk endeavoured to recover him; but finding all their efforts vain and that they could perceive no ſpark of life remaining, they began to make preparations for his funeral, which they performed in the following manner: They firſt brought knives and ſhaved him from head to foot. Then, digging a hole in the ground they carefully placed him in a ſitting poſture, with his body and head erect, and his legs and thighs ſtretched out horizontally, and preſſed down ſtrait. This being performed, they propped him up in this attitude with ſtones; and then came a company of their women to howl over him, who accompanied their lamentations with a hideous ſhrieking, as if death had appeared before them in the ſhape of a monſter, and was ready to devour them. After their time of mourning was over, they filled up the hole with earth, and covered it over with green turf."

While they ſtayed at the cape, the people there were employed in cleanſing and ſcowering the ſhip, in ſhifting the maſts, and trimming the rigging; and having taken the wood and water they departed on the 15th of June, having three ſhips in company, the Solida and the Critſman that came together, and the Ireland that came from Bengal.

On the 16th there was much feaſting on board the veſſel, the captains of the other ſhips being invited, and while they were thus employed (Cowley ſays) they were alarmed by a ſtrange voice crying, *come help, come help! a man overboard!* The veſſel being brought to, they ſought in vain for the drowned perſon; nor was there a man miſſing on board any of the veſſels. On which they drew a concluſion founded on the moſt groſs notions of ſuperſtition, that this circumſtance (probably the contrivance of ſome wag among them) was occaſioned by the lamentations of the ſpirit of ſomebody that had been drowned by accident in thoſe latitudes.

They threw overboard an old Dane on the 4th of July, who died the night before, without any one's knowing that he had been diſordered, and his cheſt would have been plundered by ſome of the crew, but that they diſputed among themſelves about ſharing the booty; ſo that the matter coming to the captain's ears, he ſecured the effects for the benefit of the family of the deceaſed.

Having paſſed Aſcenſion Iſland, on the 20th of July, they found themſelves in 15° of north latitude.—"And now (ſays our voyager) a council of war was called upon our captain. The accuſation was, that he had formed a conſpiracy with five men more to murder a perſon of quality and his lady, with ſome other paſſengers on board, and that when the murders were accompliſhed, they were to ſeize upon their riches and run away with the ſhip. The purſer was the chief accuſer; but, upon examination the whole charge ſeemed ſo improbable (and the man who broached the ſtory denying, upon trial, what he had before ſo confidently affirmed to the purſer) the captain was honourably acquitted, and the villain puniſhed.

On the 2d day of Auguſt the captain died of a pain in his bowels, and his ſteerſman was promoted to the command in his room, though not without oppoſition. On the 19th of September Cowley ſaw land, which he ſuppoſed to be the Iſle of Shetland, but the Captain would not be perſuaded, till about ſix in the evening the Critſman's people let go the flag, they having by that time likewiſe ſeen the land.

On the 22d they came up with the Iſle of Farley, and on the 25th Cowley ſays they had the wind all round the compaſs. Before their arrival in Holland Cowley and his friends would willingly have gone on board an Engliſh ſhip, that they ſpoke with in their way to be carried to their own country, but the Dutchmen inſiſted on bringing them to Helvoetſluys, where they arrived on the firſt of October, having been ſeven months on their paſſage from Batavia thither. After a ſhort ſtay there, one of Cowley's companions died, and he went to Rotterdam, from whence he got his paſſage in the Ann yacht to England.

It

It will be obſerved that we have here ſelected thoſe circumſtances in Cowley's account, which in general were not to be found in Dampier's, or were not related exactly in the ſame manner. As to his hiſtory, we have no other traces than thoſe which are to be found in this voyage. He appears to have been a ſkilful navigator, not much given to wrangling, and does not ſeem to have approved of the ſchemes of the Buccaneers, as he quitted them as ſoon as he had an opportunity. It is to be remembered, that though he is complimented by ſome with the name of Captain Cowley, yet he never was in a higher ſtation than that of maſter, in which he acquitted himſelf to the general ſatisfaction of his employers. 1685

ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF JACOB ROGGEWEIN.

AS in the voyages of the circumnavigators, particular notice is taken of the iſlands in the South Seas, and ſome of a more modern date have been undertaken for the purpoſe of making diſcoveries in theſe parts, ſo we have throught proper here to preſent the reader with the account given by Jacob Roggewein, a Dutchman, of a new diſcovered iſland.

Roggewein ſets out on a voyage of diſcovery.

This navigator was furniſhed by the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, with three veſſels, called the Eagle, the Tienhoven, and the African galley. With theſe he ſet ſail from Amſterdam on the 16th of July in the year 1721, and came in ſight of Braſil towards the latter end of November. After a ſhort ſtay at Rio Janeiro, the Dutch went in ſearch of Hawkins's Land, ſuppoſed to lie in lat. 30° ſouth, but could not find it, and meeting with a ſtorm in lat. 40° the Tienhoven was ſeparated from the other veſſels. But about the beginning of January they diſcovered a large iſland about 200 leagues in circumference lying in 52° ſouth lat. 95° weſt long. about 80 leagues diſtant by computation, from the American coaſt. This land to which he gave the name of Belgia Auſtralis, is the ſame which is now known by the name of Falkland's Iſland. He left this iſle to the windward, and having paſſed the Streights of Le Maire, on the 24th came to Juan Fernandez, which being the place of rendezvous appointed, Roggewein there luckily found the Tienhoven, and after three weeks ſtay, prepared to proceed on this voyage, going in ſearch of Davis's Land, but he could not diſcover any ſuch place.*

Afterwards, being in 27° ſouth lat. they ſaw many birds, and other ſigns of land but met with none till they had ſailed 12 leagues farther, when, on the 6th of April, being Eaſter-day, they came up with an iſland which they concluded to be unknown before to any European, to which, according to the day on which it was diſcovered, they gave the name of Eaſter Iſland. The moſt remarkable parts of this relation being exactly copied from the Dutch account, we ſhall, in general, give them in the author's own manner, whereby the reader may be the better enabled to form his judgment of this diſcovery. "As ſoon (ſays he) as the anchors were ready to drop, we obſerved at a diſtance a neat boat of a very remarkable conſtruction, the whole patched up together out of pieces of wood, which could hardly make up the ſize of half a foot. This boat was managed by a giant of twelve feet high, who exerted all his ſtrength to eſcape us—but in vain; for he was ſurrounded and taken. His body was painted with a dark colour. We tried with ſuch ſigns and words as are uſed here and there among the iſlands of the South Sea, to get ſome intelligence from him, but could not perceive that he underſtood any thing. Wherefore we permitted him to go into his boat again and depart. Two days afterwards, the whole ſea was covered with the ſavage inhabitants of this iſland, who came ſwimming round the ſhip in ſuch multitudes that we neither could, nor did we think it adviſeable to land. They clambered like cats up the ſhip's ſides, with the utmoſt aſſurance, and came on board, where they did not appear to be in the leaſt afraid of us; but they ſeemed very much ſurpriſed at the largeneſs and extent of our ſhip and rigging, and could not conceive the meaning of all that they ſaw: but their curioſity was chiefly engaged by the great guns which they could not enough admire, and which they frequently ſtruck their hands upon, to try if they could lift them up, and carry them off; but when they found that ſuch logs, by ſuch an attempt, were too heavy for them, and would not be moved, theſe overgrown fellows ſtood abaſhed, and were in appearance, very much out of humour. They no ſooner came aboard, than we immediately found that they were naturally as thieviſh and nimble-fingered as the inhabitants of thoſe iſles to which voyagers have affixed the name of the Iſlands of Thieves, from the great propenſity of the people to rob and ſteal, if they were not beaten from it. Ruſty nails, old iron, and whatever they could catch or lay hold on, was equal to them, with which they jumped overboard. They attempted with their nails to ſcratch the bolts out of the ſhip, but theſe were too faſt for them. 1721.

"Theſe huge fellows at laſt came on board in ſuch numbers, that we were hardly capable of keeping them in order, or keeping a watchful eye upon their motions, ſo that fearing they would become too many for us, we uſed our beſt endeavours to get rid of them in a friendly manner; but they not ſeeming inclinable to leave us, we were obliged to uſe harſher methods,

* The following is the relation given given us of that diſcovery. The writer of the voyage ſays "They were ſailing from the Gallipagos under the line, to the ſouthward, without intending to touch any where till they came to the iſland of Juan Fernandez. In their way thither at ſea, in 12 deg. 30 min. ſouth latitude they felt the ſhock of an earthquake, which was at that time ſeverely felt at Callao, where the ſea ebbed ſo far from the ſhore that the channel was ſuddenly dry, and, returning with irreſiſtable violence carried the ſhips in the road above a league up the country, deſtroying man and beaſt for 50 leagues along the coaſt and doing much miſchief at Lima.

"Having recovered from our fright, (ſays the writer) we ſteered ſouth by eaſt half eaſterly, till we came to latitude 27 deg. 20 min. ſouth, when about two hours before day, we fell in with a ſmall, low, ſandy iſland, and heard a great roaring noiſe, like that of the ſea beating upon the ſhore, right a-head of the ſhip, whereupon the ſailors, fearing to fall foul upon the ſhore before day, deſired the captain to put the ſhip about, and to ſtand off till day appeared, to which he conſented. So we plied off till day, and then ſtood in again with the land, which proved a ſmall flat iſland, without the guard of any rocks: we ſtood in within a quarter of a mile of the ſhore, and could ſee it plain for it was a clear morning, not foggy nor hazy. To the weſtward about 12 leagues, by judgement, we ſaw a range of high land, which we took to be iſlands, for there were ſeveral partitions in the proſpect. This land ſeemed to reach about fourteen or ſixteen leagues in a range, and there came here a great ſtock of fowls. I and many more of our men would have made this land, and have gone aſhore at it, but the captain would not permit us. The ſmall iſland bears from Copaypo almoſt due eaſt, 500 leagues from the Gallipagos, under the line, 600 leagues.

Dampier ſays, "Captain Davis told me lately, That after his departure from Ria Lexa, he went, after ſeveral traverſes, to the Gallipagos, and that, ſtanding from thence ſouthward for wind, to bring about Terra del Fuego, in 2 deg. 27 min. lat. ſouth, about 500 leagues, from Copaypo, on the coaſt of Chili, he ſaw a ſmall ſandy iſland juſt by him, and that he ſaw to the weſtward of it a long tract of pretty high land, bearing away to the north weſt, out of ſight. Notwithſtanding this deſcription, the more modern navigators, as well as Roggewein, have not been able to find Davis's Iſland.

1721 methods, and drive these savages out of the ships by force.

Easter Island. "On the 10th of April, we made for the island with our boats well armed, in order to land and take a view of their country; where an innumerable company of savages stood on the beach, to guard the shore, and to prevent our landing. They threatened us mightily, by their gestures, and shewed an inclination to await us, and turn us out of their country; but, as soon as we, through necessity, gave them a discharge of our musquets, and here and there brought one of them to the ground, they lost their courage. They made the most surprising gestures in the world, and received their fallen companions with the utmost astonishment, wondering at the wounds which the bullets had made in their bodies; and then they hastily fled, with a dreadful howling, dragging the dead bodies along with them: So the shore was cleared, and we landed in safety. These people do not go naked as other savages do; every person is cloathed in different colours of cotton and worsted, curiously woven or striped. But nothing misbecomes them more than their ears, which are abominably long, and in most of them hang upon the shoulders, so that though they themselves look upon this as the greatest ornament, they appeared very uncouth to us, who were not accustomed to such, especially as there were in them such extravagantly large holes and openings, that we could easily put our hands in them.

"Thus far (adds he) my narrative will gain credit; because it contains nothing uncommon; yet I must declare that these savages are of *a more than gigantic size*: they measured, one with another, *the height of twelve feet*; so that we could easily without stooping, have passed between the legs of these sons of Goliah. According to their height, so is their thickness; and they are all, one with another, well proportioned, so that each could have passed for a Hercules: But none of their wives came up to the height of the men, being commonly not above ten or eleven feet. The men had their bodies painted with a red or dark brown, and the women with a scarlet colour. I doubt not (says the voyager) but most people who read this voyage, will give no credit to what I relate, and that this account of the height of these giants will probably pass with them for a mere fable or fiction: But this I declare, I have set down nothing but the real truth, and that this people, upon the nicest inspection, were in fact of such a surpassing height as I have here described."

Giants there.

The writer says that the Gods of these savages were two large stones; one was excessively broad, and lay upon the ground. Upon this the other stood, which was so large, "that seven men with out-stretched arms, would hardly have been able to incircle it, and besides this thickness it was fully as high as three men," so that it seemed wonderful (thus as strong as these people were) how they could have contrived to place them one upon another." There was a sort of head carved on the top of this stone which was adorned with a garland that was set somewhat in the manner of inlaid work. By what the Dutch could understand, one of these idols was called *Taurico*, and the other *Dago*, as by these words they address them. They paid great regard to these idols, clapping their hands and jumping, when they approached them; and being in great terror when the great guns were fired among them, they applied, as it should seem, to one of their gods for assistance, shouting and howling out Dago! Dago! whose succour they thought so necessary in that time of danger.

The islanders idols.

After having experienced a great storm while they lay before Easter Island, they departed from thence on the 12th of April; and on the 20th of May they fell in with a number of shoals and small islands, among which the galley struck and went to pieces, but the crew were saved, and they were distributed among the other ships. The highest of these islands had been named by Schouten, Water-Island, on account of the springs and streams with which it abounded.

They leave the island.

There was no safe anchorage here, and neither palmettos nor cocoa trees growing on the island, was the reason, as the Dutch conceived, it was uninhabited. Five of their people however went on shore there, and voluntarily remained behind, not chusing any longer to follow the fortune of their companions.

They passed by the Island of Flies on the 25th of May, and were visited by those disagreeable guests already mentioned in Schouten's voyage. And on the 29th they passed among a number of rocks and islands, in latitude 15° 17′, from some of the latter of which they saw a smoke ascend, from which the voyagers concluded them to be inhabited; but they had no opportunity of going on shore.

"On the first of June (continues the narrator) in 15° 47′ we came in sight of an island hitherto unknown to, and unlooked for by any European. Hither we went in our boats in order to take a view of it, and to procure refreshments; when the inhabitants who saw us approach from afar, came down upon the shore to make us return, and to prevent our landing. They are people of an excellent shape, well proportioned, and comely in person; and what is surprising, their skin is as clear and white as that of a native of Holland. They seemed to shew a resolution to stay for us; for as soon as we came near, they jumped like madmen into the water to meet us, and pushed with great cruelty with their weapons, which consisted of spears and lances, whose points were armed with a very sharp wood as hard as iron; wherefore being obliged to save ourselves, and preserve our lives from this hostile attack, we fired upon them with our muskets, which made these savage warriors immediately to take to their heels, and obliged them to look out for a place of safety; for as soon as they had tasted the deadly effects of these weapons, they turned their backs upon us, and fled to a high steep rock, which they scrambled up like monkeys, with incredible swiftness.

From thence, being convinced of our superior force, they gave us to understand, that all hostilities should cease on their part, and they would treat with us as friends; and on our side, we used every means to allure them to us, being in the utmost want of all manner of refreshments. Every thing succeeded according to our wishes; they brought us their commodities, consisting of cocoa nuts, and a certain bitter herb of the taste of Dutch cresses, which is found here in great plenty. For these we gave them in exchange several trifles and trinkets; such as small looking-glasses, glass beads of all colours, combs, bells, and a number of such toys of little value, with which they were as well and even better pleased, than we were with the cocoa-nuts and bitter herbs, which however were much more agreeable and useful to us in our present condition than gold and silver, as we thereby enjoyed a remarkable benefit and amazing relief against the scurvy, which had already brought us into a most deplorable situation.

"Although it appeared by these mutual exchanges that these savages were got into a good understanding and friendship with us, we soon discovered that this was no more than a feigned reconciliation, serving only to deceive us and make us the more easily fall into their snares, with which villainous inclinations almost all the inhabitants of the islands lying in those seas are infected: For as some of our people (in order to view and make a farther discovery of the country) were passing betwixt the rocks and cliffs along a straight and narrow path, to see the form and condition of the place, they were met by an old grey-headed man who, although he neither understood them nor they him, endeavoured by many signs and motions to make them sensible that they were not in safety, and that it would be better for them to return: he pointed to the road that brought them thither; and the better to make them understand the secret ambush and the approaching danger, he took up a stone from the ground and threw it down before him. How well soever our people aught to have understood from this, that those

barbarians

barbarians would attack them from the tops of the rocks with ſtones, yet they paid no regard to the ſigns and admonitions of the good old ſavage, but marched forward, truſting to their arms. They had not gone far before a dreadful ſhower of ſtones came pouring upon them from all quarters, when they leaſt thought of it, with ſuch violence, that many of our people were thereby lamed and wounded without being able to make reſiſtance in defending themſelves or driving the ſavages from above them, who had made their aſſault from too ſecure a place; ſo that our people were conſtrained to ſlacken their pace, contrary to their inclinations, and return back with their wounded heads, being very well pleaſed, however, that they had eſcaped ſo well.

"Theſe people (he adds) as I have obſerved, are comely and well-proportioned in their perſons, and wear as an ornament pearls of a large ſize in their ears. About their necks and bodies they wear as a ſingular ornament, the ſhells of pearl oyſters. As we received great benefit and relief from our ſickneſs by means of the bitter herb which is found here in great plenty, and was given us by the ſavages, in exchange for our toys, ; ſo this new diſcovered iſland was by us chriſtened by the name of the Verkwikkings Iſland.

"After this adventure with theſe roguiſh ſavages no delay was made there, but we got again under ſail; and becauſe the proviſions leſſened gradually from day to day, and the diſorder, notwithſtanding the relief from the bitter herbs continued to increaſe to the great grief of us all; it was reſolved, in a council of the principal officers, to return home by the Eaſt Indies. We then lay up to latitude 15° 47′ ſouth, and according to our reckoning 224° 13′ longitude, being then about 1200 leagues from the eaſt of Peru.

"On the 12th of June we were in latitude 15° 16′ ſouth, and on the 14th we diſcovered two iſlands which we could not approach near enough to take a proper view of, by reaſon of the rough and ſtrong ſea; but, on the other hand, we had this ſatisfaction, 1708
that the inhabitants came to take a view of us, and kept hovering about the ſhips in a number of boats of ſuch neat and exquiſite workmanſhip, as is almoſt incredible that any thing of this kind ſhould have been found among ſavages; they being of ſuch an artful conſtruction, the furniture ſo pretty, and the form ſo neatly adorned with a number of the moſt curious carved figures, that it is impoſſible for the imagination to conceive any thing more elegant; and really their carved image work (which was the greateſt ornament of theſe boats) was ſo exquiſite, that I much doubt if there are many engravers in Europe capable of producing more curious workmanſhip. The people in theſe fine boats were armed with darts, and had their heads adorned with green leaves, and their bodies cloathed with reeds. This iſland got the name of Bauman's Iſland, from a captain of that name. It was very pleaſant and delightful to behold, fruitful, and ſurrounded with trees, among which the palmetto ſhewed itſelf. Savages in curious boats.

On the 15th, we came in ſight of an iſland about ſeven miles in length, lying in lat. 13° 40′ ſouth. Many of us felt a longing deſire to touch at this iſland, in hopes of procuring ſome refreſhment; but it was deferred, and we purſued our voyage without landing, in order to ſave time, becauſe our miſeries and inconveniencies daily increaſed, and the diſorders from many cauſes increaſed alſo.

On the 18th of July we perceived many iſlands, and among the reſt New Zealand, which we computed to be in extent about 300 leagues, being under 6° ſouth latitude, and longitude 166°."

The commander purſuing his courſe homeward by way of the Eaſt Indies with as much expedition as poſſible; nothing farther was done worthy of notice, nor was the exiſtence of a ſouthern continent proved or diſproved by thoſe who had undertaken this voyage.

THE VOYAGES OF CAPTAIN COOKE.

CAPTAIN DAMPIER, notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs he had met with in the South Seas, on his return to England endeavoured to engage the merchants of London in fitting out ſome veſſels, to make prizes of the Manilla ſhip, which was a favourite project of his, that he thought might ſtill be brought to bear. Failing, however, in his attempts in the metropolis he repaired to Briſtol, where he perſuaded nineteen gentlemen and merchants to form an aſſociation for this purpoſe; and accordingly two private ſhips of war were prepared, whoſe officers conſiſted of perſons of experience, or ſuch as were highly intereſted in the undertaking: the crews were put under better reſtrictions and regulations, and the veſſels in general better provided againſt accidents, than moſt of thoſe that had been employed in ſuch undertakings. Beſides this, rewards were held out to the men, ſuch as might encourage them to behave with ſpirit, and 30l. was awarded to every ſailor that ſhould loſe a limb in the ſervice. The ſhips were named the Duke, and the Ducheſs. Captain Woodes Rogers commanded the firſt, which carried three hundred tons, thirty-ſix guns, and 103 men, and Captain Stephen Courtney had the command of the other, which was of 270 tons, and carried thirty guns, and 151 men. The former of theſe commanders was a man who had a peculiar art of keeping his authority and preſerving his influence over the ſeamen, and was one who had been a conſiderable loſer by the French, and entertained a ſort of diſlike to that people. The latter was a perſon of rank and fortune, was of an amiable diſpoſition, and had contributed largely to the undertaking. There was on board the Duke one Mr. Thomas Dover, who was well known for his recommendation of quickſilver, ſomewhat more than 40 years ago, in a little book called "Dover's Laſt Legacy to his Country") he was ſecond in command to Captain Rogers, as was Captain Cooke to Captain Courtney, on board the Ducheſs: Cooke was an experienced ſeaman who had been twice taken priſoner by the enemy, and now ventured his perſon and whole fortune on this expedition, and Dampier was made pilot of the Duke; both ſhips being provided with proper, legal commiſſions to cruiſe againſt her majeſty's enemies in the South Seas.*

All things being prepared, they left Kingſroad on the firſt of Auguſt, in the year 1708, and came to an anchor in the Cove of Corke, on the 4th of the ſame month, where they took in refreſhments, changing ſome of their men, and enliſting others, till the firſt of September. Then they ſet ſail again, and proceeded on their voyage in company with the Haſtings man of war. The veſſels ſail from Kingſroad.

* The inſtructions of the owners were "To repair to Ireland, for proviſions, and then to proceed immediately on their voyage, and to ſend any prizes they might chance to take in their way either home or to America. They were ordered to keep together, and to act in concert, and to undertake nothing of conſequence without deliberating on the matter in a council of officers of both ſhips." And above all, they were inſtructed mutually to aſſiſt each other in regard to proviſions, water, &c. ſo that thoſe in one veſſel ſhould never be in want while there was any ſupply remaining.

1708 war. But they had only been nine days at sea before some of the crew took occasion to mutiny, of which circumstance our voyager gives the following account:—"On the 10th of September (says he) we saw a sail, which we chaced and came up with, she happened to be a Swede, bound for Cadiz; and though from several circumstances there was reason to suspect that she had contraband goods on board, yet it being difficult to prove it, and being in haste, we dismissed her. This caused a mutiny on board the Duke, headed by the boatswain and three inferior officers, who persuaded the men not to give her up. Captain Rogers confined the authors of this disorder, in which there was not one foreigner concerned. He put ten of the mutineers in irons, a sailor being first soundly whipped for exciting the rest to join him; others less guilty, he punished and discharged; but the officers continued armed, fearing what might happen, the ship's company seeming too much to favour the mutineers. They had afterwards a great deal of trouble with these fellows, who did more mischief when in irons than before, by stirring up the men to release them, pretending, That they suffered in the cause of the crew, and therefore the crew ought to rise and release them. This determined the captain to make some examples, but not to irritate them too much. He therefore began by removing the boatswain from his office, and appointing another in his room, without intending any thing farther. But, on the 14th, this intestine storm rose higher than ever; for then a sailor, with the best part of the ship's company at his heels, went up to the captain and demanded the boatswain out of custody. With this man the captain desired to speak alone; and, when he came upon the quarter-deck, the officers seized him, and caused one of his chief comrades to whip him."

A Swedish vessel taken.

Her dismission causes a mutiny.

It was by such punishments as these that the combination was at length broken. As to the boatswain, they sent him home in irons; the rest of the prisoners were released upon a proper submission; and the captain even restored the petty officers to their places ordering them to be obeyed as before, and giving charge that none should reproach them for their former error. In this manner all things were quieted and the two vessels proceeded on their voyage, and on the 15th, being to the southward, and to the eastward of Madeira, they bore away for the canaries. Thus proceeding, on the 15th they took a small Spanish bark bound from Teneriff to Fuertoventura, having sundry sorts of goods and passengers of both sexes on board. "The next day, says our author, we bore away for Oratavia Road, where we stood off and on, and sent away the prize's boats with one of our owners agents, a priest, and the master of the prize, to treat about the ransom of her, and to get wine, provisions, and other necessaries, for the refreshment of both the ships. About eight the next morning, a boat came from the town, with a letter from the English merchants residing there, wherein they expostulated with us for making prize of the bark; alledging that there was a free trade agreed to, in these islands, between her majesty of Great Britain and the kings of France and Spain, which was so religiously observed by the latter, that they had caused an English ship taken there by a French privateer, to be restored; and farther representing the danger that might arise to themselves, (living by permission in an enemy's country) if the bark were not given up, for which reprisals would be made on them; as also that we should be answerable at home for interrupting the settled commerce. This letter was signed by the consul and three capital merchants. Our captains immediately returned for answer, That having no instructions relating to the Spanish vessels trading among those islands, they could not justify releasing the ship on their bare opinions, without some order or proclamation of her majesty; the English being protected there only on anchoring ground, and the bark being taken on the open seas; that in case Mr. Vanbrugh, [who had not returned] was not restored, they would carry away all the prisoners they had, and if they [the English merchants on shore] apprehended any detriment to the factory, they might ransom the bark, and seek their redress in England. They concluded with desiring dispatch, as they had no time to lose, and added, that upon sending back Mr. Vanbrugh, they would release their prisoners. At night another letter came in answer, from the consul, importing, that the English men of war were civilly received there, and never committed any hostilities; and that it was strange we should insist on ransoming any Spaniards, who were never made prisoners in England or elsewhere; and the governor there delivered up to him any English prisoners that were brought in by Spanish privateers: wherefore he insisted that those in our custody should be dismissed, and the bark discharged, on accepting a present of wine in return. With this from the consul at the city of Laguna, came another letter from the merchants at Oratavia Port, much the same in purport, only offering to pay to the value of 450 pieces of eight, the sum demanded for the bark, in wine, brandy, sugar, oil, barley, and greens, to prevent incensing the natives against them, not doubting but that reparation would be made them in England. Our captains replied by threatening to cruise among the islands, to avail themselves for their loss of time, and to cannonade the town of Oratavia, unless they received immediate satisfaction.

Disputes about a Spanish prize

"On the 22d, at four in the morning, we stood in for the shore, making a clear ship. But soon after we saw a boat coming with our owner's agent, and Mr. Cross, one of the English merchants, bringing five butts of wine and other refreshments. We lay off the town, took the goods out of the prize, sold the bark to Mr. Cross, and put the prisoners on board her. Thus ended this troublesome business, which being unanimously approved of at a council of officers of both ships, we proceeded on our voyage, and seeing a sail to the westward gave chace to her; but night coming on we lost her. On the 24th we crossed the tropic of Cancer, and the Sunday following performed the ceremony of dipping the men of both ships, who had not crossed it before—a ceremony that causes a good deal of mirth among the common men.

"On the 30th we passed by St. Lucia, one of the Cape Verd Islands—by eight in the morning came in sight of St. Vincent, and about eleven, anchored in ten fathoms water, within the rock. As we knew the island not to be inhabited, we were not a little surprised to see some people on shore; and, in order to learn who they were, and what their business was, I armed the pinnace and went on shore; when we found them to be Portuguese, come from the island of St. Anthony, to catch turtle, who told us we might wood and water here. This island lies in 16° 58′ north lat. and in 25° 36′ west long. from the meridian of London. There are on it Guinea hens, hogs, and goats, and about the shore plenty of fish. In the woods there are spiders as large as little birds, whose webs are not easily broken through, being woven with a substance nearly as strong as ordinary thread."——

During the time they lay at St. Vincent's, other disturbances arose among the crew, with regard to plunder. Having an opportunity to trade, all were alike wishing to have something to exchange. On this account there was nothing but murmuring in the ships about the effects which had been taken in the prize. In order to settle this point, such articles were formed, as without doing any injury to the owners, were deemed most proper for inspiring the seamen with courage and constancy. These being adjusted, all the people returned with chearfulness to their duty, two or three of the Duke's men only excepted, who escaped and remained on shore. Among these was the linguist, who was supposed to have staved behind against his will, having neglected to come on board, according to the notice sent him, they, in return, set sail without him.

Other disturbances.

On the 8th of October the ship set sail for Brasil, but fresh differences arose among the men on their passage thither; and, at length, as one mode of accommodating them, it was resolved to send Mr. Page, who was second mate of the Duchess, to serve on board the Duke, and that Mr. Ballet should come from the Duke to serve, in his stead, on board the Duchess. Page refusing to obey the order, force was used to compel him to obedience, and when he was brought on board the Duke, he was accused of mutiny. Being permitted to go to the head for a necessary purpose, he jumped overboard, with a view of swimming back to his old ship again; but was taken up, tried and punished.

They crossed the equator on the 27th, and the 14th of November made Cape Frio, on the coast Brasil. Coming to an anchor on the 18th at the Isle of Grande, one of the men going from the ship without leave, and giving the first lieutenant foul language, and threatening soon to be revenged, he was put in irons, when his mess-mates demanding that he should be released, or that they would share his punishment, seven of them went voluntarily into irons.

"On the 21st (says our voyager) I went on shore in the pinnace, with a present to the governor, and to acquaint him that we were friends. At our first landing, they fired several shot, taking us for French, but afterwards made an apology, and received us civilly. On the 23d, two of the mutineers were whipped, and put in irons again. On the 24th four of the eight men in irons were released on their submission; and two men went on shore, designing to leave the ship, and having bargained with a canoe to carry them to the main, they were, by mistake, put ashore at a different part of the island, where, finding themselves on an uninhabited coast, they began to relent, and, after staying a night in the woods, where they were terrified with the roaring of wild beasts, they came in sight of the ship, and made signs of repentance, humbling themselves in the most suppliant manner, and on their knees with their hands lifted up, endeavoured to move compassion. After some time, the boat went off and brought them on board, where they were confined in irons till the next day, and then released." On the 25th two Irishmen stole away from the Duke, and secreted themselves in the woods as the two seamen had done from the Duchess. About four the next morning, the watch on the quarter deck espied a canoe, and hailed her to come on board. The rowers not answering, but striving to escape, the Duke's pinnace pursued the canoe, fired into her, and mortally wounded one of the Indian rowers. He that owned and steered the canoe was a friar, and had a quantity of gold on board, which, after running the canoe on shore, he had just time to hide before the Duke's pinnace reached the land. A Portuguese who was in the canoe, having no gold to lose, would not follow the example of the friar, but on the contrary, knowing the English to be friends, called him back, who, on his return, was carried with the wounded Indian on board the Duke, where the poor man was dressed by the surgeons, but died in a few hours. The officers in both ships were very sorry for this unfortunate accident, entered their protest against it, and caused the man to be buried on shore in a very solemn manner. The friar, however, who had lost his gold was not to be appeased, but threatened to seek for justice in Portugal or England. In rowing the ship about the easternmost part of the island, we espied the Duke's two men waiting for a canoe to carry them over to the main; and two of our lieutenants manned the boat, and landing the men in a convenient place to get behind them to prevent their escaping to the woods, they rowed to the place where the fellows were seen to lurk.—When the latter found themselves beset, they endeavoured to fly, but being intercepted, they were brought on board, put in irons, and sent to their own ship, where they were afterwards severely punished.

The principal officers of both ships went on the 27th to the town of Angra dos Reys, on the main; carrying along with them their ship's music. They were kindly received by the governor and fathers, who with their servants were the principal inhabitants, as they did not see above 60 low built houses in the town. The governor received them at the guard-house with 20 men under arms, and entertained them with a dinner, sweetmeats, and rum. It being a festival, he and the fathers asked the English to go and see their Franciscan church, whither they went accordingly; and their musicians being seated in the gallery, played in concert with the church music, and, after divine service was over, walked with them in procession, each carrying a large wax candle in his hand. After this they were brought to a large hall, where the fathers entertained them with fish, fruits, and sweetmeats. The English were told that 15 miles up the country there were gold mines, more profitable than those of Mexico and Peru, but it was observed that the Tupayans inhabiting the inland plains were a race of men taller and stronger than the Portuguese, unconquerable and having an utter aversion to labour. 1708

The officers entertained at Angra dos Reys.

The ships weighed anchor on the last day of November; but a tornado coming on, they thought fit to take the shelter of the island till it abated, when, on the 1st of December, both ships sailed out of the bay to proceed on their voyage. On the 23d they made an island in lat. 51° 25' by account, which they supposed to be Falkland's Island.

They are in great danger at sea.

On the 5th of January they had a violent gale of wind at north-east. "At two in the afternoon of this day (says my author) we reefed both courses, then lowered our fore-yard, and lay by till five, at which time our waste was filled with water, and we expected the ship to sink every moment. We got down our fore-yard as well as we could, and loosed the sprit-sail to veer the ship, which at last we accomplished, but in veering we thought we should have foundered with the weight of water that was in her waste. Thus we scudded before the wind, the Duke following, and, at nine, shipped a sea in the poop, as we in the cabin were going to supper. It beat in all the cabin windows and bulk-head, and heaved the first lieutenant half way between the decks, with several muskets and pistols that hung there, darting a sword that was against the bulk-head of the cabin through my man's hammock and rug, that hung against the bulk-head of the steerage; and had not the bulk-head of the great cabin given way, all we who were there must inevitably have been drowned before the water could have been discharged. Our yaul was staved on the deck, and it was a wonder that many were not killed by the shutters, the bulk-head, and the arms that were driven with a prodigious force. But providence delivered us from this and many other dangers, only one man or two were hurt, and some bruised, but not one rag of dry cloaths was left us; our chests, beds, and bedding being all soaked in sea-water. Next day the storm abated, and we continued our course, coasting very far to the south, where we endured much cold, by which our men were greatly affected, insomuch that a third part of both ships companies fell sick, occasioned, as I suppose, by their having been wet and cold, being in south lat. 61° 48'. On Monday the 17th by a good observation, I found that we were got round Cape Horne, Terra del Fuego, and the Streights of Maghellan, and to the northward of Cape Vilerdos. On the 19th I reckoned we were to the northward of Port St. Stephen, on the coast of Patagonia in the great South Sea. On the 31st, at eight in the morning, we made the island of Juan Fernandez, where we designed to wood and water. In the afternoon, Captain Dover went off in the pinnace to get some provisions, and in the evening saw a fire on shore, which made us conclude there were ships in the road, as we were assured the island had no inhabitants: we therefore made the signal for the boat to return, and she accordingly came on board about twelve o'clock at night. On Tuesday we rowed and towed into the great bay, and came to anchor in 50 fathom

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50 fathom water. All this day we had a clear ſhip, expecting a rencounter; but were much diſappointed when, inſtead of a valuable prize, we diſcovered an odd figure of a man, who had been the ſole reſident on the iſland for four years. His name was Alexander Selkirk, a Scotchman, who had been maſter of the Cinque Ports, the ſhip that accompanied Dampier in his voyage to the South Seas, and was, as Dampier ſaid, one of the beſt men in her. Captain Rogers immediately agreed with him to be his mate. It was this man who made the fire in the night when he ſaw our ſhips, which he judged to be Engliſh. During his ſtay here, he ſaw ſeveral ſhips paſs by, but only two came to an anchor. As he went to view them, he found them to be Spaniards, and retired from them, upon which they ſhot at him. Had they been French, he would have ſubmitted; but he choſe to riſque his dying alone on the iſland, rather than fall into the hands of the Spaniards, becauſe he apprehended they would either murder or make a ſlave of him in the mines; for he feared they would ſpare no ſtranger that might be capable of diſcovering the South Seas. The Spaniards had landed before he knew what they were, and they came ſo near him that he had much ado to eſcape; for they not only ſhot at him, but purſued him to the woods, where he climbed to the top of a tree, at the foot of which they charged their pieces, and killed ſeveral goats hard by, but went off without diſcovering him. He told us that he was born at Largo, in the county of Fife, and was bred a ſailor from his youth. The reaſon of his being left here, was a difference between him and his captain, which, together with the ſhip's being leaky, made him willing rather to ſtay here than to go along with him at firſt; and when he was at laſt willing to go, his Captain would not receive him. He had been at the iſland before to wood and water, when two of the ſhip's company were left upon it for ſix months, till the ſhip returned, being chaced from thence by two French South-Sea ſhips. He had with him his cloaths and bedding, with a firelock, ſome powder, bullets, and tobacco; a hatchet, a knife, a kettle, a bible, ſome practical pieces, and his mathematical inſtruments and books. He diverted and provided for himſelf as well as he could; but for the firſt eight months he had much ado to bear up againſt melancholy, and the terror of being left alone in ſuch a deſolate place. He built two huts in pimento trees, covered them with long graſs, and lined them with the ſkins of goats, which he killed with his gun as he wanted, ſo long as his powder laſted, which was but a pound; and that being almoſt ſpent, he got fire by rubbing two ſticks of pimento wood together upon his knees. In the ſmaller hut, at ſome diſtance from the other, he dreſſed his victuals, and in the larger he ſlept; and employed himſelf in reading and ſinging pſalms, and praying, ſo that he ſaid he was a better Chriſtian while in this ſolitude, than ever he was before, or than he was afraid, he ſhould ever be again. At firſt he never eat any thing till hunger conſtrained him (partly for grief, and partly for want of bread and ſalt) nor did he go to bed till he could watch no longer. The pimento wood, which burned very clear, ſerved him for both fire and candle, and refreſhed him with its fragrant ſmell. He might have had fiſh enough, but could not eat them for want of ſalt, becauſe they occaſioned a looſeneſs, except cray fiſh, which are as large as lobſters, and very good. Theſe he ſometimes broiled, and at other times boiled, as he did the goat's fleſh, of which he made good broth. He kept an account of 500 that he killed while there, and caught as many more which he marked on the ear, and then let them go. When his powder failed he took them by ſwiftneſs of foot; for his way of living, and continual exerciſe cleared him of all groſs humours, ſo that he ran with wonderful celerity through the woods, and up the rocks and hills, as we perceived, when we employed him to catch goats for us. We had a bull-dog which we ſent with ſeveral of our nimbleſt runners, to help him to catch goats; but he diſtanced both the dog and the men; caught the goats, and brought them to us on his back. He told us that his agility in purſuing a goat was once likely to have coſt him his life: he purſued it with ſo much eagerneſs that he caught hold of it on the brink of a precipice, of which he was not aware, the buſhes hiding it from him; ſo that he fell with the goat down the precipice a great height, and was ſo much bruiſed with the fall, that he narrowly eſcaped with his life; and when he came to his ſenſes found the goat dead under him. He lay there about 24 hours, and was ſcarcely able to crawl to his hut, which was about a mile diſtance, or to ſtir abroad again in ten days. He came at laſt to reliſh his meat without ſalt or bread. He had a conſtant ſupply of good turnips, which had been ſown there by Captain Dampier, and had now overſpread ſome acres of ground. He had good cabbage from the cabbage-trees that grow wild upon the iſland, and ſeaſoned his meat with the fruit of the pimento, which is the ſame with the Jamaica pepper, and ſmells deliciouſly. He found alſo a black pepper called Malageta, which was very good to expel wind and to ſtrengthen the ſtomach. He ſoon wore out all his ſhoes and cloaths by running in the woods; and, at laſt, being forced to ſhift without them, his feet became ſo hard, that he ran every where without difficulty; and it was ſome time before he could wear ſhoes after we found him; for not being uſed to any ſo long, his feet ſwelled when he came to wear them again. After he had conquered his melancholy, he diverted himſelf ſometimes with cutting his name upon the trees; ſometimes with contrivances to vary and increaſe his ſtock of tools; and ſometimes, in clear evenings, in counting the ſtars. He was at firſt much diſturbed with cats and rats that had bred in great numbers, from ſome of each ſpecies which had got on ſhore from ſhips that had put in there to wood and water. The rats gnawed his feet and cloaths while he ſlept, which obliged him to cheriſh the cats with goat's fleſh, by which means many of them became ſo tame, that they would come about him in hundreds, and ſoon delivered him from the rats. He likewiſe tamed his kids, and to vary his diverſions, would ſometimes ſing and teach them to dance. So that, by his natural flow of humour, and the vigour of his youth, being now but thirty years old, he came at laſt to conquer all the inconveniences of his ſolitude, and to be very eaſy. When his cloaths were worn out, he made himſelf a coat and a cap of goats ſkins, and which he ſtitched together with little thongs of the ſame, that he cut with his knife. He had no other needle but a nail, and when his knife was worn out to the back, he made others of ſome iron hoops that were on ſhore, which he beat thin, and ground upon ſtones. Having ſome linen cloth by him, he ſewed himſelf ſome ſhirts with a nail, and ſtitched them with the worſted of his old ſtockings, which he pulled out on purpoſe. He had his laſt ſhirt on, when we found him on the iſland. At his coming on board us, he had ſo much forgotten his language for want of uſe, that we could ſcarcely underſtand him; for he ſeemed to ſpeak his words by halves. We offered him a dram, but he would not touch it, having drank nothing but water ſince his being there, and it was ſome time before he could reliſh our victuals. He could give us no account of any other product of the iſland (except what has been here mentioned) but ſome black plumbs, which were very good, but difficult to come at, the trees which bear them growing on high mountains and rocks. The officers that went firſt on ſhore were invited to his retreat; but the way to it being very rugged and intricate, only a very few of them had curioſity enough to viſit it. He had an irreconcileable averſion to an officer on board the Cinque Ports, who, as he was informed, was on board the Duke, but not being a principal in command, he was prevailed upon to wave that circumſtance, and to accompany Captain Dampier, for whom he had a friendſhip. He was very uſeful while the ſhips ſtayed at Juan Fernandez, in ſupplying them with freſh pro-

Extraordinary account of Alexander Selkirk.

visions, and facilitating the business of taking in wood and water. He said he had seen snow and ice in July, which is the middle of winter in that climate, but the months of September, October and November, are inconceivably pleasant; the air being perfumed with a fragrance that cherishes and revives the spirits, and has a wonderful effect upon animals as well as men, which Selkirk remarked by their playfulness and plumpness. He particularly directed us to a plant not much unlike feverfew, of a most grateful and cordial scent, with which we strewed the tents of the sick, and who were thereby much comforted, and their cure facilitated. We gathered many bundles of it, and dried them in the shade, and sent them on board.

A general council of officers was held on board the Duke, on the 14th of February, when several useful regulations were agreed to, and among the rest, two inspectors were sent out of the Duke, on board the Duchess, to take account of what prizes she might make, while two of her people were sent on board Captain Rogers for the same purpose; and the pinnaces, which had been fitted up while they lay in the bay, being launched, they departed, and passed the tropic of Capricorn, and afterwards had the sea as smooth as a pond; whereupon the men were ordered to attend prayers twice every day, at the same time that gaming was privately prohibited.

They now concluded to bear away for Lobos, intending there to supply themselves with boats, to land at Guiaquil: but seeing a sail in the afternoon, they gave chace, took her, and found that she was from Guiaquil, and was bound for Cheripe, in order to take in a lading of flour, to pay for which they had 50l. on board, and nothing else of value. By the people of this vessel they were told, that Guiaquil had been lately burned; that the Jesu Maria, lately a man of war, was coming thither from Lima to be rebuilt, and that another ship was expected from Panama or Payta: These people added, that they had not heard of any men of war or privateers being in those seas. Continuing their course after this information, they made Lobos, and anchored in the road on the 16th in the evening.

"Here they fitted up the prize, (says my author) and it was agreed upon that I should go out in her with 33 men to cruise in company with the Duchess; and with that view, she (the prize) was new named, and called The *Beginning* Galley. At day-break, on the 26th, we came up with a ship which they saw standing to the southward, and found her to be a bark of 50 tons, from Guiaquil to Truxillo with timber and cocoa-nuts. It was agreed that Captain Courtney should stand in with her in the night, and that I should continue to cruise till farther orders, which on the 27th I received, and the same evening came to an anchor by the Duke and Duchess, in Lobos Road. The next day the prisoners being examined, reported that a ship of 36 brass guns was expected from Lima, with the viceroy of Mexico and his mother on board; and that they were bound to Panama. Upon this intelligence, it was resolved in full council to cruise in quest of this ship, and, if she escaped, to attack Guiaquil.

The sick men from both the ships were put on board the prize, which was named The *Increase* Galley, and the carpenters built a boat while they lay at Lobos; and on the 31st of March they left Lobos with a design to cruise to the windward of Payta. On the first of April, they took a large ship of 400 tons from Panama, having 50 or 60 blacks on board, and the next day they took another prize having about 100l. in plate on board and some timber.—On the 9th it was resolved in council to prepare for an attempt upon Puna and Guiaquil, and it was also agreed, that the Captains Rogers and Courtney should each command a company of seamen, and Captain Dover a party of landmen: That Captain Dover should give the word of command the first night, and that the other two captains should take their turns. Mr. Vanbrugh, the owners agent, was removed from the council on the 10th, on charge of killing the Indian, as also engaging on all occasions to vote with Captain Rogers, and disobeying orders. 1708.

The plan for attacking Guiaquil being settled, on the 12th, the fleet sailed for that harbour, and the commanding officers chose their parties, Captain Dover taking the mariners, and the Captains Rogers and Courtney two parties of sailors, 75 men in each: Captain Dampier commanded the artillery, and was to form a body of reserve. The whole number amounted to 238 effective men. The Captains Cooke and Fry had the care of the ships and prizes, having 226 Indians and blacks on board, besides a small body of sailors.

"On the 15th (says my author) we saw a sail near the shore, and having little wind, the Duke's boat commanded by Captain Fry, and ours by myself, made directly for her, going off in such haste that neither of us had the swivel guns we used to carry, nor our full compliment of men. The Duke's boat nearing her first, she put out Spanish colours, fired a gun, and hoisted her Spanish flag at the maintop-mast head. The Duke's boat then lay by for us to come up. We saw the vessel was French-built, and, by the description the prisoners had given us, concluded it must be the ship we had been so long cruising for; which was to carry the bishop. Our ships being almost out of sight, and the Spaniards so near the coast, we resolved to lay her on board on each bow, and accordingly fell to it. The dispute was hot for a long time, we keeping a constant fire, and the enemy returning it, who killed two of Captain Fry's men, besides wounding one of his, and two of mine. One of the killed was Mr. John Rogers our second lieutenant and brother to Captain Rogers. The Duke's boat, finding the enterprise desperate, bore away; and some time after, we did the like. But Captain Fry having put some of his men on board us, given us some powder and shot, and taken in our wounded, I made again to the chace, resolving to keep her from the shore, and rather than fail, to clap her aboard. The Spaniards perceiving our design, edged off to sea, and we followed them. Our ships came up apace; and the Duchess having fired a shot or two, the vessel struck her colours, and surrendered. The men begged for good quarter, and we promised them all civility. A vessel taken near the shore.

This ship came from Panama, and was bound for Lima, to be fitted out for a man of war. There were 70 blacks, and many passengers, with a quantity of pearls on board. The lading consisted of bale goods, and some things belonging to the bishop; but they had set him with his attendants on shore at Point S. Helena; from whence he was to go to Guiaquil by land. While the French possessed this vessel, she was called La Lune d'Or. She was of 270 tons burden, and commanded by Don Joseph de Arizabella.

After having taken a small bark laden with flour, the boats rowed to Puna, and came to a grappling close under the land. The English seized the governor of the island, and sent a detachment along the shore, to cut in pieces all the canoes and barks, that there might not be any alarm given at Guiaquil, whither the transports rowed, and, at eleven at night, were so near as to hear one centinel call to another for fire to be brought. Then perceiving that they were discovered, they rowed to the other side, where they saw a fire made. They likewise heard the alarm-bell rung, and saw a fire lighted on the hills. On this, the boats came to a grappling, when the officers had such a hot dispute about the propriety of landing that night, that they were heard on shore. It was at length agreed, that it was best to stay till day-light, as they did not know the ground.

"Accordingly (says the writer) on Friday the 22d our forces being all joined, we sent a flag of truce with the captain of the French ship, and another prisoner to the Corrigidor, who asked him our number, which the captain magnified. The Corrigidor suggested that we were mere boys, but the captain replied, he would find we were men; for we had

fought

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fought him bravely in our open boats, and killed one of the commander's brothers, and killed and wounded others; and therefore advised him to agree for the ranſom of the town. On Saturday the pinnace went up the river after ſome veſſels, and brought ſix of them to anchor by our barks; and we alſo took poſſeſſion of two new ſhips, of about 400 tons each. We then went aſhore with a flag of truce, and the governor came on board to agree for the ranſom of the town and ſhips; but this not being then concluded, he promiſed to meet the captain at ſeven in the evening, but was not ſo good as his word. But on Sunday he came off again to treat, and our captain would have ſeized him for having forfeited his word; but he alledging that it was incompatible with his coming with a flag of truce, was ſet aſhore again, and all things were made ready for the attack.—Accordingly, the men landed, and being commanded to proceed, they went on with ſo much bravery, that the Spaniards fired only their firſt volley, and fled, our people preſſing, and purſuing them to their cannon, which they ſoon deſerted, the gunner only who was an Iriſhman, ſtanding by them till he was wounded in four places, of which wounds he ſoon after died. Our men then marched in a body through the towns, drove out the enemy, and placing three guards in three churches, ſet fire to ſix houſes adjoining the wood, leſt the enemy ſhould annoy our guard, which was within piſtol ſhot. All the night they kept firing out of the woods at our centinels, but did them no harm. In the mean time the Dutcheſs's pinnace, commanded by Lieutenant Connely, went up the river, landed at every houſe, took the plate, and what elſe of value they found, and had ſome ſkirmiſhes with the enemy, in which one of our men was wounded. In the night of the 25th one of our centinels ſhot another who was going from his poſt, and did not anſwer when challenged three times, [this man died on the 29th]. Our firſt lieutenant's piſtol went off by his ſide, and wounded him in the leg; and another of our men was alſo ſhot through the foot by one of our own people; moreover, our ſurgeon cut off a man's arm that had been hurt by one of our grenade ſhells, which broke in the bark when fired out of the cohorn. The afternoon was ſpent in ſhipping off proviſions from the town, and diſpoſing all things, in caſe of an attack in the night.

They attack Gaiaquil.

The Spaniards agree to ranſom the town.

At laſt the town was agreed to be ranſomed for 30,000 dollars, and hoſtages were given for the performance of the articles which were in part fulfilled.

While they were thus waiting, Captain Rogers went on board the French ſhip, to carry her to Puna, thinking to diſpoſe of her cargo and ſome of the blacks, and to bring down ſome proviſions; but he returned again on the 5th of May, the Spaniards having bought none of her cargo: however, they had 24,000 dollars of the ſtipulated ſum, upon which the governor of Puna was diſcharged, but the three hoſtages were kept. A boat came with about 3000 dollars in money and plate, and the crew ſaid that the remaining 3000 would ſoon be ſent, together with 12,000 more for the purpoſe of purchaſing goods. But conceiving this to be only a ſtratagem deſigned to keep them till the men of war arrived from Lima, they ſent their priſoners on ſhore, detaining, however, the three hoſtages, and ſailed out of the bay, with all poſſible expedition. The *Beginning* galley being of no other uſe when they had better veſſels, they ſold her to the Spaniards for the value of fifty pounds in pearl, gold chains, &c. On board of her they put the priſoners, but kept pilots and a man that could ſpeak Engliſh, the preſident of Panama's ſon and the hoſtages.

The Engliſh leave the bay.

This done, they ſailed for the Gallapagos, having 100 men ſick on board, and among them Captain Courtney. Having fallen in with theſe iſlands, they ſent on ſhore for water, but could find none in any they ſearched, though Cowley found good water in one of them which probably they miſſed upon this occaſion. They found, however, a quantity of turtle, large rock-fiſh, and guanoes, the latter of which were obſerved, in general, to be larger here than in the Weſt Indies.

A council being holden, it was reſolved to run into the iſland of Plata, to water, and ſo to come off again, to avoid meeting with two French ſhips, one of 60 the other of 40 guns, and the Spaniſh men of war which they had reaſon to believe were in queſt of them. A little before this, they loſt Mr. Hatley, who was in one of the prizes, having on board ſcarcely any water or proviſions, and being without a boat. They never heard of him more; and with him they loſt five or ſix white men, four blacks, and an Indian.

They loſe one of their prizes.

Afterwards they reſolved to ſail for Gotgona, and on their way, were alarmed with a report of a deſign of piracy being formed among the priſoners and blacks; but the former proteſted they knew nothing of the affair, however, as ſome of them ſaid, that a matter of the kind had been talked of, though not in earneſt, in order to prevent or break their combination, they were diſperſed into different veſſels. On the 5th of June the Engliſh took a veſſel from Panama to Guiaquil, laden with iron and other merchandiſe; on board of which, amongſt other paſſengers of note, was the governor of Baldivia. And when they came into the harbour of Gorgona, the pinnace alſo took a bark of 50 tons called El Soldado, which had on board in gold chains and money, to the value of five or ſix hundred pounds, deſigned to purchaſe for her cargo ſalt, brandy, and ſome other goods.

While they remained in this harbour, they plundered a ſettlement oppoſite to them on the main, where they ſet moſt of their priſoners on ſhore, got ſome beeves, hogs, and Indian corn, and procured certain merchants to purchaſe ſome of their blacks. Here they fitted up the veſſel called the Marquis, which carried 20 guns, ſix white men, and 16 blacks. The command of her was now given to Captain Cooke.

By means of the crew of another bark of 70 tons which they took on the 18th of Auguſt, they underſtood that five or ſix ſhips had been ordered after them, two of them being French, of 48 guns; and ſome Spaniſh of the ſame force; and that the whole coaſt was alarmed with the news of the progreſs of the Engliſh in thoſe parts.

They next came to Tacames, and anchored within the bay on the 24th of Auguſt, from whence the Dutcheſs's pinnace was ſent to get water, but returned without ſucceſs.

Tacames.

The village called Tacames has only ſeven houſes and a church. It ſtands in a bay about ſeven leagues to the northward of Cape Francisco. The houſes are conſtructed of ſplit bamboes, and covered with palmetto leaves; they ſtand on poſts, inſtead of ſtairs, having a piece of timber cut in notches to aſcend by. The men employ themſelves in killing wild ſwine, with bows and arrows, and ſtriking fiſh with their lances, at which they are very dextrous. The women have only a piece of baize tied about their middles, and carry their children at their backs. They are under the authority of the Spaniſh prieſts, and are not permitted to trade without licence. A letter of leave, however, being obtained, the Engliſh went on ſhore to the houſes for cattle, and continued to trade, and take in wood and water till they were ſufficiently ſupplied.

"In return for the civility of theſe fathers, ſays Captain Cooke, I ſent, as a preſent to the church of Tacames, four large images, one of which was of the Virgin Mary with our Lord and Saviour in her arms: and I believe Captains Rogers and Courtney alſo gave them ſomething to adorn their church."

They ſailed from hence on the laſt day of Auguſt with the wind at ſouth-weſt, and on the 9th of September made one of the Gallapagos Iſlands. Here they caught a number of turtle, but found no water. And here alſo they ſaw ſeveral jars, and ſome of the rudder of a veſſel which they would have gueſſed to be Captain Hatley's veſſel from which they were ſe-

parated, as has been already mentioned, but that the rudder seemed too small to confirm the supposition. Setting sail again on the morning of the 15th, they found the weather cold, owing (as they supposed) to the chilly southern winds prevailing in these parts though the sun appeared just over their heads.

At a general consultation which they held on board the Duke, it was resolved to steer to the islands Marias, and from thence to go on a cruise for the Manilla ship, which they had heard was worth 2,000,000l. sterling.

They made the Islands Tres Marias on the 4th of October; these islands being then at the distance of about 16 leagues. On the 6th they got under the lee of them, when a boat was sent on shore to procure water and turtle, but the surf prevented their getting either.

"Before our coming to this place (says the Captain) we discovered the white rock which Dampier saw, and took it for a ship; on the sight of which the Duchess let go the bark she had in tow, telling her to make the best of her way to the middle island; under the lee of which both the Duke and Duchess came to an anchor on the 7th and 8th, and I might have been there as soon, had I not seen the bark six or seven leagues to leeward. It was fortunate that I came in time to relieve her; otherwise she must have perished, having neither wood nor water on board, and not being able to make against the wind and current, to reach the land. I bore down to her, supplied her wants, and took her in tow, till the 20th in the morning, when the middle island bearing north, distant about seven leagues, we saw a sail coming from the island before the wind, which proved to be the Duchess, that came in search of us, and was glad to find us safe; she brought us water and turtle, and told us there was game enough on the island, if we could bear up to it. Captain Courtney took us in tow, to help us in the sooner, having cleaned his ship's bottom before he set sail, to come to our assistance. On the 11th, I came to an anchor, after much trouble and fatigue, in plying so long against the wind and current. Seven of Captain Rogers's best blacks this day left him, and ran away. We continued till Monday the 24th, when a general council was holden, at which it was resolved to sail to Cape St. Lucas, to cruise for the Manilla ship, all our ships being now very well fitted, wooded, watered, and provided with turtle. Several warm debates happened in council among our chief officers; and Captain Dover quitted the Duke and went on board the Duchess, by his own free choice. I endeavoured (adds our author) to accommodate these differences, but to no purpose, which gave several of us great concern.

Marias Isles described.

Of the islands above-mentioned and their productions we have the following description: "The islands of Tres Marias, abound with animals of various kinds, and the shores with fish, among these the sea and land turtle may be accounted of most use to navigators. Of the sea turtle there are various sorts; as the green, which are the sweetest and best; the hawk's-bill, which are very good; and the logger-head, which the sailors never refuse when the others are not to be caught. The method of taking them is by turning them upon their backs.

"The land turtle lives constantly on shore, feeds upon grass, moves very slow, and when an enemy approaches, covers itself under its shell, squatting close to the ground, from which it is not easily discernible, appearing like a bare patch without verdure. The shells of these animals are so hard, that a man may tread upon them without hurting them. Their flesh is very good and nourishing. They will live five or six weeks without food and appear to be never the worse. They lay round eggs, about the size of a hen's, which are very good to eat. Some of the sea-turtle taken in the bay where they anchored had 200 eggs in them. Our men lived almost wholly upon turtle, and their eggs, from the time they went first to the Gallapagos, till their departure for the East Indies, saving their ship-provisions till their run across the South Seas.

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"At these islands our men caught plenty of fish called old wives. They have very small mouths, large eyes, and a high fin on the back. The colour of the body is a deep blue, the fins of a lighter colour, tipped with yellow. Others are of an ash colour on the back, and white under the belly. The rock-fish we caught in the Islands of Tres Marias were large, had great mottled fins, yellow backs, red bellies, and red and black tails. Another fish our men caught was the cavallo, in shape not much unlike the dolphin, with a large eye, black back, white belly, and a long streak from his gills to the middle of his tail, and was about the size of a mackerel. A small fish we found there, about six inches long, was very delicious; the back was of an Indigo blue, a deep yellow streak running from the gills to the tail, the belly white, and the tail forked: it seemed peculiar to these islands, and wants a name.'

Of the animals, the racoon was the most plentiful. It has a large black eye, whiskers, and a nose like a pig, tail and feet like a rat, a brownish fur on its back, and a white belly.

Of the venomous creatures the scorpion is the most noxious, its tail is jointed, with a small sting at the tip; it has two claws like those of the lobster, and its head and feet have a near resemblance to those of the same fish.

Among the singing birds found in these islands the cardinal bird was seen in the greatest abundance. It is a very beautiful bird, with scarlet feathers, and on his head the male has a tuft of the same colour. They are of the same kind with those we call the Virginian Nightingale; but the Spaniards call them cardinal birds, from their scarlet feathers.

"Among the vegetables we found the magney plant, or silk-grass, of which the Indians make ropes, sails, sacks, and all their curious netting. It also yields a liquor of which they make wine, honey, and a good balsam. The liquor as it comes from the plant is as sweet as sugar; after standing it becomes a wine and will intoxicate powerfully. It has thick, juicy leaves, not unlike those of the house-leek, but grows up to a considerable height. And when it has stood about six years, the Indians cut out the middle leaves, leaving the heart of the plant hollow, which of itself fills with the juice, and is every morning, during the season taken out and preserved. Of this juice the Spaniards make spirits; and it is so universally used in one shape or other by the Spaniards or Indians in New Spain, that the duty arising from it in one year is said to have amounted to 110,000 pieces of eight, at the port of Angels alone. The prickly tree found on these islands is esteemed a great curiosity. The trunk of it is angular, and covered with prickles; is of a pale green, and yields a gum which the druggists call euphorbitum, which is said to be powerful in removing pains in the head.

They sail from Cape St. Lucas.

The vessels sailed for Cape St. Lucas, on the second day of October at two in the afternoon, spreading themselves, lest the Manilla ship should escape them; and on the 21st, the Marquis (which had been leaky before) sprung two great leaks and broke the collar of the fore-stay, on which the captain wore ship to fix the stay, and then hauled up after the other ships, and stopped the leaks. Thus they proceeded, having varied their stations as they judged convenient for the accomplishment of their plan, nothing of consequence occurring till the 13th of December, which day was marked by a general consultation to enquire into the state of the stock on board the ships, when it appeared that only three months meat at short allowance, and two months bread remained on hand. In this situation, there being no appearance of the Manilla ship, though the time when she was expected elapsed, it was agreed to refit the ships and make the best of their way across the Pacific Ocean, so as to insure their passage to Juan Fernandez; the Marquis therefore wanting more repairs than any of the

1719. ...ness was ordered into harbour, while the Duke and Duchess were to cruise a few days longer.

For this purpose, Captain Cooke bore away for Puerto Seguro, and on the 15th at midnight entered the harbour. The captain proceeded to business on the 16th, his first orders being to begin cruising again as soon as possible, but these orders were countermanded afterwards, on account of the necessity there was that before the ships departed from the American coast, they should rendezvous together.

This place is inhabited by about 200 Indians, living in huts made of boughs of trees and reeds, built like a bower, with a fire in the middle, round which they lie and sleep. They all go naked, except that the women have short petticoats made of silk and grass, or else of pelicans or deer's skin. The men are strait and well limbed, live by fishing and hunting, and value knives, scissars, nails, or iron, beyond gold and silver. They have long black hair, and are of a dark-brown complexion. The women are very ordinary, and employ themselves in gathering and grinding corn, and in making fishing-lines. They are very honest and very civil. They assisted in fitting up the ships, and took nothing away, but what was given them. The English, at their first coming, got some pearls among them, but never could see any afterwards. Signs were made to them to bring gold, but they pointed up to the mountains. They used bows and arrows, and even some of the boys were so dextrous with them as to kill birds flying.

On the 22d of December, the Manilla ship was engaged, and taken by the English, but the sea-breeze preventing Captain Cooke who was behind the rest from coming up to the assistance of his consorts, he surveyed the fight from the shore. Captain Rogers gives the following account of the engagement.

A Manilla ship is taken.

"At day break, we saw the chace upon our weather-bow, about a league from us, the Duchess a-head of her to leewards, near about half as far. Towards six in the morning, our boat came on board, having kept very near the chace all night, and received no damage; but told us the Duchess passed by her in the night, and she fired two shot at him; but they returned none. We had no wind, but got out eight of our oars, and rowed about an hour, when there sprung up a small breeze, I ordered a large kettle of chocolate to be made for our ship's company, having no spirituous liquors to give them, then we went to prayers, and before we had concluded, were disturbed by the enemy's firing at us. They had barrels hanging at each yard-arm, that looked like powder-barrels to deter us from boarding them. About eight o'clock we began to engage her by ourselves, for the Duchess being to leeward, and having little wind, did not come up. The enemy fired her stern-chace upon us first, which we returned with our fore-chace several times till we came nearer, and went close on board each other, then we gave several broad-sides, plying our small arms very briskly, which they returned as thick for a while, but did not ply their great guns with the same alacrity. After some time, we shot a little a head of her, lying athwart her hawse, close aboard, and plied her so warmly, that she struck her colours two-thirds down. By this time the Duchess came up, and fired about six guns, with a volley of small shot, but the enemy, having submitted, made no return. We sent our pinnace on board and brought the captain with the officers away, and having examined them, found there came another ship out from Manilla with them, of larger burden, having about 40 brass guns mounted, and as many patararoes; but they told us they lost her company about three months ago, and reckoned she was got to Acapulco before this time, she sailing better than this ship.

"This prize was called by the sounding name of Nostra Signiora de la Incarnacion Desengenio, Sir John Pitcherty commander. She had 20 guns, 40 patararoes, and 193 men on board, whereof nine were killed, ten wounded, and several blown up with gunpowder. We engaged them three glasses, in which time we had only myself and another man wounded. I was shot through the left cheek; the bullet struck away the upper part of my upper jaw, and several of my teeth, part of which dropped down upon the deck, where I fell; and the other, an Irish landman was slightly wounded in the hip. They did us no great damage in our rigging, but their shot disabled our mizen mast. I was forced to write what I had to say, to prevent the loss of blood, and because of the pain I suffered by speaking.

"On the 23d of December, after putting our ship to rights, we stood in for the harbour, which was distant about seven leagues, to the north-east. Our surgeons went on board the prize, to dress their wounded men. About four in the afternoon, we came to an anchor, and received the compliments of all on board the Marquis, on our sudden and unexpected success, which gave us no small satisfaction. We found that ship in good condition, and ready to sail; all the men on board her were brisk and eager for action. At eight in the evening, we held a consultation on the two great points; first, What should be done with the prisoners and hostages? and next, How we should act with regard to the other Manilla ship, which we thought at least there was a great probability of taking? With respect to the first, we proposed (as the hostages from Guniqui were men of honour, and as we had good reason to believe that the Chevalier Pitcherty being brother to the famous M. du Casi, was the same) to make the best terms we could with them, and set them at liberty. Accordingly, we put a part of the goods on board the bark into the prize, and then offered the remainder with the bark, together with what remained unpaid of the ransom, for 6000 pieces of eight, and to take the chevalier's bill, payable at London for the money. This they accepted, and gave us an acknowledgment, at the same time, that they thought it a good bargain. When this was settled, we had nothing more to do than to provide for our own security, and to look after the other galleon.

"I was very desirous of going out with the Duchess, adds Captain Rogers, to cruize for her, but there having been some reflexions cast, on account of the Duchess's not engaging our last prize so soon as it was thought she might have done, Captain Courtney was absolutely bent on going out with the Marquis; and the officers of both ships voting for this in council, my proposal was over-ruled, and we were forced to stay in the harbour against our will. It was, however, agreed that we should put ten of our best hands on board the Duchess, and on Christmas-eve she and the Marquis sailed."

Things being thus settled, on the 25th of December about eight in the morning, being two leagues off Cape St. Lucas, they saw a sail, distant about seven leagues, which they concluded to be the other Manilla ship. At this time the Duchess was two leagues to the westward, and both gave chace. It was twelve o'clock at night before the Duchess got along side and began the engagement. This veiled fought her bravely for about four glasses, and then Captain Courtney lay by, to secure his masts, and shot his rigging, which were much wounded and shattered. The Marquis could not come up, not being so good a sailor as the Duchess. On Monday, the 26th, as soon as it was day, (says Captain Cooke) we saw the Spaniard's flag, and knew him to be the admiral of the Manilla. At eight we perceived the Duke coming out to us. At two in the afternoon we got along side of the enemy; but the wind shifting, could fetch no nearer than about half a musket shot to leeward of her. She then fired two shot at us, and we returned a broadside and a volley of small arms, beginning the combat with three cheers.

They engage the other galleon.

"When we had fought two glasses, the Duchess came up under her stern, and raked her fore and aft, and then fell a-stern again, we still continuing hot at her for five glasses. Then we weared, and stood to the westward, to fetch nearer up to her, for firing so many guns had laid us to leeward. The Duchess went

went up, and engaged again very briskly for half an hour, and then ſtretched a-head of her. We could perceive many ſhot in her between wind and water.—At five we tacked, and raked her fore and aft with our ſtarboard broad-ſide. By this time it grew dark, and we fell a-ſtern to ſpeak with the Dutcheſs, and to get more ammunition, we having but three rounds of ſhot for moſt of our guns left. At eight, I went on board the Dutcheſs, and found her much diſabled in her maſts and rigging, and had ſeven men killed and wounded. Captain Courtney and I agreed to be yard-arm and yard-arm with the enemy in the morning; he to lie on the bow, and I on the quarter; and if he boarded, I was to clap him aboard, and enter my men over him. Being ſupplied with more ammunition, I returned on board the Marquis, both of us keeping cloſe under the Spaniard's quarter, and firing guns all night, to annoy the enemy, and to give the Duke notice where we were. Before day, the Duke joined us. The chace, miſtaking him for her conſort, had made ſignals all night, and edged away to meet him; otherwiſe the Duke could not have come up, there being but little wind, and that contrary. Then we all three agreed to fall upon the enemy at once, as ſoon as it was light; but while we lay athwart her hawſe, thoſe ſhot that miſſed the enemy, flew through the Duke's maſts and rigging, which obliged the Duke to change his ſtation, and to draw up along-ſide, cloſe on-board her, where he kept up a warm ſtout fire of round ſhot, all other ſort proving ineffectual, becauſe of the ſtrength of the ſhip's ſides, which no other ſhot would penetrate. And as none of the Spaniards appeared in ſight, but all kept to cloſe quarters, it was in vain to make uſe of ſmall arms, except now and then, when a man appeared, to obſerve our ſituation, and to keep an eye upon their enſign.

"In this manner, the Dutcheſs lying upon her hawſe, the Duke along her broad-ſide, and the Marquis athwart her ſtern, we kept pelting her for four glaſſes; in the mean time, the Duke received a ſhot in his main-maſt, which much diſabled it; and, in ſhifting, both he and the Dutcheſs came cloſe back under the enemy, and had like to have been all on board her. The Duke, in endeavouring to recover his ſtation, received a fire-ball, which lighting upon his quarter-deck, blew up a cheſt of arms and cartouch boxes, all loaded, and ſeveral cartridges of powder in the ſteerage, by which means Mr. Vanbrugh our agent, and two others were very much burnt: The Dutcheſs, going to laſh the enemy, was forced to caſt off, and get clear, for fear of being ſet on fire. The enemy fired at us all three at once, but ſlowly, ſeldom miſſing our maſts and rigging, and ſometimes hulling us. After lying half an hour along the chace's ſide, the Dutcheſs lay by to ſtop her leaks, and to ſecure her foremaſt, being very much diſabled, having 25 men killed and wounded, and the rigging much ſhattered. Captain Rogers ſome time after, lay by, to ſecure his maſts. Then I lay athwart the enemy's hawſe, till I had fired three broad-ſides, ſome odd guns, and ſeveral volleys; then gave another broad-ſide, and ſome volleys into her ſtern. The Duke came up again, and fired ſeveral guns; and both fell a-ſtern the chace, keeping under ſail, and ſtanding to the weſtward. We knotted ſome of our rigging, and ſtopped our leaks made with 12 pounders. Our main-maſt was diſabled alſo; the ſails and rigging much ſhattered; but the enemy aiming to diſable my maſts, I had the good fortune to have only my ſecond mate and ſome others blown up with the powder. The ſhip was once ſet on fire by the enemy's ſtink-pots, but we ſoon put it out. About eleven, I wore ſhip, and deſigned to have attacked the enemy again; but ſeeing the Duke and Dutcheſs lying by, the one with a traiſt in his enſign, and the other with a Spaniſh jack, (the ſignals to ſpeak with one another) I brought to.—Captain Courtney came on board of me, and we both went on board the Duke; where we conſidered the condition the three ſhips were in, the maſts and rigging being much damaged, in a place where we could get no recruit. That if we engaged the chace again we could propoſe to do no more than what we had already done, which, it was evident, did no great hurt; becauſe we could perceive that few of our ſhot entered her ſides to any purpoſe, and our ſmall arms availed leſs, there being not a man to be ſeen above board; that the leaſt thing in the world would bring the Duke's main-maſt, and likewiſe the Dutcheſs's fore-maſt by the board, either of which by its fall might carry away ſome other maſt, and ſo leave us a perfect hull for the enemy, and nothing to command our ſhip with. That if we went to board the enemy, we ſhould run a great hazard, in loſing a great many men, with little hopes of ſucceſs, they having above treble the number on board to oppoſe us, and there being now in all our three ſhips not above 120 men fit for boarding; and thoſe but weak, having been very ſhort of proviſions: So that if we had boarded her, and been forced off, or left any of our men behind, the enemy by that means would have known our ſtrength, and then gone into the harbour, and took poſſeſſion of the prize in ſpite of all we could have done to prevent it. Beſides, our ammunition was very ſhort, having only enough to engage a few glaſſes longer. All this being ſeriouſly conſidered, and knowing the difficulty we ſhould have to get maſts, and the time and proviſions we muſt ſpend before we could get them fitted, we reſolved to forbear attempting her farther; ſince our battering her ſignified little, and we had not ſtrength enough to board her. Therefore we agreed to keep her company till night, and then to loſe her, and make the beſt of our way into the harbour to ſecure the prize we had already taken. We had engaged firſt and laſt about ſeven hours; during which time they had on board the Duke but eleven wounded men; among whom was the captain, for the ſecond time, who had part of his heel-bone ſtruck out with a ſplinter, and all under his ancle cut above half through with the ſame. On board the Dutcheſs, they had eleven killed, and more than that number wounded; and on board us [the Marquis] only two men ſcorched with gun powder.—The enemy's was a brave, lofty, new ſhip, named the Virginia, and this the firſt voyage ſhe had made. Her burden was 900 tons, and her complement of men 450, beſides paſſengers, 150 of whom were European pirates, who having now got all their wealth on board, were reſolved to defend it to the laſt. The gunner, who had a poſt at Manilla, was an expert man, and had provided for her defence with great ſkill. He had filled up all the ſpace between the guns with bales to ſecure the men. We ſhattered her ſails and rigging very much, ſhot away her mizzen yard, and killed two of the men out of the tops, which was all the damage we could ſee done, though we could not have placed leſs than 500 ſhot in her hull.

"Theſe large ſhips are built at Manilla, of excellent timber that will not ſplinter, and their ſides are thicker and ſtronger than thoſe of ſhips of the ſame burden conſtructed in Europe. Had we been together at firſt, and boarded her, perhaps we might have taken her; but after her netting and cloſe quarters were fixed, ſhe valued us but little. We might, indeed, at the expence of one of our ſhips, have burnt her; but that was objected to, not only from a principle of humanity, but becauſe we had goods of great value on board all our ſhips. The enemy had heard at Manilla that there were two ſhips fitted out at Briſtol, to cruiſe in the South Seas, and that Captain Dampier was their pilot. They had therefore provided for their defence accordingly. However, to do them juſtice, they fought gallantly, and, had the two ſhips been together, it is more than probable that neither of them would have been taken; but, as it happened, had not our unreaſonable ſquabbles prevented our falling out together, the chance would have rather been in our favour. Yet this misfortune, inſtead of leading to a reconciliation, ſerved only as a foundation for new diſputes."

1710

They are forced to abandon their deſign.

Thus

1716 Thus ended their second attempt with the loss of some brave sailors, and to the great regret of the officers, who thought by their success to crown their fortunes; but who now thought of nothing but returning home with what they had already got with all possible expedition. They were delayed by the necessary repairs of their ships, and taking in wood, water, &c. till the 7th of January; after which they were well enough satisfied to find as much bread on board the prize as joined to their own stock, would serve them on their run to Guam, at short allowance.

"About this time (says Captain Cooke) a warm contest arose concerning the appointment of a commander of the Manilla ship, which was looked upon as a trust of no small consequence. Captain Dover, being an owner, desired he might command on board her. Captain Rogers, and several officers of the council contended, That as Captain Dover was wholly unacquainted with the navigating part of the business, the command should be given to Captain Try or to me; but as I had already the command of the Marquis, I declined any further charge, and voted for Captain Dover; at the same time recommending Captain Fry and Captain Stretton to act under him, against which Captain Rogers and his officers entered their protest. However, on the 9th of January, in a full council, it was carried against them, and voted by a great majority, that the Captains Fry and Stretton should both act in equal post in the sole navigating the Bachelor frigate (for that was the name now given to the Manilla prize) and in fighting her, if occasion should require, under Captain Dover, who at the same time was restrained from interrupting them in their business; but charged to be careful of what was in the ship, and to see that nothing was acted on board contrary to the interest of the owners and captors. The matter being thus qualified, the nominal command given to Captain Dover, and the executive power vested in the naval officers, Captain Rogers withdrew his protest, and the council proceeded to the choice of inferior officers, appointing Alexander Selkirk, master, and Joseph Smith, chief mate. They also agreed to furnish her complement of men by selecting 30 from the Duke, 25 from the Duchess, and 13 from the Marquis; which, with 36 Lascars taken on board her, formed a tolerable crew of more than 100 mariners. This business being fully settled, and the Island of Guam pitched upon as the place of rendezvous in case of separation; on the 10th of January, we weighed anchor, and run out at midnight. At twelve the next day, Cape St. Lucas bore north, distant about five leagues. We steered away for some days south-west by south, till we got into the trade winds, and then our course was uniform.

Description of the natives of California.

"All the natives of California (continues our author) that we saw during our stay at Puerto Seguro, did not amount to 300. They had large limbs, were very strait and tall, and of a much darker complexion than any that we had met with in the South Seas. Their hair was long, lank, and black, and hung down to their hips. The men were all stark naked, but the women had a covering about their waists, made of silk grass, fringed and knotted. All of them that we saw were old and wrinkled: perhaps they concealed from us their maidens, for reasons that need not be explained. The language of the natives was guttural, very harsh and unpleasant. They seemed to covet nothing that we had, except axes, saws, and knives, and even those they did not steal. Their huts were low, and wholly made up of branches of trees, and seemed rather a kind of temporary covering than settled dwellings. While we lay in port, they subsisted chiefly on fish, and though they made use neither of nets nor lines, yet they had a method of striking them with lances, that was very dextrous, and at which they were very expert. They were, besides, most excellent divers, and instead of canoes, made use of rafts. They were very civil and inoffensive, and were observed to pay great respect to one among them, whose head was adorned with feathers, very artificially combined, and who probably was their wizard or cunning-man. Some of them had strings of pearls, or parti-coloured shells so prettily intermixed, that though we had glass beads and other shewy trinkets, yet they paid no sort of attention to them, but prized their own ornaments above every thing but cutting instruments. Their arms were bows and arrows, with which their boys could shoot flying. They grew very familiar with us while we staid, and came frequently to gaze at the men while they cut wood and filled water, but never offered to assist in any thing like labour. They get fire, like other Indians, by rubbing two sticks together, which [in that country] kindle almost instantaneously."

Departing from this harbour, the crew were soon afterwards put to short allowance; but, in the article of bread, were relieved by the Bachelor, as a large quantity had been found on board that vessel concealed among some sweetmeats. On the 10th of March they made Saroua, one of the Ladrones Islands, and came in sight of Guam the same evening. The next day the vessels came to an anchor in the port of Umatta, at the distance of about a mile from the houses, in 13° 30′ north lat. by estimation. Here they went in, at first, under French and Spanish colours. They saw several of the islanders boats, but none would go on board, till being off the anchoring place, there was one sent by the Spanish governor, desiring to know who they were, and what they wanted there. On this, the interpreter was dispatched with a letter, the purport of which was, that they were British subjects, driven thither by necessity; that they wished to purchase provisions, &c. which if they could obtain in a friendly manner, they would act with all civility, if not they should proceed according to the rules of war. A very agreeable answer was sent by Don Juan Antonio Pimental, the Spanish governor, and they were furnished with maize, rice, oxen, hogs, poultry, and other necessaries in plenty, and at very reasonable rates.

Civilities of the Spaniards at Guam.

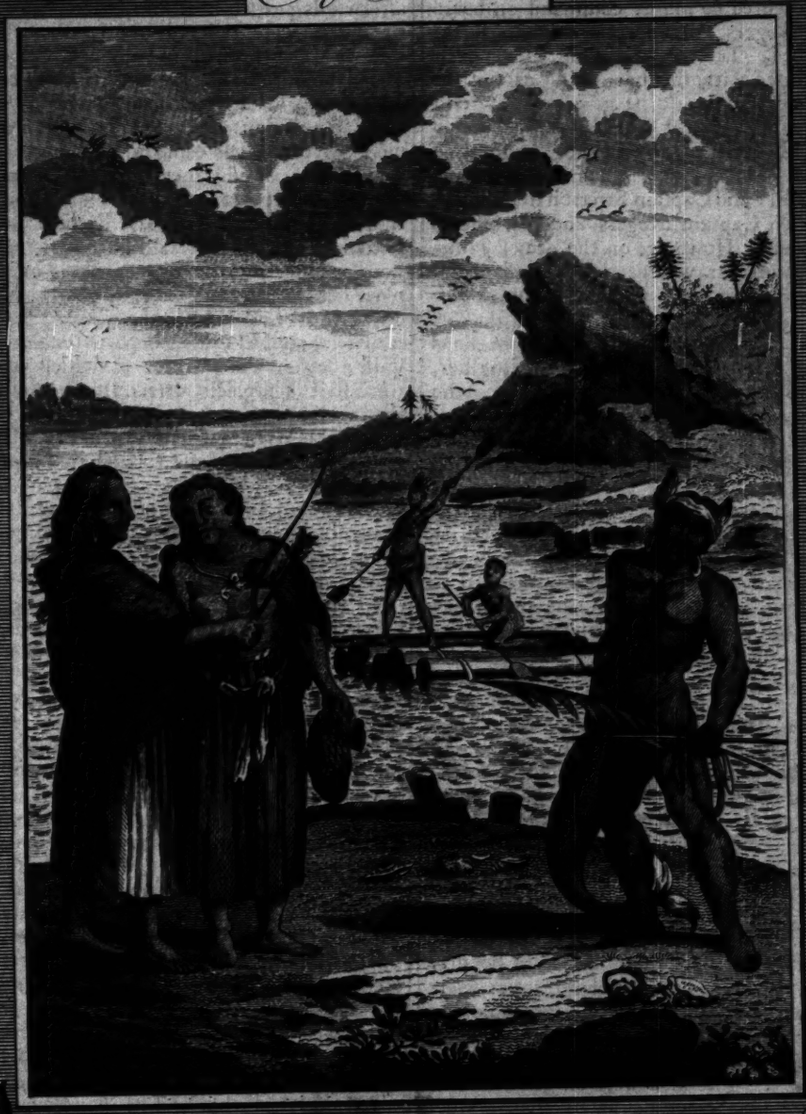
While they remained there, mutual civilities passed between the governor, the British officers, and the gentlemen of the island.—They found the variation in these parts only half a point to the eastward, though in their run across the great South Seas they had it 12°; "The reason (says our author) I take to be the unevenness [spheroidal figure] of the globe, and its unequal mixture of much matter, differing in itself as to the magnetic quality; having large and stony mountains, spacious vallies, deep seas, long-continued continents, with mighty scattered rocks of loadstone, iron mines, and other magnetic substances."

Description of the nation.

"The natives of Guam are of a dark complexion, not so black as the Indians of California; they are in general, (says he) the largest and best limbed men I ever saw and some of them hairy and very strong. The women are strait and tall, and in the neighbourhood of the Spaniards, go decently cloathed; but in the remote parts of the island, they go quite naked. They are said to be man-eaters, and have no settled way of worship, but every one pays a kind of adoration to they know not what. The island is plentifully supplied with cattle, and might be made the garden of the world, if the Spaniards were not as idle as the Indians; but as nature spontaneously produces sufficient for sustenance, they avail themselves but little of cultivation. Of all the works of art for which the Indians are remarkable, the paroas [praws] or boats, of this island are certainly the most wonderful, as they exceed in swift-sailing every other vessel yet seen throughout the world. It is said they will sail *twenty leagues an hour*." This is surely an exaggerated account; yet the captain of the Spanish guard said, he would lose his head if they did not perform it.

They left the Island of Guam, on the 21st of March, steering away west by south, with a moderate breeze from the north-north-east. This continued to waft them along for some weeks; but bad weather overtook them by the middle of April. The gale was so strong that most of their main shrouds, their stays

Engraved for Moore's
Voyages & Travels.



DRESS of the Inhabitants of CALIFORNIA
with their manner of Rafts for Fishing, &c.

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and running ropes gave way before it; and the yard coming by the board, wounded the firſt lieutenant in ſuch a manner that his recovery was doubtful. "Moſt of our ſails (ſays Captain Cooke) were alſo ſplit, but being ſupplied with new ſhrouds by Captain Courtney, I bent new ſails, but found the ſhip very leaky. The Duke and Dutcheſs too ſuffered much by the tempeſtuous weather; the Batchelor ſplit her ſails; but being otherwiſe ſtoutly built and rigged, nothing but running againſt a rock could hurt her. I had no conception of meeting with ſuch boiſterous weather ſo near the line, which proved as bad as that we encountered in ſurrounding Cape Horne, with this difference only, that the one was intenſely cold, and the other intolerably hot. And being now croſſed by violent winds [which experience has proved, with ſudden ſqualls and alternate calms, to be common near the line at the equinoctial ſeaſon] ſometimes lying by, ſometimes ſcudding before the wind, and unable to purſue our direct courſe, our proviſions began to fail. The ſhips, beſides, were leaky, and our men began to be ſickly, with exceſſive labour and hard living.

Bad weather at the equinoctial line.

"A general council therefore was called, in order to conſider what was beſt to be done in our preſent condition, when it was agreed to endeavour to make the iſland of Talao, or that of Ternate; or if neither of them could be reached, then to put into ſome port of Mindanao. Proceeding thus, on the 2d of May we obſerved a circle round the ſun, and were apprehenſive of more bad weather. In the night we paſſed by Talao, without ſeeing it; and Captain Dampier, who had been twice in theſe ſeas before, gave out, that if we could not reach Ternate, it would be impoſſible for us to get refreſhment on the coaſt of New Guinea, which proved true; yet it was with the greateſt difficulty that the men could be prevailed on to ſubmit to ſhort allowance. On Monday, having had tempeſtuous weather, we perceived that a ſtrong current had driven us to the eaſtward, and to our aſtoniſhment we found the land in ſight to be Cape Noba, a promontory at the eaſt end of Gilolo, bearing ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, diſtance 15 leagues. Perceiving now that we could not get to the iſland of Ternate, nor to that of Mindanao, we reſolved to make the beſt of our way through the ſtreights of Gilolo; but notwithſtanding all our efforts, we continued failing amongſt a cluſter of iſlands (moſt of them uninhabited, but all capable of producing ſpices) during the whole month of May, without being able to ſupply ourſelves of any of their refreſhments. On the 29th of May, we came in ſight of the iſland of Ceram, as we then thought, but afterwards found it to be the iſland of Bouro.

"On the 25th we came in ſight of a low iſland right ahead of us, and about noon, obſerved an opening, which when we came near we found to be a paſſage between two little iſlands that almoſt joined. They were very full of green trees; and by the ſea-ſide we beheld many groves of cocoa-nut, plantain, and other fruit-trees, which exhibited a very pleaſant appearance. In a capacious bay we likewiſe took notice of a little town, and ſaw ſeveral of the inhabitants paſſing and repaſſing along the ſhore. We ſent in our boats for proviſions and pilots, and the Duke and myſelf turned up towards the village; but on ſounding, found no ground. The natives informed us that there was a bank oppoſite to the land mark, where we might anchor. Abundance of people came off with Indian wheat, cocoa-nuts, yams, potatoes, poultry, and ſeveral beautiful birds, which they exchanged for knives, ſciſſars, and other toys, being very civil, and, to all appearance, honeſt. They are Mahometans; of a middle ſtature, and tawny, but the women are fairer than the men, having long, black hair, their mouths, lips, and noſes remarkably ſmall. The women were decently covered, but the men, in general, were naked. The iſlands were named Canhava and Wanthut. But theſe not anſwering our purpoſe, we agreed to ſteer for Bonton, where we arrived on Monday the 29th of May, and the ſame day Captain Dampier, Mr. Connelly, and Mr. Vanbrugh, went with a preſent to the king of Bonton; at the ſame time requeſting him to ſupply us with proviſions and to ſend us a pilot to carry us to Batavia.

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"On the 30th a parca [or praw] came from the king with one of his nobles on board, and a pilot to carry us into harbour. He put on an air of importance, and aſked, How we durſt come to an anchor there, without leave from the great king of Bonton? However, he brought each commander a piece of his country cloth, a bottle of arrack, ſome rice in baſkets as a preſent from the king; as alſo a letter from the officers we had ſent on ſhore, giving an account that they had been well received, and that the town where the king reſided was large, walled, fortified, and defended after the European manner, with a number of heavy cannon. Another preſent was returned, and five guns fired by every ſhip at the meſſenger's going off, at which he ſeemed very well pleaſed. Our people trafficked with the natives for poultry, maize, pompions, papas, lemons, Guinea-corn, &c. and gave them in exchange, knives, ſciſſars, old cloth, and old nails. The people were civil, but our officers making a longer ſtay than they intended, we began to ſuſpect that the Moors had detained them, as they are very treacherous. However, we heard from them every day, and at length the Dutcheſs's pinnace came down with Lieutenant Connelly, who told us they had purchaſed four laſt of rice, which coſt 600 dollars, and that Mr. Vanbrugh was detained for the payment of the money. The next morning it came, and was equally diſtributed among the four ſhips, ſome great men coming to deliver it, and receive the money. The town of Bonton is very populous; and by it runs a fine river, but it is barred ſo that ſhips of burden cannot approach it. About 50 iſlands are tributors to this king who gives audience in a chair of ſtate covered with ſcarlet cloth, and is always attended by a guard of nine men, armed after the European manner, with muſquets and ſcymitars. He has beſides four or five ſlaves, who ſit at his feet, and are ready whenever he commands to do the moſt ſervile offices. The petty princes and great men ſit on his left hand, and the ſtrangers ſtand before him."

Bonton.

Having ſupplied themſelves with all that the town afforded, and the officers that had been to wait on the king, being returned, the Engliſh weighed anchor, and as no pilot was to be had there ſet ſail without one, at four in the afternoon. "Captain Dampier (ſays our author) pretended to be acquainted with the paſſage, and mentions the ſame in his book, but now he remembered nothing of it but the ſtory. On the 9th we came in ſight of Solayo, lying cloſe to the iſland of Celebes, and inhabited by Malayans, who are tributaries to the Dutch. Between the iſland of Solayo and the ſouth end of theſe are three ſmall, low iſlands, and the beſt paſſage is between that which lies next to Solayo and a little one lying to the northward of it. It is very dangerous going to the ſouthward of Solayo, the Dutch never daring to attempt it." They made prize of a country veſſel on the 10th and brought her maſter on board the Dutcheſs. He was a Malayan, who came laſt from Bonton; and, for a good reward, undertook to pilot them to Batavia, on condition that they ſhould keep the matter a ſecret from the Dutch. Theſe conditions were agreed to, and the veſſels paſſed through the ſtreights of Malucca, and then ſteered to the weſtward, the pilot's boat attending them till they paſſed the laſt ſtreight, and then bore away for Macaſſar. They came to an anchor in Batavia Road, on Tueſday the 20th of June 1710, according to the Engliſh reckonings; but by the Dutch account it was Wedneſday the 21ſt of June. As ſoon as the veſſels dropped their anchors, the Dutcheſs fired 13 guns; but the ſalute was not returned till the next morning, when the commander ſent an apology by his boat, and fired gun for gun with every ſhip. Afterwards the commander went on ſhore, and, having waited on the Shebander, was introduced to

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the governor, who received them with a great deal of civility, and having examined their commissions, and enquired about the success of the voyage, though, not being king's ships, they would not admit of their leaving down at Oreret, yet gave them leave to careen at the Island of Hern, at no great distance, and also allowed of their hiring some Malayan caulkers in order to be employed in the business of stopping their leaks.

"As the Marquis was in the worst condition, (says Captain Cooke) she was ordered to be laid down first; but upon examination, she was judged unfit to proceed upon the voyage; and therefore was unladen and put up to safe. We then hove down the Duke and Duchess, and found their sheathing much worm-eaten; but otherwise not much damaged; the Bachelor wanted no repairs but in her rigging. The weather was extremely hot during our stay at this city: many of our men and officers fell sick; and I was among the number. The master of the Duke, the gunner of the Duchess, and several of the common men, fell a sacrifice to this unfriendly climate. One Read, a young man belonging to the Duchess, venturing to swim, had both his legs snapped off by a shark, which at the second bite, before we could get him on board, cut him in two in the middle, and put an end to his misery. During our stay, though we had the run of the markets, we found it very difficult to procure provisions, to lay in a stock to serve us till we should arrive at the Cape of Good Hope, and therefore were obliged to purchase live cattle, and to kill and pickle them ourselves. All manner of traffic, except for provisions, was prohibited with the natives or inhabitants of the city, upon the severest penalties, to avoid every occasion of dispute with the East-India companies of both nations: and having settled all our affairs in a very amicable manner, new rigged our ships, and disposed of the men belonging to the Marquis among the other ships, we began on the 15th of December to prepare for sailing, when I was appointed second captain in the Duchess, and Mr. Ballot, master; Captain Pope, first lieutenant of the Duke, and Mr. Selkirk, master; Captain Dampier second captain in the Bachelor, and Mr. Rhoiman, master. On the 20th of September we repaired on board, but before we were ready to sail, it was the 14th of October; when, about six in the morning we weighed anchor; but in the afternoon the sea-breeze overtook us, and we were forced to return.

"On the 19th we made sail with a fresh breeze, and at two in the afternoon, came to Java Head, when two English gentlemen came off to us to demand the release of a man that had concealed himself unknown to the officers, on board the Bachelor, and who was given up without opposition. In the mean time, while the gentlemen were in conversation with the officers, a party from the ship went off to buy fowls, for which they gave in exchange knives, toys, and other trifles, which the natives valued more than money. On the 23d the gentlemen took their leave; and the party that went off to truck for fowls having reported that there were buffaloes to be had for shooting, another party was sent off to bring some on board; but they returned without success. They came in sight of whole herds, but so exceedingly wild, that it was impossible to come within musket shot of them. One of the party, who had ventured to follow them into the woods, was surprised by a tyger, that was within an hundred yards of him before he thought proper to make his retreat; and he was pursued by the creature so closely, that had he not reached the water, he must have been devoured. His companions fired more than twenty shot at the tyger before he went off, and which he did at last sorely wounded."

They arrive at the Cape.

From hence they made sail on the 26th, steering for the Cape of Good Hope, and arriving there in safety, came to an anchor in Table Bay, and the officers going on shore were well received by the Dutch. While the English stayed at the Cape, their time was employed in taking in wood and water, and refitting their vessels. And here the captains wrote their owners an account of their voyage, and expressed their intention of returning home in company with the Dutch fleet, which arrived, to the number of 12 sail, on the 22d of February.

Mr. Vanbrugh, the owner's agent, and Mr. Appleby, with some others, died here; many were sickly, and all impatient to set sail for England, which however, they were not able to do till the month of April. Then the whole fleet, consisting of 25 sail of English and Dutch vessels left the Cape, and steered for S. Helena, where they arrived on the 3d of August. The description of this island by our voyager, is like that of many others who pursued the same track, and were doubtless well enough pleased at having such a port to touch at to relieve the sick, and breathe a while from their toils. The captain owns, however, "that the residence in a place so lonely in the middle of a vast ocean, remote from all communication with the world, has rather the appearance of living in exile than in a land of freedom." Were some of those who have written in such a romantic manner of the beauties of this isle to reside on it a twelvemonth, instead of remaining there only a few days to refresh themselves, it is probable they would give us another sort of description of a place, of which may be truly asserted what the Romans once said of Britain, "That it is entirely divided from the rest of the habitable world."

The fleet left Santa Helena on the first of May, and made the island of Ascension on the 7th of the same month. On the 27th two Dutch sailors dying, were committed to the ocean. About this time, all the flag-ships struck their flags; and the admiral hoisted a broad pendant. This was done, that if an enemy should come in sight, they might be taken for a squadron of Dutch men of war.

Thus they proceeded, without any thing remarkable happening, except a mutiny, for which two Dutchmen who were the ring-leaders were whipped and put in irons; and the Bachelor's pinnace having her back broken on the 26th of June by the ship running foul of her; but all on board were saved.—The fleet sailed on till they came into 60° of north latitude, "where (says our author) we had no night, but cold, drizzling weather, yet nothing to compare to the cold in the same latitude south, in going round Cape Horne, for there the cold was so intense, that many of our men sickened; yet we were here and at Cape Horne much about the same time, allowing for the difference of the climates.

"On the 14th (continues he) we came in sight of Bera, and spoke with a Danish ship bound to Dublin, which informed us that the war still continued, and that he had spoken a day or two before, with a squadron of Dutch men of war, and three victuallers, lying off the island to wait for us; so that by keeping between that and Fair Island, we could not possibly miss of seeing them. The next day we came in sight of them; when all the fleet saluted the commodore, and he made the signal for all the commanders to come on board of him for sailing orders. The Captains Courtney and Dover went accordingly, and were well received, and given to understand that they might be supplied with what provisions they stood in need of, on paying for the same, having, he said, brought victuals from Holland for the purpose. We lay off Shetland some days, and caught ling and cod in abundance; during which time the Shetlanders came off to us, and brought fowls and sheep, which we purchased at a much cheaper rate than of our Dutch victuallers.

"At length our ship's company grew sickly, having been more than three months in our passage from the Cape to this place, and we were besides very peevish and quarrelsome among ourselves; now we came near home, jealousies arose about embezzlements. The agents had been to the Duke, and demand the gold, plate,

plate, pearl, and jewels on board; and they returned not very well satisfied with their reception. But, while these disputes were at their height, orders were given to set sail. In the mean time, letters were dispatched to London and Amsterdam, acquainting our owners with our progress, and present situation, and desiring their instructions, to regulate our future proceedings.—In consequence of these dispatches, the writer says, "A general letter was received from our owners, dated Bristol, June 6, 1710, in which they acquainted us, That the East India Company was incensed against us, and had appointed a secret committee to inspect their charter, as to privileges; and that they were resolved to take all advantages, in case of the least infringement of what they pretended to be their exclusive right of trading to the East Indies. This letter likewise recommended the greatest caution, on our part, with regard to the Dutch East India Company; or else from that as well as from our own, they had reason to fear all possible obstruction. It was, therefore, most strictly enjoined, That neither officer nor sailor should, on any pretence whatsoever, be suffered to take any goods on shore, nor were we to allow any stranger to come on board to purchase the least trifle, for that if any such thing should be proved, the whole cargo would be forfeited. It was a great relief to us, when, on the 5th of August, Mr. Hollidge, one of our principal owners, came on board us; for though we kept the strictest watch, it was hardly possible to prevent the sailors from running things ashore in the night. On this gentleman's arrival, it was judged necessary to draw up a short account of our voyage from the journals of the respective commanders, to which all the officers and most of the seamen voluntarily swore and set their hands." It was not till the 30th of September that the English sailed from the Texel, under convoy of the Essex, Canterbury, Medway, and Dullidge, and anchored in the Downs, on the 2d of October, 1711. The produce of the cargo and treasure in the ship was supposed to amount to near 400,000l. and after law-suits and every other kind of trouble and expence, 170,000l. clear remained. 1711.

Mr. Hatley whom they had lost with his little crew near the Gallapagos island was supposed with them to have perished, but it fell out otherwise; they made directly for the main, and coming to Cape Passao they surrendered themselves to the enemy. The persons to whom they submitted were not European Spainiards, and had no ideas of the laws of nations (laws which though originating in peace, are still preserved by civilised people amidst the horrors of war). These half Christians whipped their prisoners, and with their tortures would probably have ended their lives; but that the Spanish priest interfering, rescued them, and thus ended their sufferings. Mr. Hatley being afterwards carried to a Spanish settlement was civilly treated, and was set set at liberty as soon as peace was proclaimed between the two nations.—

Such was the end of this expedition, which, though greater matters might have been expected, yet all things considered, it must be confessed that the commanders did whatever lay in their power to promote the business, and to benefit their country.

THE VOYAGES OF THE CAPTAINS CLIPPERTON AND SHELVOCK.

THE voyage of the Captains Rogers, Courtney, and Cooke, which we have just related, though not crowned with all the success which they at one time expected, was yet so advantageous to those concerned in it, that it revived the spirit of privateering, and gave rise to the undertaking which we are about to treat, and for which the persons concerned took occasion from a war subsisting between the emperor and Spain, to apply to the Imperial court for a commission to countenance an expedition, which they meant to fit out against the Spaniards, who were not at that time in actual war with England.

The person who was first thought on to command the vessels prepared for this purpose, was Captain George Shelvock, who had been thirty years in the royal navy, wherein he had arrived at the rank of first lieutenant. He was politic in his manners, and appearance, was of a winning address, but not insensible of his own merit. It is probable if he had been finally intrusted with the command, as at first intended, the voyage might have proved a fortunate one; but several concurring circumstances intervened to alter the disposition of it, and in consequence the main intention of those concerned was defeated, as will be seen in the sequel.

The captain received orders to repair to Ostend, with the Speedwell, and there, as soon as the commission was obtained, to take on board the proper complement of Flemings, which were to give colour to the expedition, and then to join the Success, which lay in the Downs, under the command of Captain Mitchel. The names of the ships were also to be changed; the Success was to be called the Prince Eugene, and the Speedwell the Starenberg.

Captain Shelvock had orders to lay in such a quantity of spirituous liquors as he should judge sufficient for the use of both ships. In the fulfilling of their commission it seems, however, that the captain did not act intirely to the satisfaction of the owners, who thought the voyage already too long delayed. And when the Flemish soldiers arrived, they were found so insolent, that it was judged proper to return the imperial commission, and to proceed without them. 1719.

The plan of the voyage being thus altered the owners next determined to lay aside the design of constituting Captain Shelvock the commander in chief. By this time war with Spain was declared, and as they conceived no other accomplishment necessary than that of knowing the business whereon he was to be employed, and having an acquaintance with the western coasts of America, they cast their eyes upon Captain Clipperton (or Clippington). To this man, a rough, blunt sailor, known to some of the owners, and recommended by other merchants, they resolved to intrust the conduct of the expedition. Captain Shelvock, however, was continued captain of the Speedwell, Captain Mitchel was appointed second in command to Captain Clipperton, and Mr. Hatley second Captain to the superseded commander.

Unanimity was strongly recommended in their instructions, though the very basis of it seemed to be removed by this proceeding, and dissensions arose between them before they quitted England. The vessels, however, (after waiting three months for fair weather at Plymouth) set sail on the 13th of February. Captain Clipperton's ship, called the Success, carried 36 guns and 180 men, and the Speedwell, Captain Shelvock's vessel carried 24 guns and 106 men. The latter of these ships had on board the whole stock of liquors, whilst her consort had almost all the other stores necessary for the voyage. Fresh gales, squalls, and rain, accompanied them after they left the Channel. And on the 19th a storm began which obliged both the vessels to take in their top-sails. Captain Shelvock, it seems, had spoken with Clipperton, and desired him to take some of the liquor on board, that he might strike down some of the guns into his hold, which Clipperton and Shelvock sail from Plymouth.

1719 which he said would enable him to sail better. But this his desire was not attended to. On the 20th a signal was made for the Speedwell to bring to, which was obeyed, and the vessels were under their bare poles by about eleven at night. On the 20th, however, in the afternoon, the storm abating, the ships unaccountably separated, Clipperton, when he made sail, steering S. by E. and Shelvock N. W. By this strange management, which each commander afterwards laid to the charge of the other, Clipperton was left to proceed on his voyage without liquors and without his consort. Thus situate, he resolved to steer for the Canaries, the place of rendezvous agreed on between them, and having taken in wine at Gomera and cruised about ten days near the islands, he departed for those of Cape Verd, and anchored on the 21st at St. Vincent.

Are separated.

Canary Isles described.

The Canaries, of which we have so often spoken, are supposed to have been denominated the Fortunate Islands, by the ancients, on account of their fertility. They are eight in number, and the largest of them, called Great Canary, is far distant from the others. It contains 9000 inhabitants, and is the seat of the bishop, the council royal, and the inquisition. There is a mountain on the Teneriff called the Pike of Teneriff, esteemed to be one of the highest in the world. It is reckoned three days journey to the top of it, which is generally covered with snow. The Island of Ferro is one of the larger isles; but there is no water to be found on it, except in few places, by the sea-side; to supply this want, however, in some measure, there is a sort of tree in almost all parts of the island, which is pretty large, is full of leaves that are always green, and covered with a little cloud that wets the leaves with its dew, so that a fine dew drops from it into little pails, wherein it is caught by the inhabitants, and is sufficient in quantity to water the cattle as well as supply the people. These islands were called Canaries, or Dog-Islands, by the Spaniards, who on first discovering them, in 1402, found no other creatures upon the land. They abound with wine, which is transported into all parts of the world.

Clipperton cruised ten days likewise about the Cape Verd Islands, but seeing no probability of meeting with his consort, he departed. And it was afterwards with difficulty that he prevailed on his men to continue on the voyage to the Streights without the assistance of spirituous liquors to comfort them in their course.—These islands are generally supposed to be denominated from the Green Cape of Africa, which is opposite to them; others think they were called the Green Islands, on account of the surrounding sea being covered so thick with a green herb, that the water can scarcely be seen; and it requires a strong wind to carry a vessel through it. This weed produces a berry, somewhat like white gooseberries, whence it comes is unaccountable; it cannot arise from the bottom, as the sea is there unfathomable, and the neighbouring lands yields no such production.

Cape Verd Islands.

They left St. Vincent's on the first of April, and by the 29th of May found themselves in 52° 15′ of south latitude, being then off Cape Virgin in the north point of the entrance of the Maghellanic streights, into which they sailed the next day, and sent their pinnace ashore on the main to get fresh water from a river which was then frozen up. Here they saw flocks of geese and ducks, but all appeared very shy. The surgeon's mate having been left on shore by accident for one night, was brought on board the next morning almost dead with cold. Anchoring at Queen Elizabeth's Island, they found plenty of smallage, an herb which greatly relieved those who were afflicted with the scurvy. They found also plenty of wild fowl and fish, and having filled their casks with water, they held on their course.

They afterwards came into a fine bay, to which they gave the name of No Bottom, on account of the depth of the water there. The trees on the shore were high, and their boughs were loaded with snow, which formed but a dismal prospect. While they lay here a canoe came off to them, having four Indians on board, who were of a middle stature, their foreheads were low, their faces broad and round, their hair lank and short. They had no other cloathing but a piece of skin about their waists, round which they had likewise a circle of a bright azure hue. They were very jealous of their females; nor could they be prevailed upon, on any account, to suffer a woman who was among them to come on board. The captain gave them some bread and cheese, and also offered them a dram of brandy, though the latter was then so scarce amongst the English. They devoured the bread and cheese, but would not taste the brandy. They had bows and arrows, and some fishing tackle: they stayed two hours, and on their departure made signals of their design to return. The pinnace being sent on shore the next day, came back with the Indian canoe in the evening, laden with muscles, which the natives had given them in exchange for bread, knives and toys. They appeared to Clipperton's men to be a harmless people, and one of his crew that had been left on shore lived among them two nights and a day, and met with very kind treatment.

In the mean time the ship's company grew sickly, and one or other of them generally died every day. About the beginning of July the weather was rather moderate; on the 8th of this month they buried their master-gunner, and caused a strong plank to be driven at the head of his grave, whereon was this inscription, "Mr. William Pridham, gunner of the Success, deceased July 7, 1719, in this Streight, and was buried here."—Captain Mitchell, and Lieutenant Davidson went in the pinnace to Terra del Fuego, on the 20th, to make discovery of the passage that a French Tartan is said to have gone thro' into the South Sea in May, 1713, and to try if there were any anchoring beyond Cape Quad. They returned on the 29th, having found the passage, but so narrow that it was deemed hazardous to go that way. They however found several good bays to the north-west of Cape Quad, to anchor in.

They proceeded on their voyage on the first of August, meeting with the usual dangers and difficulties on their passage, and, arriving on the 18th in the South Seas, steered directly for Juan Fernandez, it's usual to refresh themselves. They came to this island on the 7th of September, where they searched in vain to find some tokens of the Speedwell. After having cruised for a month in these parts, Captain Clipperton preparing for his departure, caused the following inscription to be cut on a tree fronting the landing place, "Captain John W. Magee, 1719." Magee was a surgeon on board the Success, and well known to Captain Shelvock and his company. The reason of making choice of his name, was in order to blind the Spaniards in case they should read the inscription. All means were used here for the recovery of the sick, who were set on shore for this purpose, but a dejection prevailed, owing to the reflexion of having no cordial to revive their drooping spirits. They found the weather at this time changeable, and much rain fell while they stayed near the island. They took abundance of goats, so as to serve them for future store, as well as for present use; and they salted a great number with salt which they found ready made on the island. They wooded and watered here, and cleaned their ship; Clipperton, by this time apprehending that he should be obliged to proceed on his cruize alone. As to the Speedwell, he declared it was his opinion that she was lost.

Before they took their departure from hence, four of the ship's crew betook themselves to the mountains, with a view of remaining upon the island, but two of them were made prisoners by the goat-hunters, who before they surrendered, were obliged to fire at them several times.

They prepared for sailing on the 7th, previous to which Captain Mitchell went on shore, and erected a cross, at the foot of which he buried a bottle, containing a letter addressed to Captain Shelvock, direct-

ing him to another place of rendezvous, and appointing a proper signal whereby they might know each other in case they should meet at sea. The commander then weighed anchor, and sailed northward, till he got into the parallel of Lima, where he intended to act, though he had lost 30 of his men, and some uneasinesses had already broken out among the crew in regard to plunder. They took a small vessel on the 25th of October, which proved to be a sloop of 40 tons, laden with sand and rubbish for manure, having on board seven Indians and two negros. In this bark they found nothing worth taking except two jars of eggs, as much treacle, and two pieces of eight. The next day they met with a ship called the St. Vincent, of 150 tons, with two friars, 161 Indians, and four negros on board. She was laden with wood from Guiaquil. Another prize they took on the 30th day of the same month, was a large ship, called the Trinity, of 400 tons, which had been taken by Captain Rogers, ten years before, when Guiaquil was plundered by that adventurer. Her cargo was valuable, and she had a great many passengers on board. On the 2d of November they took a fourth prize, which was a vessel of 70 tons, having on board the countess of Laguna, and several other passengers. They likewise found a great deal of money, and two jars of wine and brandy. The captain gave the countess her choice of staying in the prize, or coming on board the Success. She chose the former, and an officer was sent with orders to suffer none but her own domestics to enter her cabin.

Captain Clipperton was now much weakened by the detachments he had made to take care of his prizes. Yet he was still bent on making more. Discovering a pink of 200 tons, on the 12th he bore up to her, and the vessel struck to him. Lieutenant Sarjeantson was then sent on board with eight men to take possession of her. He immediately ordered all those whom he saw into the great cabin, and posted a centinel at the door. After this, thinking all things secure, he went down with some of his men into the ship's hold, to examine her lading, when a concealed party fell upon the captors, knocked down him and his party, and ordered them to be bound. In the mean time those in the cabin had secured the centinel; and thus the ship was recovered, owing to the artful management of the captain, who guessing that his opponent could not send any great number of men on board him to take possession, had ordered 12 of his passengers, under the conduct of a French boatswain, to conceal themselves in the hold, and then to rush out, on a certain signal, and secure the English, which stratagem succeeded, as we have seen according to the common expectation.

Stratagem of a Spanish captain.

But as soon as the Spaniards had thus retaken the ship, they made for the shore with so much haste and so little caution, that they ran their own vessel upon the rocks, where she was lost; but when the captain perceived the danger, he ordered all his English prisoners to be unbound, and every man saved himself upon the rocks. They were however secured on shore, and sent to to the viceroy of Lima.

His vessel is lost.

As soon as Clipperton knew that he had lost his prize and his men likewise, he determined to release his Spanish prisoners, by which means there would necessarily be a saving of his provisions, as well as a chance for his people to be better treated, when the enemy knew that their countrymen had not been ill used when in his power. In his way to the island of La Plata, he took another prize of 200 tons, having on board 30 Spaniards, and 40 negros. This vessel was called the Cayetan, and most of the Spaniards were passengers. By this time the captain knew that the coast was alarmed, and understood that two men of war, one of 50, and the other of 30 guns, had been fitted out to cruise for him. As for the goods on board, he had good reason to believe they would fetch no price in Europe, and in those parts where he now was, he did not see any likelihood of their being ransomed. On this account, he concluded, a thought which had once suggested itself to Captain Rogers, of sending a cargoe of those goods to Brasil; for this purpose he made Mr. Mitchell commander of the prize bark wherein the countess of Laguna had been taken, mounting her eight guns and sparing 13 Englishmen and ten negros, accommodating him with provisions and necessaries, and putting on board a cargoe of European commodities valued at 10,000l. dispatching him for the Brasilian coast. After this he presented his other prizes to the Spanish prisoners, taking out of them such things as he thought proper, only detaining the captain of one of them to serve him as a pilot. 1720

Thus disincumbered, Captain Clipperton now prepared to return to cruise in his former station. As they were thus holding on their course, on the 4th of December they fell in with, and took a bark called the Rosary. Having taken what they pleased out of her, they let her go, after they had cut her main-mast by the board, in order to prevent her overtaking. On the 27th they looked into Guanaco Bay, and finding two ships at anchor there, fired a shot at each, but they made no return; whereupon, sending their boats on board, they found the people had quitted them, leaving nothing but some bread and a few jars of water behind them. After this the English hung out a flag of truce, and fired two guns at intervals of half an hour. They were answered from the shore, but nobody appearing to treat about the ransom of the vessels, they set them on fire, and departed for the Gallapagos islands, intending to remain there till the alarm occasioned by their progress should subside. Accordingly they put their design in execution, and arrived at the Duke of York's Island under the Equinoctial Line, where they cleaned their ships, and found water, in which latter circumstance, as we have already related, Captain Rogers had been disappointed. On the 21st of January they took a vessel called the Prince Eugene, bound for Lima, and having the Marquis de Ville Roche on board, which struck on their firing the first gun. A priest, who was on board the prize, having got leave to go on shore at the island of Velas, on his promise of persuading the inhabitants to traffic with them for some cattle; he returned on the 16th with a herd of black cattle, some fowls, and fruit, which he brought as a present to the Marquis; but he said the governor would not permit the inhabitants to trade with Captain Clipperton's people. He added, that Captain Mitchell had been there, and had got some cattle, but 200 men being got together, had forced him to retreat. The very next day it appeared by some intercepted letters that the Marquis was tampering with the people on shore to seize the ship's boat when it next came for water. On this account that nobleman was confined for some time, but on the 20th he was suffered to go on shore with his lady, their only child remaining as an hostage for their return.

The Marquis de Ville Roche taken.

Accordingly, they came on board on the 14th of April, and the governor with them, when Clipperton having agreed with them about their ransom, the lady and the child were set on shore, the marquis remaining as an hostage for the performance of the articles, which were never fulfilled. They sailed to Amapalla on the 20th, with an intent to water there, but being disappointed, repaired to the Isle of Tygers, and afterwards on the 9th of June to Gorgona, for the same purpose. On the 24th they took, the second time, the St. Vincent, which was now commanded by Don Clement de Andrada, and was laden with timber and cocoa-nuts; and on the 11th of August they anchored at the island of Lobos de Mar with their prize. Here they set up tents on the shore, and cleared their vessel, and here the crew, who had already begun to murmur, appeared much discontented. They blamed their captain for proceeding on his undertaking without his consent; they arraigned his conduct with regard to the marquis, from whom they firmly believed neither he nor they would ever receive any advantage, and at length some of the malecontents,

1721 contents, (being stirred up by one James Roch, the ship's corporal) formed a plot for seizing Clipperton and his officers, and running away with the ship; "that if they must still go through more hardships," it must be, as Roch said, for their own benefit rather than for that of the people. But the plot being discovered, two of them were severely punished, and the rest pardoned on promise of future amendment.

They took a fishing boat, with a large quantity of salt fish on the 17th; on board of this vessel they put 38 Spanish prisoners, and sent them away. But they found the St. Vincent, which was left at anchor under the Isle of Lobos, driven on shore and sunk. On the first of November they entered the bay of Conception, where having missed of a prize by her out-sailing them, they went for Coquimbo, and in their way, took a ship laden with cloth, sugar, and tobacco. But they had no sooner come in full sight of the harbour, than they were perceived by three men of war, which were lying there with their top-sails loose, which immediately cut their cables, and made after them. The Success and the prize immediately hauled their wind, and bore away, the former escaped by good sailing, though narrowly pursued by the two Spanish ships, but the latter fell into the hands of the enemy. There were taken in her, Mr. James Milne, Clipperton's third lieutenant, and 12 men. Don Blas de Lesso, who was governor of Carthagena, when attacked by Admiral *Vernon*, was the captain who took the prize, which he imagined to have been the privateer. He was so much enraged at this disappointment, that in the heat of his anger he struck Mr. Milne on the head with the flat of his sword; but afterwards recollecting the impropriety of his behaviour, sent for his prisoner, and was so generous as to ask his pardon for the affront, and finding him stripped by the soldiers, ordered him a new suit of cloaths. When at Lima he procured his liberty, and paid for his passage to Panama, where he made him a present of a jar of wine, and another of brandy, and after giving him 200 pieces of eight sent him home to his own country. Such an instance of generosity in an exasperated enemy, deserves to be had in honourable remembrance.—But to return to Captain Clipperton. He and his people were much dispirited with this loss, and their ill humours were kept alive by continued dangers and disappointment. They attacked a ship on the 16th, which bore away from them after having fired a few guns, which was a happy circumstance, as this was a ship of force, and which was intended to cruise for Captain Shelvock; but knowing this not to be the vessel which he was in quest of, and not being acquainted with her strength, the Captain, whose name was Fitzgerald, did not think proper to continue the engagement. Being in want of provisions, they continued cruising to the north; but as they met with little success, they resolved to go once more to the Gallapagos islands for refreshment, after having set on shore the remainder of their Spanish prisoners.

While Clipperton's people were indulging their ill humours, the captain himself fell into a practice too common with people who know not well how to bear up against misfortunes. He gave himself up to drinking in such a manner, that at length he was scarcely ever seen sober, or free from the bad effects of this ill course, which, at this time, he so imprudently adopted. It was on the 4th of December that they perceived themselves near the islands which they were in quest of; but through some unaccountable mistake or ill contrivance, they could neither find fresh water nor an anchoring place. On account of this disappointment they sailed for the isle of Cocoas, so often mentioned in our accounts, with the greatest expedition. They came in sight of it on the 17th, and all that could be spared went on shore, on the 18th, when a sort of bark was built for the entertainment of the sick, at the same time that Clipperton did all he could for the recovery and encouragement of the men. They prepared for sailing on the 27th of January, but when the men were mustered, three Englishmen and eight negroes were missing; and it appeared that they chose to remain on that unfortunate island.

Arriving on the coast of Mexico, Clipperton's people discovered a sail, to which their pinnace gave chace, and the vessel immediately struck. She proved to be the Jesu-Maria, which was then commanded by Captain Shelvock; and the report they received was, "That he had no more than 40 men alive; that he had lost the Speedwell at Juan Fernandez, where they had built a bark out of the wreck, that they had coasted along Chili and Peru, till they came to Pisco near Lima, where they took this prize; that they had no regular command among them; that they had chosen a quarter-master by a majority of votes; and that they had quite broken their articles with their owners, and had shared all among themselves. Captain Shelvock came on board on the 27th; the boat brought Captain Dod, who was said to have been ill used on account of his attachment to the owners; six chests of pitch and dammer with two barrels of tar; and six slabs of copper were sent on board by Captain Shelvock, to whom Clipperton spared 24 quarter-deck guns, some great shot, a compass and other necessaries. His people likewise bought cloaths, shoes, hats, &c. and here Hendric and Dod deserted Captain Shelvock, intending never more to sail with their commander. It was designed to attempt the Manilla ship before she entered Acapulco. This determination was made in the burying of March; on the 13th they again met Captain Shelvock, when, according to Clipperton's account, that gentleman rejected a proposal he made of burying all former miscarriages in oblivion, and acting together for the benefit of the owners; whereupon the Success proceeded without him, and it being resolved to return home by way of the East Indies, the vessel sailed immediately for Guam.

After a run of 53 days they reached that island, and anchored off Umatta, on the 13th of May. The pinnace being sent with a flag of truce to the governor, in order to obtain provisions; a quantity of chocolate cakes, cattle, bread, sugar, greens, &c. were sent them, with a favourable answer, and the governor's health was drank by the whole ships company. But the Marquis de Ville Roche having agreed about his ransom, going on shore accompanied with the first lieutenant and doctor, a foundation was laid for a dispute which was near proving fatal to Clipperton and all his crew. For after the English had taken in wood, water, and provisions, in exchange for which they furnished the governor with arms and ammunition, the latter sent them a letter, on the 15th, wherein he demanded the restoration of the Marquis's jewels, some consecrated plate, and two negros that were Christians. At the same time he desired a certificate under the captain's hand, that peace was proclaimed. Clipperton's answer was That from the people on board the last prize taken on the coast of Chili, he had heard that England and Spain were at peace; but he assured the governor if he did not send the ransom, and return Messrs. Godfrey and Pretty whom he had detained on shore, within 24 hours, the English would burn the ship in the harbour, destroy all the houses on the shore, and do whatever damage they could among the islands. Instead of complying with his demands, the governor caused a battery to be erected, from whence the Spaniards fired at the pinnace. As to the ship, she ran aground between the fire from the battery and that from the vessel in the harbour, in endeavouring to get her off, she went foul of the rocks. Thus they lay exposed to the fury of the enemy, whilst their captain was so much in liquor that the officers were obliged to chuse Mr. Cook, *pro tempore*, to the command in this exigency. In the mean time they had their first lieutenant, Mr. Davidson, killed, and three men wounded; and it was not without great difficulty that, having lightened their ship, they towed her off with the pinnace, and, just as they got her afloat, the enemy firing at her from their battery, raked them

The Success roughly handled at Guam.

The SUCCESS *wedged on a Rock, being at the same time between the fire of the* SPANISH FORT *at* UMATA, *and a* SHIP *in the* HARBOUR.

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through between wind and water, killed one man and wounded two others. At length they got her to sea, but in a mangled condition, and went off on the 30th with the loss of both their bow anchors and cables, the stern and kedge anchors, four hawsers, four of their lower deck guns, and 19 barrels of powder. They had remained a mark for the enemy near 50 hours, and had the vessel not got clear before morning, it was thought she must have sunk outright. When they had done all in their power to repair their damage they were obliged to depart, and leave Mr. Godfrey and Mr. Pretty behind them, Clipperton having lost his faithless Marquis, together with all hopes of his ransom.

Having passed the Bashee Isles on the 20th of June, they came on the 1st of July to some other islands, not laid down in the charts; but not being able to learn their way to Macao, nor to get a pilot, they sailed to Amoy, which lies in the province of Tonquin, where they anchored on the 8th, and were presently boarded by ten custom-house officers, who demanded what the ship was, and what was their business in those parts. They were answered, That the ship belonged to the king of Great Britain, and that she put in there in order to obtain provisions and necessaries. The next day there was a mutiny among the crew, who demanded immediately to shore the prize-money, Mr. Cook claiming 30 shares to himself as first lieutenant, he having succeeded Mr. Davidson in that post. The men went on shore at will, and refused to work till they had their money, which (those on shore taking their part) Clipperton was at last obliged to grant them.

The men share their prize money.

The distribution being made on the 16th of September it amounted to 419 dollars for each foremast man, no reserve being made for those who had the misfortune to be taken prisoners, for the representatives of those that were dead, nor for the two gentlemen who had served on board the Speedwell.

The share of the owners, in ready money, wrought plate, gold, and jewels, amounting to 7000l. sterling, Clipperton shipped on board the Queen of Angels, a Portuguese vessel, commanded by Don Francisco le Vero; but she was burnt at Rio Janeiro, on the 6th of June 1722. And out of the effects, the salvage being deducted, no more than 1800l. remained.

Having left Amoy, where they paid no less than 1700 dollars for port charges, they held on their course to Macao, where he found the Portuguese captain who had undertaken to carry what belonged to the owners to Brasil. Here the crew met with an opposition; for this captain declared in favour of their commander. On this, Captain Cook and another officer went to consult one of the principal proprietors what measures were proper to be taken for bringing home the ship. After his return, she was surveyed and condemned; but being sold for 4000 dollars, Clipperton, who did not think it was dangerous to make a voyage in her, agreed with those who bought her, for his passage in her to Batavia. The Success's crew now shifted each for himself. As to Captain Mitchell and his crew, they were now pretty well convinced that these were killed, or taken, or lost at sea. Twenty of Captain Clipperton's men intending to go in a Chinese vessel to Canton, were taken by pirates: Mr. Taylor, the chief mate, and some others, got safe to Canton in an armed boat, from whence they got a passage home, and arrived safe in London in May, 1722. Captain Clipperton came to Batavia in the Success, and got his passage home in a Dutch East-Indiaman. He arrived at Galway in Ireland, in the beginning of July, 1722, but broken with toils and disappointments, died in about a week after his arrival.——

Captain Shelvock's voyage.

Captain Shelvock having written a very particular and circumstantial account of his voyage we shall for the most part deliver the relation in his own words, omitting only such passages as are immaterial, and such occurrences as have been already noticed. The reader has been informed of the separation of the two commanders, which Captain Shelvock says was unavoidable. He adds, that the men were so terrified by the storm, that had not his officers appeared armed, they would have seized the ship and returned to England. And the very next evening after this mutiny was quelled, he says Mr. Hatley, his second captain, was near throwing all in confusion again, telling him on deck, that he had private orders from one of the owners, and from Captain Clipperton, to take the charge of the ship upon himself; but being asked, "Whether he had a private commission too," answered only in terms of reproach. Captain Shelvock thus proceeds in his account: 1722

"We had a very tedious voyage to our first place of rendezvous, the Canary Islands, and did not arrive there till March 17, when having finished our cruise without any thing remarkable happening, except taking an open boat with salt and wine, and having heard nothing of the Success; on March the 29th we took our departure from the island of Ferro, in hopes of meeting with Captain Clipperton among the islands of Cape Verd; and we took our prize along with us. But in our passage, my people began again to murmur; and one Turner Stevens, my gunner, very gravely made a proposal to me in the hearing of all the other officers, that we should go cruising in the Red Sea, "For (said he) there can be no harm in robbing those Mahometans; but as for the poor Spaniards (continued he) they are good Christians, and it would doubtless be a sin to injure them." Upon this I ordered him under confinement, and the man, afterwards having threatened in a very outrageous manner to blow up the ship, I, at his own request, discharged him as soon as we arrived, together with my chief mate, who had likewise been guilty of many and great misdemeanors.

On the 14th of April we made the isle of May, and running along shore, we saw a wreck, which we were told was the Vanzittern Indiaman, Captain Hide, that three weeks before had been cast away. I endeavoured to avail myself of this accident to supply the necessaries we stood in need of, but could procure nothing but two or three sheathing boards. At this place I sold our prize for 150 dollars to the governor, and we filled all our water casks, and gave our ship a very good heel. Six of my people having deserted, I applied in vain to the officer on shore to deliver them up to me; but threatening the master of a Portuguese ship to make reprisals, he brought me two of them that happened to be the best. They fell on their knees, and asked pardon, assuring me the governor on shore had seduced them, his design being to send the bark I sold him on Vanzittern's wreck, where he said they might all make their fortunes; so I lost the other four. Finding I could neither hear of the Success, nor get what might be serviceable in this place; and having read in Frezier's voyage, that in the island of St. Catherine on the coast of Brasil, in lat. 27° 30′ south every thing might be had that we stood in need of, I concluded it would be best for me to put in there. On the 20th of April, we sailed from the Island of May, having wrenched the drum head of our capstan in weighing anchor, which took us up the remainder of the day to repair. We were 55 days in going to St. Catherine's, during which little remarkable happened, except that on the 5th of June we saw a ship stemming with us, and spoke with her. I ordered the five-oared boat out, and sent Captain Hatley in her, to enquire after news, and gave him money to buy tobacco [this was among the articles of which the Success had got the whole on board her, as the Speedwell had all the strong liquors. However, Mr. Hatley said he could get no tobacco, and laid out the money in china ware and sweetmeats, and other things, to the displeasure of Captain Shelvock]. On Friday, June 19, we made the Island of St. Catherine, and at ten the next morning anchored in ten fathom water; the Island of Gall bearing E. N. E. distant two leagues, and the easternmost point of St. Catherine E. by S. distant four leagues. The first thing

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thing I did was to send the carpenter on shore, with all the people that could be useful to him in felling of trees, and sawing them into planks, and to order the cooper and his crew to trim the casks, and fill them with water. Those who remained on board I employed in different services. Mean while the inhabitants came off to us every day with the product of the place, which we purchased with salt.

He meets with a vessel at sea.

On the 2d of July we were alarmed at break of day, by the appearance of a large ship at anchor, four or five miles below the place where we lay. I sent an officer in the launch, well manned and armed, to see what he could make of her, and put my ship into the best posture of defence I could. About noon my launch returned, and brought word that this ship was the Ruby, formerly an English man of war, and now one of M. Martinet's squadron; that she came from the South Seas, and was commanded by M. la Jonquiere; that he, his officers, and seamen, to the number of 420 were all French, and though in the Spanish service, they had not the least design to molest us. My lieutenant became thus punctually informed, by a direct breach of orders, in going aboard, and his temerity might have cost me very dear; for, had they been enemies, I should have lost 25 of my best hands. But their return confirmed the truth of his story, yet it was a great misfortune, that I had not, to the best of my knowledge, one man of experience or capacity sufficient to enable him to perform the common duty of an officer. The next day the Ruby turned up towards us, and the captain sent one of his lieutenants and a priest, to assure me of his friendship, and to desire I would dine with him, which I did, and met with a very handsome reception, with offers of what money I would have on my bills on London, or in general, any thing else his ship afforded. He informed me that the Spaniards in the South Seas had advice of our two ships, and that they talked of fitting out some men of war to receive us.

About this time there was a report spread that Hatley had taken a bribe of the master of the Portuguese we met on the 5th of June, or had robbed him of 80 or 100 moidores, had given ten to his cockswain, and six to each of his boat's crew, not to divulge it. I charged him with what had been said against him: his answer was, He had done nothing he was ashamed of, or that he could not justify. All I could do, was to protest against him, and I gave the protest to Captain Clipperton in the South Seas. On the 6th of July, M. la Jonquiere, accompanied by several of his officers and passengers, came to dine with me; but in the midst of our entertainment, my boatswain took it into his head to create a disturbance, because he had not been invited into the cabin as a guest. He first assaulted Mr. Betagh, the captain of marines, and then Mr. Adams the surgeon. This outrage, which was supported by a party he had formed, being by the help of my officers and French gentlemen, pretty well quieted, M. la Jonquiere declared, that if they persisted in their disobedience, he would see the ringleaders punished by carrying them home in irons; and as they grew a little quieter, he expostulated with them, and appealed to themselves, whether they did not think it monstrous for people to behave themselves in such a manner. The next morning I was informed that the authors of the disturbance were most of them sorry for what had happened the night before, attributing it to having too much liquor. I was glad to hear this, and therefore passed it all over, with only threatening how I would manage them if ever they were guilty of the like again. I had resolved to punish the boatswain in the severest manner; but I was prevailed on not to do it, he, in very humble plight, asking my pardon, and begging I would not use any severity towards him. He said it was drink that had made him mad, and withal desired I would give him leave to go home in the French ship. This I willingly agreed to, he being a very odd sort of a fellow, and always incensing the people against the number of officers, whom he termed bloodsuckers.

July 15, we saw a great ship plying into the harbour's mouth; but when she discovered us, she made the best of her way out again. This possessed M. la Jonquiere with a notion of her being our consort, and put him in a hurry to be gone. Accordingly, when the night came on, he weighed, and put to sea the next morning, and, at his departure saluted me with five guns. Three Frenchmen belonging to me went away with him, but I had two Frenchmen and one Morphew an Irishman, in lieu of them: during all this time our carpenter went on but slowly in the woods; and, at last, when we came to ease the stern all over with thick plank, we could not find (to my astonishment) any nails for that use. I was now told that the first carpenter and his crew, had sold most of the stores before the ship came to Plymouth, which was before I commanded her.

On the 25th of July came in a ship called The Wise Solomon of St. Maloes, of 40 guns, and about 160 men, commanded by M. Dumain Girard, and bound to the coast of Chili and Peru, to trade. She was the same ship we saw before, and had spoke with the Ruby at sea. This gentleman [M. Dumain Girard] I soon perceived, notwithstanding a little forced civility at his first arrival, was a designing mercenary man, and full of all the deceit and vanity ascribed to his nation. Desiring him to spare me some nails, he readily answered he would, but at the same time, gave me to understand that he could not afford them for less than 30 dollars a hundred, which sum I was forced to give him: I likewise bought of him 60 cheeses, and 300 weight of butter; so that it was well for me that I had some money from one of the Ruby's people. This done, I now thought of making a quick dispatch from this place, when there came a letter from my ship's company to me, with articles annexed to it for the immediate division of prize-money which they said they were resolved to insist on, alledging, that they knew by woeful experience how they were used on board the Duke and Duchess; that they were never paid more than half their due, and that they had been well informed what a paymaster, a certain gentleman would make, if ever their fortunes should fall into his hands. They were so very importunate with me to comply with their articles, that both myself and all my chief officers thought it would be best and most adviseable to sign their papers with them, rather than run the risque when they should get out to sea, of their proceeding to acts of piracy. As soon as they had gained their point they expressed great satisfaction, and promised to be always ready to hazard their lives in any undertaking that I should think conducive to the ends which we were fitted out for. On the 3d of August came in the St. Francisco Xavier, a Portuguese man of war, of 40 guns, and 300 men from Lisbon, bound to Macao in China, commanded by Captain La Riviere, a Frenchman. I made no doubt but that Captain Hatley's affair would be reported to this gentleman; and therefore I told Hatley that I expected he would go and vindicate himself to the Portuguese captain, to prevent any disturbances that might arise on his account. To which he readily replied he would. Hatley, at his return, told me that the captain seemed to be angry with him for thinking he could harbour any ill thought of a gentleman bound on a voyage which, to his knowledge could hardly fail of ensuring the largest expectations.——Three of my men deserted on the third of August, and the mate and his party went up to the Portuguese plantations in search of them. It being almost midnight, the inhabitants were alarmed, and planted themselves in ambuscade, in order to destroy them as they came back. No sooner had they returned into the boat than they heard them rushing out of the woods, crying "Kill the dogs, kill all the English dogs." This outcry was instantly followed by a volley of small arms, which wounded three of my men, two through the thigh, and another through the arm. I sent a letter of complaint by Hatley to the captain of the Portuguese man of war

in the harbour; but Hatley, at his entrance into the ſhip, was furiouſly aſſaulted by Emanuel Manſa, (the captain of the iſland) who cried out that this was the man who had committed ſo many inſolencies towards them, and had made it a practice to abuſe and affront him with the opprobrious name of cuckold. Upon this exclamation the ſhip's company ſided with Manſa, and fell upon Hatley, and would certainly have uſed both him and his boat's crew very ſeverely, had not the captain and his officers, with much difficulty, prevented it; for the Portugueſe ſeamen were exaſperated to ſuch a degree, that it is more than likely they would have murdered him, had they not been timely hindered. The captain, in his anſwer to my letter, expreſſed his ſorrow for what had happened, but ſaid that the people were without law, and it was not in his power to puniſh them, adding, that they were wild, and lurked in the woods, and that ſeeking revenge would only expoſe my men to butchery. He aſked my pardon for the ill uſage my officer had met with on board his ſhip; but withal gave me to underſtand there could be no greater provocation to the people of that nation, than that which Hatley was accuſed of by Manſa; that his ſhip's company had got Hatley amongſt them before he knew; and, that he was obliged to call his prieſt to his aſſiſtance before he could get him out of their hands; and in a very handſome manner touched upon Hatley's ſtory. I made no long ſtay after this diſaſter, but took my departure from the northernmoſt point of St. Catherine's on the 9th of Auguſt, and on the 19th Mr. La Port, my third lieutenant, broke his leg. From the time we left St. Catherine's, we had, for the moſt part, ſqually weather. As we advanced to the ſouthward, my people's ſtomachs increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the allowance which the government gave in the navy was not ſufficient to ſatisfy their hunger. Some of my officers, in particular Mr. Betagh, my captain of marines, who had been purſer of a man of war, and was a man whom I had a great regard for, was the champion for an addition of allowance at my table; for, he told me that he had orders from the adventurers, to eat with me, and what was my table, if I did not eat better than the cook? He did not ſtop here, but, urged by his intemperance, and finding me unwilling to ſquander away our proviſions without knowing where or when we might get any more, he at length had the inſolence to tell me publicly 'That 'the voyage ſhould be ſhort with me;' which he often repeated. I ſhould have had reaſon to fear it, had he been capable of commanding; but, for his puniſhment, I excluded him both from my meſs and the great cabin. Upon this, finding I was in earneſt with him, and fearing ſome heavier puniſhment, he ſent me a letter, aſking my pardon for what he had done; upon which I reſtored him in a handſomer manner than he afterwards deſerved, as will be ſeen by the ſequel. On the 19th of September, about midnight, I perceived the water to be diſcoloured all at once; and, upon heaving the lead, we found ourſelves to be in 26 fathoms water, I ſtood off again to ſea, but we did not deepen our water in the running of five leagues. This ſeems to be a bent very near to the entrance of the Streights of Maghellan. I had a fine opportunity of going through theſe ſtreights; but Captain Clipperton in his plans pretended, out of the abundance of his judgement and experience, that the Streights of Le Maire, would be the beſt navigation, though he himſelf paſſed through the Streights of Maghellan. From this, I might have conjectured, that he, who never was fond of having a conſort with him, deſigned to make uſe of this as a likely expedient to ſeparate himſelf, for he was a man that would do any thing, though ever ſo diſhoneſt or inhuman.

Outrage of the Portugueſe.

On the 13th of September, the fog clearing up, we had a full but melancholy proſpect of the moſt deſolate country that can be conceived, ſeeming no other than continued ridges and chains of mountains, one within another, perpetually buried in ſnow. Towards noon we were becalmed within three leagues of the mountains called the Three Brothers; ſo named from their equal height, near reſemblance, and proximity to one another. Till now, we had not been ſenſible of any helps or hindrances by currents; but this afternoon we were hurried with incredible impetuoſity into the ſtreights, and juſt as we had gained ſomewhat more than the mid-paſſage, the northern tide came ruſhing upon us with a violence equal to that of the tide which had brought us in, and, to our great aſtoniſhment, drove us out of the ſtreights again at a great and extraordinary rate, notwithſtanding we had a freſh and fair gale with us at N. W. Upon the ſhifting of this tide to windward, there aroſe ſuch a ſhort, and, while it laſted, ſo hollow a ſea, and ſo lofty withal, that we alternately dipped our bowſprit and poop lanthorns into the water. Our ſhip laboured in the moſt alarming manner, and became inſenſible of the guidance of her helm; but at midnight the tide ſhifted, and we got through the ſtreights without ſeeing the land on either ſide, and, in the morning, had a very good offing to the ſouthward. We had found it very cold before we came this length; weſterly winds of themſelves would have been ſufficiently piercing, but they were always attended with drifts either of ſnow or ſleet, which continually beating on our ſails and rigging, caſed the maſts and every rope with ice, ſo that there was no handling them. It was common with us to be two or three days together lying to, under our bare poles, expoſed all the while to the aſſaults of prodigious ſeas, much larger than any I had ever obſerved before. The winds reigning thus tempeſtuouſly, without intermiſſion, in the weſtern board, we had ſtretched away into 61° 30′ ſouth lat. where we were in continual dread of falling foul of iſlands of ice, and where we found the variation to be 21° 6′ to the north-eaſtward. As we were furling the main-ſail, on the 3d of October, one William Camell cried out that his hands were ſo benumbed he could not keep his hold; but before thoſe that were next him could lay hold of him he fell into the ſea; and the ſhip making freſh way, and the ſea running high, we loſt ſight of him before we could bring to.

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In the 22d of October, at eight o'clock at night, we carried away our fore-top maſt, and the next morning we rigged another. We crept by very ſlow degrees, after we had ventured to tack and ſtand to the northward, in hopes to weather our way into the great South Seas; and indeed it may be averred, that from the time we paſſed the ſtreights of Le Maire till we had the firſt ſight of the coaſt of Chili, we had been continually diſtreſſed by the wind, and diſcouraged by the bad weather. November 10, we ſaw the coaſt of Chili, diſtant ten leagues, the latitude, by obſervation, 47° 28′ ſouth, [Captain Shelvock, who was by this time in want of wood and water, here mentions his not being able to reach the iſland of Juan Fernandez, the common rendezvous of paſſing into the South Seas, and where he might have met with Captain Clipperton, but notwithſtanding all he ſays about the matter, it is probable he had no great deſire to ſail in company with one whom he thought not ſo well qualified as himſelf to conduct the expedition. He thus reſumes his narrative.]

Surrounded with doubts and apprehenſions leſt we ſhould be obliged to advance too far on theſe coaſts, without a competent ſtock of proviſions, one Joſeph de la Fontaine, a Frenchman, aſſured me that if I would go to the iſland of Chiloe, which was at that time a little to the northward of us, there was no place for our purpoſe like it in all the South Seas; that the towns of Chacao and Calibuco, the firſt on the iſland, and the ſecond on the continent, were rich places; that the former was the uſual reſidence of the governor, and that at the latter there was a wealthy college of Jeſuits, and that there were conſiderable magazines kept up, which were always well ſtocked with proviſions of all kinds. On theſe conſiderations, I formed a reſolution of going to Chiloe; and on the 30th of November we entered the channel, with an intent

1722 tent to ſurprize the towns of Chacao and Calibuco: But immediately after we had come to, the windward tide made out with prodigious rapidity, which inſtantly cauſed a great ſea, the wind increaſing at the ſame time, the channel all about us appeared like one continued breach. In the midſt of this, our ſhip laid a great ſtrain upon her cable, which unfortunately parted, and we loſt our anchor. We paſſed by two commodious bays, and at length we rounded a point of land out of the tide's way, where we were commodiouſly ſheltered from all inconveniences; and the next morning I ſent my ſecond lieutenant to make a diſcovery of the town of Chacao and Calibuco, and Captain Hatley at the ſame time, to find out a watering place. He ſoon returned again, and brought with him an Indian, who gave us hopes of a ſufficient ſupply of all we wanted, but afterwards came in the evening to tell us the country was forbidden to furniſh us with any thing. The lieutenant not being yet returned, the information made me apprehend the enemy had taken him, and by that means learned who we were. However, on the 3d of December, a Spaniſh officer came to us in a piragua, rowed by eight Indians. As ſoon as we had ſight of the piragua I hoiſted French colours; and when the Spaniard came on board, I told him ours was a homeward bound French ſhip, called the S. Roſe, and that my name was Le Janis le Breton. Under this notion he ſtaid with us all night, and the next morning departed, not ſeeming to ſuſpect us. I wrote to the governor by this gentleman, ſignifying, that I wanted a ſupply of proviſions, to carry me back to France, and received for anſwer, a complaint againſt the violences of our men, in killing their ſheep, and driving away their cattle; by which I knew they had ſeen my lieutenant; and I was in deſpair of ever ſeeing him or the people who were with him any more. I therefore ſent a meſſage to the governor, ſignifying, that proviſions I wanted, and proviſions I muſt have, and that very ſpeedily; and that all the force of Chacao, Calibuco Carelmapo, or Caſtro, ſhould not frighten or deter me from ſupplying myſelf. Soon after there came a piragua with a meſſage, ſignifying that if I would ſend an officer to Chacao, they would treat with me. But I gave him for anſwer, that I would treat no where but on board my own ſhip, and farther, that it was now too late, ſince I had already diſpatched 80 men to take all they could find. Soon after this, the pinnace arrived, which I had ſo long given over for loſt, with all her crew, but they were ſo much terrified that I had no hopes of their being fit for ſervice in any reaſonable time. The officer had no excuſe for not returning as ſoon as he got ſight of the town, but that the tide hurried him away at unawares, and that in the night he had forgot that he had a grappling in the boat, to come to with, till the tide ſhifted. I ſaid but little, and only made the officer ſenſible of his miſmanagement, which had been the ruin of the advantageous views I might have had in taking either Chacao or Calibuco.

By the 16th of December we had our decks full of live cattle, ſuch as European ſheep, hogs, poultry, beſides wheat, barley, potatoes, maize, and Indian corn; and, in ſhort, I computed that I had added one month's proviſions to what remained of our Indian ſtock, and that without the leaſt moleſtation from the enemy. The next day we began to unmoor, and at noon we weighed, and ſailed out with the wind at W. S. W. The day before we departed, one of our men made his eſcape into the woods. It was beyond all diſpute that this fellow would give a full account of us. This, added to the ill conduct of my lieutenant, together with the contrary execution of all my orders by thoſe officers whom I had hitherto intruſted in affairs of importance, made me deſpair of ever having any thing done to the purpoſe; and, on this occaſion, I could not forbear reflecting on the conduct of ſome gentlemen in England, who blindly made uſe of their intereſt to prefer perſons to poſts for which they were utterly unfit.

I ſailed from Chiloe with a deſign to go ſtrait to the iſland of Juan Fernandez, but was prevented by my people, who were poſſeſſed with notions of vaſt advantages to be made by going to the port of Conception. It was our Frenchman, who had been ſo inſtrumental in our attempt in Chiloe that was the cauſe of this. Finding his accounts hitherto tolerably juſt, they once more liſtened to him; and every one of my ſhip's company who would ſay any thing at this juncture, did not fail to ſpeak his mind ſomewhat inſolently; particularly William Morphew, one of the men I had out of the Ruby, and who had been in theſe ſeas ſeveral years, took upon him to tell me that it would not ſignify much whether we arrived two or three days ſooner or later at Juan Fernandez. That I was a ſtranger here; but that the Frenchman and himſelf were well acquainted with theſe parts, and that every body hoped I would be adviſed, and go to the port of Conception, and not put a mere punctilio of orders in the balance againſt a certainty of ſucceſs, if we were ſo happy as to arrive in time at that port. Conſidering how eaſily they might be brought to throw off all command, and how little I was able to help myſelf alone, I complied with them [as people are eaſily perſuaded to what they like] and on December the 23d we arrived in the bay, from whence I ordered the boats well manned and armed to go up in the night, to ſurpriſe what veſſels might be in the harbour, and to make what obſervations they could concerning the place. Captain Hatley returned about noon with the pinnace, and informed me that he had taken the Solidad de Anday of 150 tons (the only ſhip in the road or port) which was lately come from Baldivia, laden with timber, but had on board only the boatſwain, an old negro, and four Indian boys. He took alſo a ſmall veſſel of 25 tons, near the iſle of Quiriquine, which belonged to a prieſt who had been gathering fruits, and was now made a priſoner in her, together with four or five Indians. This veſſel we found very uſeful, and called her the Mercury, being well built, and ready on all occaſions to look into the port. There was another ſmall veſſel that paſſed within piſtol-ſhot, but Captain Hatley never once offered to follow her, or bring her to. He truly ſaid he did not mind [obſerve] her, though his boat's crew all agreed ſhe was full of men. This veſſel was bringing advice of us from Chiloe. I did not fail to reprimand him for this, but to no effect. Captain Shelvock arrives at Conception.

On the 20th of December, the prieſt being very ſolicitous to ranſom his bark, he left the ſhip in the morning, and, in my pinnace rowed by Indians, went a-ſhore to get money for that purpoſe. At noon, Mr. Brooks, the firſt lieutenant, brought down the ſhip we had taken, and anchored her about half a mile ſhort of us. The boatſwain of her had not been on board above two hours before he gave me information of a veſſel laden with wine, brandy, and other things, bound to the iſland of Chiloe, lying at anchor in the bay of Herradura, about two leagues to the northward of us. Hither I ordered Mr. Randal, our ſecond lieutenant, with the boatſwain of the Solidad, and 25 men to go; with poſitive orders not to ſet a foot on ſhore, or make any hazardous attempt whatever. But the next evening they returned with a diſmal ſtory, that they went into the bay, and finding the veſſel hauled dry on ſhore, the officer ordered the people to land, and bring away what they could out of her; but their career was ſoon ſtopped; for they had no ſooner got upon the bank, than they diſcovered the enemy ruſhing out furiouſly upon them. They all eſcaped except five, who were overtaken in ſhoal water, and they all agreed that thoſe five were cut to pieces. The Spaniards came down upon them, preceded by 20 or 30 horſes abreaſt, linked to each other. Theſe were two deep, then came the enemy, mounted, and lying upon their horſes necks, driving the others before them. They were not once ſeen to ſit upright in their ſaddles, except when there was no danger, or to fire their muſquets.—This new addition to our misfortunes quite diſpirited the greateſt part of my ſhip's company. A Skirmiſh there.

company. Nothing was now heard but murmuring, and curſing the South Seas, and declaring if this was making their fortune, they had better ſtaid at home, and begged about the ſtreets; but juſt as I was expoſtulating with Mr. Randall, who conducted this unfortunate undertaking, I was agreeably ſurpriſed with the ſight of a large ſhip, which we ſaw coming about the northernmoſt point of the iſland of Quiriquine. It was almoſt dark, and ſhe could not perceive what we were, ſo that ſhe ſtood towards us without fear. As ſoon as ſhe approached near enough, I hailed her, to which ſhe returned no anſwer, and I fired into her. This was no ſooner done, than ſhe came to, and called for quarter. She was called the St. Fermin, and came from Calao, burden about 300 tons, and was laden with ſugar, melaſſes, rice, coarſe French linen, and ſome cloaths of Quito, together with a ſmall quantity of chocolate, and about 5 or 6000 dollars in money and wrought plate. I ſent Mr. Hendric (the agent for prizes) to inſpect her lading, and to order every thing he could find valuable out of her, and the ſhip's company ſent their agent likewiſe. In the afternoon they returned, and brought all the bales, boxes, cheſts, portmanteaus, &c. that were in her; and alſo all the rice, with a large quantity of ſugar, melaſſes, and chocolate, and about 7000 weight of good ruſk, with all her cables and ſtores. Don Franciſco Larrayn, her captain, deſired to ranſom his ſhip, to which I willingly conſented, and ſuffered him to go in his own launch for that purpoſe. On the 30th there came a boat with a flag of truce, which brought word that three only of our people were killed in the ſkirmiſh at Herradura, the other two wounded, but in a fair way of recovery, and that the boat had brought advice of us, as I ſuſpected, from the iſland. The officer brought me ſeven jars of very good wine, as a preſent from the governor, with a letter full of civility, but written with a great deal of craft. He therein deſired to ſee my commiſſion, and then he would treat with me according to the law of arms. I therefore ſent Mr. Betagh to Conception, with a copy of my commiſſion, the declaration of war, &c. and ſoon after he returned with a Flemiſh Jeſuit, a Spaniſh lawyer, an Engliſhman, and a Scotchman. The Jeſuit aſſured me he was only come to pay his reſpects to me, and to do his utmoſt to promote the affair of the ranſom, and bring it to an immediate concluſion. Therefore, the firſt thing I did was to ſhew my commiſſion to the Engliſhman, who read it in Spaniſh. The Jeſuit then told me that the captain of the St. Fermin and Solidad, had reſolved to give me 12,000 dollars, and the Mercury included, inſtead of 16,000 dollars, which I had inſiſted on for the St. Fermin only. To this I poſitively anſwered, that all their perſuaſions, artifices, and pretences, ſhould never make me agree with them. We had taken, in the St. Fermin, ten large ſilver candleſticks, each of them weighing about 25 pounds ſterling. The holy father, in a very ſuppliant manner, repreſented to me that they were a legacy to his convent, and ſaid he hoped I would make no diſpute of ſo noble a charity. I offered to let him have them for their weight, which conſidering the great price they pay in thoſe parts for the faſhion of wrought plate, was a very advantageous offer; but he ſaid they never bought any thing for ſacred uſes; and that, as the workmen put a great deal of alloy into plate, it would be difficult to determine the different value of the dollars and the candleſticks:——So, after many needleſs diſputes, both about this and the ranſom of the ſhips, the Jeſuit and the reſt affirming that the captain of the St. Fermin, &c. were not able to raiſe above 12,000 dollars, there was nothing done. Two days paſſing without any news from the governor, I began to be certainly convinced that they had ſomething in view more than the accommodation of the ranſom; but on the 4th, my two wounded men came on board, and brought a letter with them, importing, That as the priſoners were now ſent back, the governor hoped no difficulty would remain to prevent my ſending on ſhore all the priſoners belonging to him. [But the Captain hearing no further news from the town, he burned the ſhips, and at length ſet ſail to Juan Fernandez; and whilſt they were on their way the plunder was ſold before the maſt, and the men had their reſpective ſhares allotted them. They arrived at the iſland, in the middle of January, and found the name of Magee cut on the tree, as has been related in Clipperton's voyage. The writer here takes occaſion to exclaim againſt the commander for not having left him any directions, which he ſays was a ſign that he never intended they ſhould join again; however he could not but be certain that the Succeſs had been there, and leaving the iſland, ſet ſail to the northward.] 1723

On the 21ſt of January (continues he) having a deſign to look into Copaipo, as I went along ſhore, I ſent Mr. Dodd, the ſecond lieutenant of marines, with eight men, as a reinforcement to the Mercury's crew; and the next evening they left us, ſteering for the land, whilſt I kept a proper offing, to prevent our being diſcovered. The next day the officer returned, and told me he had looked into the port, but could ſee no ſhipping there; on which I made him ſenſible of his error, and ſent him to the right place, which was about ſix leagues to the northward of us, and ordered him to be ready to look into Caldera by day-light the next morning. They did ſo, and ſaw nothing; but inſtead of making uſe of the land-wind to come off to me, they kept along ſhore till the ſea-breeze came on, and could not come to me till the morning after, by which means they hindered me of almoſt a whole day and night's ſailing; and in this vexatious manner were all my orders executed. On the 5th of February, I diſpatched Mr. Brooks a-head to diſcover if there were any ſhipping in Arica, and the next day I had ſight of the head-land of Arica, and the iſland of Guano, with a ſhip at anchor on the northern ſide of it. I ſaw the Mercury ſtanding out of the bay, by which I judged the ſhip was too warm for her, and therefore made all poſſible haſte to get up to her with our ſhip. When I came into the port, I found that the veſſel was already taken, and the Mercury only accidentally went a-drift. This prize was called The Roſario, of about 100 tons, laden with cormorant's dung, which the Spaniards call guana, and which is brought from the iſland of Iquique for the culture of the agi or cod-pepper, in the vale of Arica. There was no white face in her but the pilot, to whom I ſent, to ſee if her owner would ranſom her. At ſeven o'clock in the morning I received a letter from the owner, expreſſing his poverty, and declaring his readineſs to comply, to the utmoſt of his power; and the honeſt man was as good as his word. I agreed upon reſtoring him his ſhip and ſix negros, for 1500 pieces of eight, and he was ſo punctual and expeditious, that at ten the next night he brought the ranſom agreed for. Soon after the receipt of this, we took a veſſel of about ten tons, as ſhe was coming into the road with a cargo of dried fiſh and guana, within a mile of the town. The maſter of this bark likewiſe came off upon a balſe [one of the ſeal-ſkin boats already deſcribed.] On this he brought off two jars of brandy, and 40 pieces of eight for his ranſom, which, conſidering his mean appearance, was as much as I could have expected. One part of his freight was valuable, which was the dried fiſh.——

Saling from Arica, Captain Shelvock fell in again with the Wiſe Solomon, in the road of Hillo, who ſeeming determined to protect certain veſſels that were with him, the Engliſh made no attempt upon them, but proceeded on their voyage, a moiety of the money taken at Arica being divided among them on the 2d of February; and on the 22d of the ſame month, they came a-breaſt of Callao, but attempted nothing.—

On the 26th, ſays Captain Shelvock, the officers in the Mercury deſired to be relieved; and it being Captain Hatley's turn to go in her, he propoſed to me that he might continue along ſhore, till we had got the length of Lobos, in 7° ſouth lat. I could not but approve of this, conſidering the probability there was

1723 of his meeting with the Panama ſhips; and every body being well pleaſed, I added to their complement of men, and gave them a month's proviſions, mounted two of our quarter-deck guns on the Mercury, and lent Captain Hatley my pinnace. As ſoon as every thing was ready for their departure, Captain Betagh, whoſe duty it was to relieve the marine officer in the Mercury, being unwilling to go on this party, addreſſed himſelf to the people, and with a fearful countenance ſaid, that he and they who were to go with him were ſent for a ſacrifice, and many other expreſſions tending to create a general mutiny. I now imagined no leſs than that he was about to act what he had threatened me, when he told me it ſhould be a ſhort voyage with me; and therefore I deſired to know of the ſhip's company, who amongſt them was of Betagh's opinion? Their anſwer, with one voice, was, "None." This done, I ordered the Mercury alongſide, and Hatley and Betagh went on board of her; putting off from us, they gave us three cheers, and ſtood right in for the land, in latitude, by obſervation, of 10° 9′ ſouth. The very next day, they took a ſmall bark laden with rice, chocolate, wheat flour, and the like. The day following they took another. On the 7th day of their abſence they made themſelves maſters of a ſhip of near 200 tons burden, worth 150,000 pieces of eight. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, it ſeems Betagh prevailed on Hatley and the greater part of the people with them, to lay hold of the opportunity, and go to India. But they had no ſooner clapped their helm a-weather, than they ſaw a ſail ſtanding towards them, which in effect proved to be a Spaniſh man of war, that caught them, and put an end to their India voyage. The Engliſh priſoners were treated but indifferently; but it appears that Betagh, who was of their religion, and of a nation that the Spaniards affect to be fond of, was made an officer, and uſed very reſpectfully. This he certainly deſerved, at their hands; for he gave them an account of the whole ſcheme of our voyage, and not only informed them of what we had done, but alſo of what I deſigned to do; ſo that they did not doubt but I myſelf ſhould be in the ſame hands very ſpeedily. We ſaw a ſail at anchor in the roads of Guanacho, on the 29th day of February; and at eleven in the morning we came up and anchored along-ſide of her. There was nobody on board, but two India men and a boy, who informed us that there was a rich ſhip in the Cove of Payta.

March 21, at three in the afternoon, we ſaw the Pena Oradado, or the *Hole in the rock*; and in an hour afterwards, we entered the Cove of Payta with French colours flying. There we found only a ſmall ſhip at anchor, with her foremaſt cut, and her main-topmaſt unrigged; but the taking of this town being conſidered in the ſcheme of our voyage as a matter of great importance, I conſulted with my officers concerning the propereſt methods of going about it, at two o'clock the next morning I landed with 46 men, leaving Mr. Coldſea, the maſter, and ſome others, to bring the ſhip nearer in, that we might the more expeditiouſly embark the plunder we might get, being now on ſhore, I marched up to the great church without meeting any oppoſition; and indeed I found the town entirely deſerted by the inhabitants. At day-light we ſaw what ſeemed great bodies of men on the hill, on each ſide of us, who I expected, when they had viewed our ſtrength, would have paid us a viſit; but I found that as we marched up towards them, we drove them before us. The remainder of the day was ſpent in ſhipping off what plunder we had got, which conſiſted of hogs, fowls, brown and white garavanahs, Indian corn, wheat, flour, ſugar, and as much cocoa nut as we were able to ſtow away, with pans, and other conveniences for preparing it; ſo that we were ſupplied with breakfaſt meat for the whole voyage, and were full of proviſions of one kind or other. In the afternoon a meſſenger came to us, to know what I would take for the ranſom of the town, and ſhip; to which I anſwered, That I would have 10,000 pieces of eight, and thoſe to be paid in twenty-four hours, if they intended to ſave either. But the governor gave me to underſtand, in plain terms, that he neither could nor would ranſom the town, and did not care what I did with it, ſo I ſpared the churches. Having received this negative anſwer, I got every thing ſerviceable out of the town, and inſtantly ordered it to be ſet on fire; and the houſes being extremely dry, conſumed away apace. But no ſooner was Payta in a blaze, than thoſe on board made ſignals for me to come off, and kept inceſſantly firing towards the mouth of the harbour. On this I ordered all my hands off, and went firſt on board myſelf in a canoe with three hands only; but before I had got half-way, ſaw a large ſhip lying with her fore-top ſails a-brack, and with a Spaniſh flag flying at her fore-top-maſt head. At this proſpect two of my three people were ready to ſink, and when I looked back on the town, I could not forbear wiſhing that I had not been ſo haſty. As the admiral was coming in with all his ſails ſpread, Mr. Coldſea, by the aſſiſtance of the few on board, fired at him ſo ſmartly, that he ſtopped the enemy's career. The Spaniard apprehending he ſhould have hot work with us, brought his ſhip to, that he might put himſelf into a condition of making a vigorous attack upon us. This inactivity of the enemy gave me an opportunity of getting on board, and ſuffered my men to come off, about 50 in number; but the Spaniard was within piſtol ſhot before they had all got into the ſhip; upon which we cut our cable, but our ſhip falling the wrong way, I had but juſt room enough to ſail clear of him. Being now cloſe by him, his formidable appearance ſtruck an univerſal damp on every one's ſpirits; and I myſelf could foreſee nothing but that we ſhould be torn to pieces by him, and longed for an opportunity to try our heels with him, while our maſts were ſtanding. I expected every minute that he would board us, and upon hearing a ſhout among them, I concluded they had now come to that reſolution; but I preſently ſaw that the occaſion of this joy was their having ſhot down our enſign ſtaff, upon which, they ſeeing our enſign trailing in the water, were in hopes we had ſtruck; however, I ſoon undeceived them by ſpreading a new enſign in the mizzen ſhrouds. Upon this ſight they lay ſnug, and held their way upon our quarter. At laſt, deſigning to do our buſineſs at once, they clapped their helm well a-ſtarboard, to bring their whole broadſide to point at us, but their fire had but little effect, they muzzled themſelves, and all ſtood faſt with us. This gave me time to get both a-head and to windward of him, before he could fill his ſails again. And now I found that if our maſts, which were by this time but ſlenderly ſupported, would bear what ſail we had aboard, we ſhould ſoon ſteal away from him. After this, he was in a great hurry to get his ſprit-ſail yard fore and aft, threatening us very hard, and plying us with his fore chace; but we were ſoon out of his reach, and all hands were immediately employed in repairing our damages. This ſhip was called the Peregrine, of 56 guns, with upwards of 450 men on board her. During this action, we had not a man killed or wounded, although the enemy often hulled us and once in particular, a ſhot coming into one of our ports, diſmounted one of our guns between decks, tearing off the nut of the gun, and breaking it into a great many pieces, which flew fore and aft, in the midſt of a crowd of people, but without hurting any of them. Our ſtern was much ſhattered, and our rigging much diſabled. Our main-maſt was a little wounded, yet ſtood a long while with only one good ſhroud to ſupport it. Our foremaſt fared little better, yet I kept all the canvas, except the main-top-gallant-ſail at hard-bat's end. An unlucky ſhot took the bow of our launch, as ſhe lay upon the quarter, and ſet fire to ſome cartridges of powder, which were negligently left in her, and which blew away her moorings; and we loſt her. Seeing a great ſmoke ariſe from the quarter, at firſt I imagined ſome

They burn Payta.

accident had happened within board. In ſhort, in about three glaſſes, we got clear of the admiral, who tacked and ſtood in for Payta, and we ſhortened ſail. A narrower eſcape from an enemy could not well have been made, conſidering the vaſt difference between us as to force. The Spaniard had 56 guns, as has been ſaid, and we, on the contrary, had but 20 mounted; they 450 men, we, on our part did not exceed 75; and 11 negros and two Indians were included in that number. He had farther this great odds over us, of being in a ſettled readineſs, whilſt we were in the utmoſt confuſion. As for our ſmall arms, they were wet and uſeleſs to us; and what was more, in the midſt of the engagement, one third of my people inſtead of fighting were hard at work to make farther preparation for an obſtinate reſiſtance, if we had been puſhed to extremities; and, particularly the carpenter and his crew, were buſy in making ports for ſtern-chaſe guns, which, as it happened, we made no uſe of. Upon the whole, we had the good fortune to eſcape this danger, which was the more to be dreaded, becauſe, as we had ſet fire to the town, they were probably exaſperated, on account of the churches which I never intended to deſtroy; and if we had fallen into their hands, they might have given us but uncomfortable quarters. At the beſt, however, it cannot but be allowed to have been a moſt unfortunate affair. The loſs of my boat and anchor was irreparable, and may be ſaid to be the cauſe of that ſcene of trouble which will take up the remainder of this narrative; for we had now but one anchor, that at Payta being the third we had loſt and we were beſides deſtitute of a boat of any kind. At five the ſame evening, we ſaw a ſail under our lee-bow, which I took to be the prize that we had left to cruiſe for us near the Saddle of Payta, and we therefore ſtood to the weſtward all night, and the next morning we ſaw two ſail a-ſtern of us. I tacked, and ſtood towards them, and, in a little time could ſee that one of them was ſtanding in for Payta, while the other kept ſtemming with us; but the nearer I approached her, the leſs I liked her, and could not but think it adviſeable to put my ſhip about and crowd ſail from her. However, ſhe gained upon us, and advanced near enough to ſhew us ſhe was the Brilliant, the admiral's conſort. She was a French-built ſhip, of 36 guns, manned with people of that nation and other Europeans. She was handſomely rigged, which is rare to be ſeen in thoſe parts, and ſailed almoſt two feet for our one; ſo that notwithſtanding we had a calm almoſt all the heat of the day, ſhe neared us apace. But night coming on I made uſe of the old ſtratagem (I thought it might be new here) of turning a light adrift in a half tub, inſtead of a boat, darkening one part of the lanthorn, that it might appear the more like a ſhip's light, and then immediately altered my courſe. As the day broke, I hauled all my ſails, and in full day-light could perceive nothing of the enemy. This was the ſhip wherein Betagh was ſo much reſpected; and by his advice it was, as I have been told, that the admiral ordered his conſort to ply up to windward to Lobos, our firſt place of rendezvous, while he himſelf came to Payta, in ſearch of us. This ſeparation, though intended as a ſure method to catch us, very fortunately proved to be the means of our preſervation. Being thus cloſely purſued, I took an offing of thirty leagues from the ſhore, and then brought to, in order to conſider what I had beſt do. I was ſtill in the dark, as to my conſort, an embargo, as I was told at Payta, was laid on all ſhipping to leeward, for the term of ſix months, our prize, which I deſigned to make a fire-ſhip of, was taken by the Brilliant, and I was ignorant what was become of the Mercury.

In the midſt of all this peril and perplexity, I called my officers together, to let them know that it was my opinion, as we were then circumſtanced, we had a better proſpect to windward than to leeward; that on the coaſt of Chili we ſhould not be in the leaſt ſuſpected, and ſhould at the ſame time, in the moſt effectual manner, eſcape the enemy's men of war; that after taking in water at Juan Fernandez, we might cruiſe out the whole ſeaſon off the Ports Conception, Valparaiſo, and Coquimbo; where, among the ſhipping we might be ſtocked with anchors, cables, boats, and a veſſel to convert into a fire-ſhip, on which I greatly depended. All this being univerſally approved of, we ſtretched away to the windward. My intentions, after this, were fixed upon the coaſt of Mexico. There I propoſed to run to the height of Tres Marias, and California, as the moſt likely places to meet with the Succeſs. Theſe two places would have been commodious, the firſt for ſalting of turtle, and the laſt for wood and water, and for laying myſelf in the tract of the Manilla ſhip, which if I ſhould have had the fortune to meet with, and a fire-ſhip with me, I would have tried what I could have done with her. [As they were purſuing their courſe, Captain Shelvock's people found a leak in the powder room; which ſpoiled all the powder except ſix barrels; the leak, however, being ſtopped they proceeded on their voyage.]

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On the 11th of May, continues the Captain, we ſaw the iſland of Juan Fernandez. Here I plied off and on, till the 21ſt a hard gale aroſe, and brought with it a tumbling ſea, ſo that in a few hours our cable, which was never wet before, parted, and inevitable ſhipwreck appeared before our eyes. But Providence ſo far interpoſed in our behalf, that if we had ſtruck but a cable's length farther to the eaſtward or weſtward of the place where we did, we muſt all certainly have periſhed. Our main-maſt, fore-maſt, and mizzen top-maſt went all away together; and happy it was for us that they did ſo; for, by making them ſerve by way of raft, and by the help of thoſe who were on ſhore before the wind came on, we were all ſaved except one man. In the midſt of this ſurpriſe, the firſt thing I took care of, was my commiſſion, and, remembering the powder to be uppermoſt in the bread-room, I got moſt of it up, with about ſeven or eight bags of bread. Theſe we ſaved, as the ſhip did not go to pieces immediately; however, in a few minutes after ſhe ſtruck, ſhe was full of water. We ſaved, notwithſtanding, two or three compaſſes and ſome of our mathematical inſtruments, and books. When we firſt got on ſhore, we were without any thing neceſſary for our relief; not ſo much as a ſeat whereon to reſt our harraſſed limbs, except the cold ground, which was to be our bed and pillow.—In the evening all the officers came to conſult with me how we ſhould get ſome neceſſaries out of the wreck; and having, by this time, lighted a fire, we wrapped ourſelves in what we could get, laid ourſelves round it, and, notwithſtanding the badneſs of the weather, ſlept very ſound. But the next morning, getting up with the firſt glimpſe of day-light, we looked at each other like men awaked out of a dream; ſo great and ſo ſudden was the melancholy change in our condition, that we could ſcarcely truſt to our ſenſes. I went immediately among the people, to ſet them about the work we had reſolved upon the night before; but they were ſo far ſcattered that there was no getting them together, or we might probably have regained all our beef and pork. This opportunity was loſt by their eagerneſs to build huts and tents, in order to ſettle themſelves for good; for, while they were thus employed, a furious gale of wind came on, which deſtroyed all the proviſions in the ſhip, except one caſk of beef, and one of Farina de Pao, which were waſhed whole on the ſtrand. I had ſaved 1100 dollars, belonging to the gentlemen adventurers, which were kept in my cheſt in the great cabin; the reſt being put in the bottom of the bread-room for ſecurity, could not poſſibly be come at.—I found a very commodious ſpot of ground, about half a mile from the ſea, on which I ſet up my tent. There was a fine run of water within a ſtone's caſt of it, on each ſide, with firing near at hand, and trees proper for our uſe. The people ſettled within call about me, in the beſt manner they could; and having ſecured ourſelves

Captain Shelvock ſuffers ſhipwreck

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againſt the inclemencies of the weather, we uſed to paſs our time in the even round a great fire, roaſting cray-fiſh in the embers.

I now began to think of building ſuch a veſſel from the wreck as might carry us all off at once from this iſland; and, for that purpoſe, conſulted with the carpenter, but was aſtoniſhed at his anſwering, "That he could not make brick without ſtraw," and walking away from me in a ſurly humour. From him I went to the armourer, and aſked him what he could do towards building a ſmall veſſel for us. He anſwered, That he hoped he could do all the iron work; that he had with much labour got his bellows out of the wreck, and that he did not doubt but we ſhould find a great many other uſeful things when we came to ſet about a ſearch for them in good earneſt. [In effect after much trouble the captain perſuaded them to ſet about the bark, but they went on with the work juſt as they pleaſed; and one among them of the name of Morphew, in the name of the company uſed his commander with much inſolence. They were divided into parties, but this diſagreement among themſelves at length brought them back in ſome degree to their duty, and after paying the carpenter a ſum of money agreed on, the veſſel at length was finiſhed, but patched up in a ſtrange manner to ſerve the preſent exigency. In the mean time the boat was completed which had been begun by the armourer; this boat was employed in fiſhing, and a quantity of conger eels was cured for a ſupply of proviſions.]

A bark built out of the wreck.

But now (continues our voyager) having done all we could when we came to put in water, to try the tightneſs of our work, it was followed by an univerſal outcry of "A ſieve! A ſieve!" I was afraid the people would have deſpaired, and deſiſted from uſing any farther means; but in a little time, with inceſſant labour, we repaired the ſhip's pumps, and fitted them to our bark, and the next ſpring-tide, which was on the 5th of October, we found means to launch her. As ſhe went off the blocks, I named her *The Recovery*; though I was ſadly afraid of hearing ill news from thoſe a-float in her; but all proved indifferently well: and I knew it to be dangerous to lie here long, eſpecially having no other anchor than a great ſtone and a ſlight rope to hold her with, while the leaſt puff of wind might have driven her upon the rocks, and deſtroyed her; we therefore got all the water off that day, which we did ſo much the eaſier and quieter becauſe the caſks were ready ſtowed in the hold. Our veſſel had two maſts, and was about 20 tons burden; and, to my great ſatisfaction, I found that one pump conſtantly working kept her free. The next day we got every one on board, and embarked, leaving behind us eleven or twelve who had deſerted us. They were deaf to all perſuaſions, and, in ſhort, ſent me word, They were not yet prepared for the other world; ſo they, together with the like number of blacks and Indians, remained on the iſland.

Shelvock's deſcription of the iſland.

This iſland enjoys a fine wholeſom air; inſomuch that out of 70 of us that were on it for the ſpace of five months and eleven days, not one of us had an hour's ſickneſs, notwithſtanding we fed on foul diet without bread or ſalt. For my own part, I muſt acknowledge the bounty of providence; for altho' I loſt much of my fleſh; yet from being before very corpulent, and almoſt crippled with the gout, I became one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt active men on the iſland.—On the tops of ſome of the mountains here, are plains covered with groves of Italian laurel. Palm-trees are likewiſe found in moſt parts, growing in ſmooth joints like a cane, to the height of 30 or 40 feet: what ſeamen call palm cabbage, is the very ſubſtance of the head of this tree, which being cut off, there is found incloſed in it a white and tender young cabbage; but for every one that we got, we were obliged to cut down a fine lofty tree. The northern part of the iſland is very well watered, and the water keeps well at ſea, and is as good as any in the world. Down the weſtern peak deſcend two caſcades, to appearance at leaſt 300 feet perpendicular, which, with the palm-trees that grow up cloſe by the edges of them, exhibit a very grand and romantic proſpect. We might have found goats enough on the mountains, if we had been able to follow them, and cats were ſo numerous that there was hardly ſuch a thing as taking a ſtep without ſtarting one. Thoſe whoſe ſtomachs could bear their fleſh for food, found a more ſubſtantial relief from hunger by one meal of it, than by four or five from that of fiſh.

The Spaniards, who firſt ſtocked this iſland with goats, endeavoured afterwards to deſtroy theſe goats by dogs, which are likewiſe very numerous; but the former have many inacceſſible places of refuge where no dogs can follow them; and ſtill continue to afford a ſpecial ſupply to ſtrangers.

Sea lions and ſeals there.

While we were here, it was the ſeaſon for the ſea lioneſſes to come to land, to bring forth their young. Theſe have bodies of a monſtrous bulk, being from ten to twelve feet long, and nearly as much in circumference. I may venture to affirm that, one with another, they would yield each a butt of train oil. They are ſo indolent, that as ſoon as they have gained the land, they fall aſleep, and in that condition remain for a month ſo torpid, that one might fire a piſtol at their heads without diſturbing them: But where the ſea lioneſſes lie, as they do in companies after they have yeaned, to give ſuck to their young, there is always an old ſea lion of the largeſt ſize inceſſantly on the watch; who at the approach of an enemy, makes a hideous roaring, threatening death to him who ſhould be ſo hardy as to moleſt his charge; and, in truth, were they not ſo unwieldy, they would be deſperate creatures to encounter. We were accuſtomed to walk among them without dread; for all but theſe that were to take care of the young were buried in the profoundeſt ſlumbers. On the land they ingender, and bring forth their young, who ingender alſo before they go off, againſt the next ſeaſon; ſo quickly do they increaſe and propagate. The ſeals here may be properly called ſea wolves from the reſemblance their heads bear to thoſe of wolves, differing in that particular from thoſe of the northern hemiſphere, where their heads are more like the dog's. They are naturally ſurly, and ſnarl in a very angry manner, on the approach of any body. Two fins compoſe their tails; and with theſe they get along much faſter than the ſea lions.

Every thing one ſees or hears on this iſland is different from what is elſewhere to be found. The very ſtructure of the iſle, in all its parts, appears with a certain ſavage, irregular beauty not to be expreſſed. The ſeveral proſpects of lofty, inacceſſible hills in the day, and the ſolitarineſs of the gloomy, narrow valleys in the night, added to the mixed, confuſed noiſe of the ſurge, continually beating againſt the ſhore, the tumbling of the waters from an immenſe precipice; the roaring of the ſea lions, and ſea wolves, whoſe voices are more or leſs ſhrill or hoarſe, according to their youth or age, compoſe ſo wild and horrible a medley, that the ſtouteſt man muſt be long accuſtomed to it, before he can taſte the ſweets of refreſhing ſleep, or wholly diveſt himſelf of terror.

We ſet ſail (continues the captain) on the 6th of October, having nothing to ſubſiſt on at ſea but ſmoked conger eels, one caſk of beef, four live hogs, with three or four buſhels of farina. We were forty in number, crowded together, and lying upon bundles of the eels, with no convenience of keeping the men clean, nor any thing to defend us from their abominable ſtench; nor was there a drop of water to be had, without ſucking it out of the caſk through a pipe, which being uſed promiſcuouſly became intolerably nauſeous. The unſavoury morſels daily eaten amongſt us, created perpetual quarrels, every one contending for the frying-pan. All the convenience we had for firing was only a half-tub filled with earth, which rendered our cooking ſo tedious, that we had a continual noiſe of frying, from morning till night.—Thus we traverſed the ocean; happy, however, in the

the thought of being once more afloat, and cherishing the hope that something would speedily fall into our hands like to it; for not having above six inches free board, and our bark tumbling prodigiously, the water continually ran over us; and having only a grating deck, and no tarpaulin to cover it, our pumps could but just keep us free.——

[Upon the fourth day of their new expedition they fell in with a Spanish vessel called the Margarita, which they attacked with vigour, but were three times repulsed. All night they lay by to provide slugs, ammunition being extremely scarce, and when dispositions were made in the morning for boarding the Spaniard, with a resolution of carrying their point or submitting to superior force, a fresh gale springing up, bore the enemy away from the English, and left them to their own disagreeable reflexions. In their engagements with this ship the gunner was killed, and the first lieutenant, the master, and one of the sailors were wounded.]——

"Our condition (says the captain) now grew worse and worse, for soon after we had parted from this vessel, a hard gale came on, which lasted for four days without ceasing, during all which time, we had not an hour's hope of living a minute. We were obliged to scud away under bare poles, with our yaul in tow, and, having but a short piece of boat-rope, on the descent of every sea, we were in the greatest danger of having the bark's stern broken by the violence of the boat's precipitate fall after us; and once, in particular, a great hollow sea was near throwing her on our deck which would immediately have put an end to our voyage. The excessive fright into which our people were put by this storm, made many of them form a resolution of going on shore with the first opportunity. In this extremity, calling to mind Mr. Frezier's account of Iquique, I mentioned the surprisal of that place to the crew, which being universally approved of, we directed our course thither. It was three weeks before we got this length, and having nothing to ride the bark with, we were obliged to keep the sea with her, while the boat went between the rocks, and was received by some Indians on the strand with a kind of welcome. The men being landed, went to the lieutenant's house, broke it open, and rummaged the whole village, where they found a booty more valuable at that time than gold and silver. It consisted of about 50 bushels of wheat flour, 120 of calavances [or garavances] some jerked beef, pork, and mutton, some thousand pounds weight of well cured fish; a good number of fowls; some rusk, and four or five days eating of soft bread, together with five or six jars of Peruvian wine and brandy; and, to crown all, they had the good fortune to find a boat near the shore, to bring off the booty, which otherwise would have been of little use to us, our own boat being already sufficiently laden with the men. The settlement of Iquique consists of about forty scattered, ill-built houses, which scarcely deserve that name, and a small church. There is not the least verdure to be seen in or about it, nor does it afford of itself the least necessary of life, not even water, which the inhabitants are obliged to fetch in boats from Pisagua, ten leagues to the northward.

Captain Shelvock sails for Iquique.

They plunder the village.

By two Indian prisoners that we took here, we were informed that the lieutenant's boat was then at Pisagua, and that it would not be long before her return. However, being determined to make some attempt in the road of Le Nasco, in lat. 16°; and at Pisco in 13° 45′ south, we set sail; and the very morning we came off the Sierra, or high-land of Le Nasco, two hours before day-light we fell in with a large ship, the circumstances of our engaging her were much the same with those we had with the Margarita. We met both at the same time in the morning, and whilst in pursuit, had the misfortune of being becalmed. We struggled with this last for six or seven hours, and were at last obliged to leave her, because the sea-breeze came on so strong, and the sea ran so high, that had she been of no force, our slight bark must have gone in pieces before a third part of us could have entered her. The ship was called the St. Francisco Palacio, carrying 700 tons, eight guns, and ten patararoes, and was well manned, and provided with small arms. This last repulse was made a pretence for much murmuring: many despairing of ever being able to take any thing as our condition was, were for surrendering to the enemy who was all the night becalmed near us. To prevent their design, I took care to remove the two boats out of their power, by ordering two men into each of them, such as I thought I could trust, and to cast off from us at a little distance, so that none might escape in them. But, notwithstanding the confidence I had in these four, the two in the best boat ran away with her; and, the next day I was informed that the lieutenant and Morphew had made a party too strong for me to oppose, to go away with the boat that was left; but, it blowing fresh the next night, they were prevented from executing their design. 1720

The next day we stood into the road of Pisco, as I had designed, where we discovered what appeared to be a large ship. We bore down to her, with a resolute despair, and laid her athwart the hawse; but, to our great satisfaction, we met with no resistance, and were received by the captain and his officers with their hats off, in the most submissive manner, asking for quarter. Before we came up, I had ordered our boat to intercept theirs, which, was going on shore. The men clapped her on board, but not holding fast, they fell astern, and could not fetch up with her again; so that in this boat we lost every thing that might have been valuable in the prize. She was a good ship, of about 200 tons, called the Jesu Maria, almost laden with pitch, tar, copper, and plank, but nothing else. The captain offered me 1600 dollars for her ransom, but, in my condition, I could not give ear to the proposal. He informed me that the Margarita had been arrived some time at Callao, where she had given a full account of us; that the captain of her and three more were killed in the engagement, and the priest and several others were wounded; he said she was ready to put to sea again, with an addition of ten guns and 50 men, to cruise for us, and moreover, that the Flying Fish, a frigate of 28 guns was already out with the same intent. Upon this advice, having cleared our bark we gave her to the Spanish captain, and, as soon as the breeze sprung up, we weighed and went to sea, and in going out met with our boat, which left us in the night: they edged towards us, imagining us to be Spaniards, by which means we got them again. The two fellows in her were almost dead, having had nothing to eat or drink for three days, and had just been ashore to kill seals, in order to drink their blood. They had no excuse for themselves, but that they fell asleep, and the faint breezes of the night had wafted us away from them.

They take the Jesu Maria.

Pisco being forty leagues to the windward of Callao. I kept close hauled till I had gained two degrees offing, and kept that distance till we had got well to the northward of Callao, and hauled in again for the land, a little to the southward of Truxillo, and looked into the roads of Malabriga and Cheripe; but seeing no ships at those places, I passed between the islands of Lobos de Tierra and the continent, and, on the 25th of November we found ourselves near the Saddle of Payta, where, having made some prisoners, I examined them concerning the condition of the town, which they answered was very poor at present, having neither money nor provisions in it, and shewed me a small bark on the shore, which Captain Clipperton had sent in a little while before with some of his prisoners, which had given them such an alarm, that every thing had been again removed into the country. This unwelcome news did not hinder us from keeping on our way, with our Spanish colours flying, till we came to the place of anchorage. No sooner was our anchor down than I sent away Mr. Brooks with both the boats armed with 24 men; no more of them, however, appeared than those who rowed, and

1720 two or three ſitters in each, the reſt with their arms lying in the bottom of the boat. Thus they advanced towards the town, without giving the leaſt umbrage to the inhabitants, who were ſo thoroughly perſuaded of our being Spaniards, that when the people landed, they found the children playing on the beach, who ran away at the ſight of armed men. In an inſtant the whole place was in confuſion; the town was deſerted, and nothing left in it, but a few bales of coarſe cloth, about 500 of dried dog fiſh, two or three pedlars packs, and a trifling quantity of bread and ſweet meats, ſo that we unluckily had but little employment for our boats. As we lay at anchor, we took a boat with about 50 jars of Peruvian wine and brandy. The maſter of which told us he was come by ſtealth from Callao, there being orders that none but ſhips of force ſhould ſtir out. This man was the firſt that acquainted me with Captain Hatley's being taken. From this place we directed our courſe for the iſland of Gorgona, in the bay of Panama, and in our paſſage thither built a wooden ciſtern, big enough to hold ten tons of water, wherewith to ſupply our want of caſks, as without the help of ſome ſuch contrivance, we ſhould have but little hopes of ever being able to return home. In our way, we made the iſland of Plate, Cape St. Francis, and Gorgonella; and on the 2d of December we came to an anchor to the leeward of the northernmoſt point of Gorgona, within leſs than a quarter of a mile from the ſhore. Here we had the advantage of filling our water caſks in the boat, the water running in ſmall ſtreams into the ſea, and cut down our wood at high-water mark; ſo that in leſs than 48 hours we had done our buſineſs here, and hurried away to ſea for fear of theſe who might be in queſt of us.

Having got out of the track of the enemies, we conſulted on the beſt methods of proceeding, when the majority were for going directly over to the coaſt of Aſia. Upon which we changed the ſhip's name to the Happy Return, and applied all our endeavours towards abandoning theſe coaſts; but the winds and currents were averſe to it; and thoſe who oppoſed our departure clandeſtinely, did ſo much damage to our ciſtern, that the greateſt part of our water leaked out. This, together with continual contrary winds and dead calms, which detained us till our proviſions were much exhauſted, rendered us incapable to undertake ſo long a run; and therefore to furniſh us with what we wanted, I propoſed a deſcent on the iſland of Quibo, in lat. 7° 40′ north, where, by Captain Rogers's account, I gueſſed there muſt be people who lived in a plentiful manner on the products of the country.

On the 13th of January, we anchored between Quibo and the Iſle of Quivetta, in a ſandy bay, commodious for wooding and watering. The morning after our arrival, we ſaw two large piraguas rowing in for Quivetta with Spaniſh colours flying, and after a little debate whether it would be prudent for us to attack them in our boat or not, it was now reſolved at all hazard, to go after them in our yawl. This enterprize was commanded by Mr. Brooks, who found the men on ſhore, and brought away their piraguas, and two priſoners, the one a mulatto, the other a negro: The reſt ſought for refuge in the woods. The mulatto mortified us very much, by telling us that a veſſel laden with proviſions had paſſed by us in the night; but, to make amends, promiſed to conduct us to a place where we might ſupply ourſelves without any hazard, provided we were not above two or three days about it. No news could be more welcome to us; wherefore we were very briſk in getting off our wood and water; and on the 19th of January, we got ſafe in between Mariato and the iſland of Sebaco, and anchored in ſix fathom water, over againſt a green field. Our guide deſired we might be going three hours at leaſt before day light, and ſaid that we ſhould be in good time at the plantations. Accordingly I embarked at two the next morning in our own boat, and ordered the two lieutenants in the two piraguas, leaving my ſon and a few men with him to take care of the ſhip. Our guide carried us up ſome part of the river S. Martin, and out of that into ſeveral tarunches of very curious creeks, among mangroves, where we had not room to row, which made me ſuſpect he had no good deſign in his head; but we landed juſt at day break, in a fine ſavannah or plain, and, after a march of about three miles, came to two farm-houſes, the owners of which had made their eſcape, except the wife and children of one houſe. The place anſwered the man's deſcription, being ſurrounded by numerous herds of black cattle, hogs, and plenty of fowls of all ſorts; and here we found ſome dried beef, plantains, and Indian corn, and were ſupplied with a wholſome breakfaſt of hot cake and milk, a diet we had been long unacquainted with. When it came to be broad day, I ſaw our ſhip cloſe by us, upon which I aſked our mulatto how he came to bring us ſo far about? He anſwered, There was a river between us, and he did not know whether it was fordable or not. I therefore ſent ſome men to try, who found it was not above knee-deep. Wherefore, to avoid the trouble of carrying our plunder ſo far as we had been led, I ordered our boats to row down the river S. Martin, and to come to the beach over-againſt the ſhip. We had not been long here before the maſter of the family we were with, being anxious for their ſafety, returned, and made an offer of as many of his black cattle as we ſhould think fit to require, which offer we kindly received; and he brought us the number we thought we could ſave; for having but little ſalt, and not being able to ſpare water, to keep them alive when at ſea, all our demands were moderate; and the few we required were killed as ſoon as they were carried on board. Their fleſh we preſerved, by cutting it into long ſlips of the thickneſs of a finger, and then ſprinkling it with ſo ſmall a quantity of ſalt, that we did not uſe above four or five pounds to an hundred weight: Then letting it lie together two or three hours, we hung it up to dry in the ſun, which perfectly cured it, and that better than it could have been done any other way. Having done all we propoſed in coming here, we departed, with our decks full of fowls and hogs, among which there was one with its navel, or ſomething like it, on its back. The Spaniards ſay, that when wild in the woods, this is a terrible animal.

Their meeting with Clipperton.

On the 25th of January, we made a ſail about two leagues to the leeward of us. We gave her chace till we found ſhe was of European ſtructure, when, fearing ſhe might be one of the enemy's ſhips of war, I clapped on a wind, and, in half an hour after, it fell calm. Soon after we ſaw a boat rowing towards us which proved to be the Succeſs's pinnace, commanded by Mr. Davidſon their firſt lieutenant. Our firſt interview was attended with equal aſtoniſhment on both ſides: he could hardly believe that he ſaw us in ſo mean and forlorn a condition, and I could ſcarcely believe that the Succeſs (if in being) had been all this while wandering up and down theſe ſeas. I entertained him with a rehearſal of the conſtant run of misfortunes which had befallen us in the long interval ſince we ſeparated near the coaſt of England, till our preſent meeting that day. He on his part, entertained me with ſeveral remarkable incidents, which had happened to them in the courſe of their voyage.

[At this time Mr. Davidſon, in ſhort, gave a relation of all that had paſſed on board the Succeſs, from the time of their ſeparation; in the courſe of which narrative, according to Captain Shelvock's account, Clipperton loſt many opportunities of benefiting his owners; but we have already remarked how glad theſe commanders were of finding matter of complaint againſt each other. While they were thus diſcourſing, a gale ſprang up, and they bore down to the Succeſs. The reader has ſeen Clipperton's account of this matter, we ſhall now give him Captain Shelvock's relation of their various meetings in the South Seas.]

Here, ſays he, I gave Captain Clipperton and Mr. Godfrey the agent general, the whole hiſtory of my

voyage hitherto, and expected that I should have been treated by them as one belonging to the same interest; but found I was mistaken; for they were unwilling to have any thing to do with me, since my ship was lost. However I conceived that he could not be so inhuman as to deny me the supply of such necessaries as I wanted, and he could conveniently spare. The answer I had to this was, That I should know more of his mind the next day. Amongst the rest of the discourse I had with him, he told me he was just come from the island of Cocoas, that his people were sickly and at short allowance. Upon this, I offered my service to pilot him to Mariato, which was not above thirty leagues distant from us, where he might refresh his people, and supply himself with what he wanted. But this was not accepted, he being resolved to make the best of his way to Tres Marias, where he said there was turtle enough to be had. So I left him for that night. The next morning, as I was going on board of him with some of my officers, he suddenly spread all his canvas, and crowded away from us who were in the boat; upon which I returned to our ship, and made signals of distress, and fired our gun several times, which was not regarded by him, till his very officers cried out on his barbarity; and, at last, he brought to. When I had sailed up to him (being exasperated at such inhuman treatment) I sent Mr. Brooks my first lieutenant to know the reason of his abrupt departure, and to tell him that we stood in need of several necessaries, which if he was not inclined to give, I would purchase of him. Upon these terms, he spared me two of his quarter-deck guns, sixty round shot, some musquet balls and flints, and a Spanish chart of the coast of Mexico and part of India and China, a half-hour and a half-minute glass, a compass, and about 300 weight of salt; but, with all the arguments I could use, I could not prevail on him to spare us the least thing out of his surgeon's chest for the relief of Mr. Coldsea our master who had been ready to die of his wounds received in the engagement with the Margarita, for above three months past. When this was concluded, I again asked him, if I could be of any service to him, and assured him, I had a pretty good ship under foot, though she made but a poor figure, and believed I could hold him way, and that he knew our cargo was pretty valuable. To all this he answered, That if I had a cargo of gold, he had no business with me, and that I must take care of myself. Mr. Hendric the agent, and Mr. Rainer and Mr. Dodd, lieutenants of marines, seeing but little prospect that we should ever get home, and being weary of the work imposed upon them, desired I would let them go on board the Success, for a passage to England, which I complying to, they went on board accordingly, and Clipperton left us to shift for ourselves, near the island of Cano. Having purchased this supply, I was for going to the southward into the Bay of Panama, to try our fortune there, but the majority opposed me through fear, and were for going to Tres Marias, to salt turtle there, and then to stretch over to India. We directed our course thither, and a few days after, met with the Success, in quest of Sansonnate, where they expected to receive the Marquis of Villa Roche's ransom. That nobleman had been some time a prisoner with them, and his wife was now at Guatimala, a city within thirty leagues of that port. We ranged close under their stern, and asked how Captain Clipperton and the rest of the gentlemen did; but it was not thought proper to return an answer: Without any concern, he steered one way and we another. After this, calms and contrary winds and unaccountable currents, reduced us to a very small allowance which we were obliged to diminish daily, and should have been in greater distress than ever, had it not been for the turtle which we took upon the surface of the water; we had a continual look-out for them, and they were easily known at a great distance, by the number of sea-birds that perched on their backs. Upon sight of these, we used to lay aside the advantages we might have made of the wind, to embrace the opportunity of prolonging our provisions. Upon the whole, though we lost some of our way in pursuit of turtle after this manner, it was not the greatest inconvenience that attended us; the dressing of it made a greater consumption of our water, the quantity of which decreased upon us very suddenly, by the continual use of it in boiling the turtle with plantain flour. This relapse into a state of famine, threatening us with a certain and speedy perdition, if means were not used to avert it, made me propose the plundering of some small town, as we coasted along the shore. Guatulco was the nearest port; but the very morning we were steering in for this place, at sun-rise we saw a sail a considerable way to the leeward of us. We thought it would be better to take this ship than to venture on shore; and therefore we bore down to her, and she, in the end proved to be the Success. We now met with a double baulk, both as to our hopes of Guatulco, and the ship; for we were, by this accident, got so far to the leeward of Guatulco, that it was needless to beat up so far against the wind upon an uncertainty, when we had a gale, that had it continued, would have carried us to some better port. 1720

But the winds were only a few hours propitious, and, succeeded by perpetual contrary gales, destroyed all our hopes, and brought us down to a small earthen plate of calavances, [or garavances] for 24 hours, which not being sufficient to keep us alive, we had recourse to the remainder of our smoked congers, which had for some months been neglected, and lain soaking and rotting in the bilge water. They were certainly as disagreeable food as ever men eat. Under these calamitous circumstances did we meet with the Success a fourth time, near the port of Angels; and, after having made the appointed signal, we stood so near to one another, that, to use the seaphrase, a biscuit might have been tossed from ship to ship, but we did not change a word with each other; for, Captain Clipperton, as I have since been informed, had ordered all his officers and ship's company to take no notice of us: and though he was so truly sensible of the difficulties and hazards we had to cope with, if our design was to go for India, that he said, the child that was born the day before, would be grey-headed with age before we should arrive there, (by that expression intimating that it was impossible for us to do it) yet, notwithstanding he, without any remorse could see us on the brink of suffering the greatest hardships our ill fortune could load us with, and not lend us a helping hand to deliver us from the impending ruin.

Thus surrounded on all sides by present want, and threatening disasters, we, on the 12th of March, being off the port of Acapulco, saw a ship between us and the shore: I bore down to her, till, perceiving her to be a large European built ship, with Spanish colours flying, I concluded she was the Peregrine, which, as I had been informed, had carried the prince of S. Bueno, who had been viceroy of Peru, to this port, in his way to Spain. With these suspicions, being as yet unwilling to run ourselves immediately into the enemies clutches, I hauled my wind again, which he seeing, pulled down his Spanish, and hoisted an English ensign, and made the signal agreed on between Clipperton and me for knowing one another. Had they been in any other part, I should have been so far from any thoughts of such a change in him, that I should have looked on all his signals as the artifice of the enemy; who might have acquainted themselves with them by the information of such of our men as they had taken prisoners; but now, making no doubt that it was he, I bore down to him, and, being come along-side, he sent Mr. Cooke, his second lieutenant in his yawl, with an obliging letter to me, to inform me that he was cruising for the homeward-bound Manilla ship, and desiring that I would assist him in the enterprise, and come on board of him the next morning, proposing an union of the two ships companies. I was very well pleased with this offer, and,

1721 and, without hesitation, sent him word that I would be with him early. In the mean time, I read over his letter publicly to my people, and exhorted them to consider the great benefits that would accrue to us on all sides from it, upon which they all expressed the most resigned willingness to join in the undertaking. But as Clipperton had used us so unhandsomely before, they desired I would get them some security for their shares, signed by Captain Clipperton, Mr. Godfrey the agent, and the rest of the officers. I went on board, and, according to their request, Captain Clipperton and Mr. Godfrey immediately drew up an instrument fully worded for the purpose, and they, and all the other officers signed it. This was all my people wanted to make them easy.

We then proceeded upon our main business, and, after mature deliberation, it was thought most adviseable, that I should send the greatest part of my men on board the Success, as soon as we saw the Manilla ship, come out of Acapulco, and leave only a boat's crew with me in case I should have occasion to make use of my ship as a fire-ship, or a smoker, which we jointly proposed to do, if we found the enemy too hard for us; and it was determined to board her at once, as we should otherwise have much the worst of it, on account of their superior weight of metal, and the better capacity of their ships, which are built very strong, to bear a cannonading. Clipperton assured me, he was certain of the time when she would sail from the port, which the Spaniards say is always within a day or two after Passion-week, of which we had a fortnight yet to come.

Before I returned to my own ship, I acquainted Captain Clipperton with our slender stock of provision, but particularly with our shortness of water; he told me he had 80 tons of it on board, and he would spare me as much of it as I would have, or any thing else his ship afforded. I had now the pleasure of being restored to my command in as regular a manner as ever; every one, from the highest to the lowest, expressing the satisfaction he had in the prospect before us; but Morphew, that ringleader of all disorders, fearing my resentment, thought it was the best way to insinuate himself into the favour of the Captain and officers of the Success, which he did effectually, by an humble, submissive outward deportment, and prevailing presents, in short he had his end, and left me; but, the next morning, Mr. Rainer, who acted with us afterwards as captain of marines, came on board of us, to visit his old shipmates, and so continued.

Thus we cruised in good order, and with a great deal of hope, until March 17, when, towards evening, Clipperton, contrary to his usual custom, stretched a-head of us about two leagues, without lowering so much as his top-gallant-sail for us to come up with him: I could not but be a little startled at this, as being quite contrary to his usual method. However, I kept standing after him, as I thought, in the night, till we were almost in with the breakers on the shore, which, of course, obliged us to tack, and stand out to sea again, admiring all the time that we had had no sight of any ship near us; which laid me under the most terrible apprehensions, considering the bad condition we were in, for want of water, and the vast distance we were from any place where we could expect to get a recruit of it, having now no choice left, but either to beat up 200 leagues against the wind, to go to Tres Marias, or bear away a much more considerable distance for the gulph of Amapalla, or the Island of Cocoas.

But notwithstanding our distress, I kept our cruising station for him two or three days, at last it was resolved to bear away to the first convenient place to water at; and, in troth, it was time; for we were now above 40 men, who had but three butts of water for a run of 300 leagues, and upwards, on a coast subject to long calms, variable winds, and uncertain currents.

It was afterwards told me, that the night Clipperton left us, he assembled all his officers, and told them it was his intention immediately to quit the coast. His officers remonstrated to him on the barbarity of doing this without acquainting Captain Shelvock with his intentions, and sparing us some water, but he put off their serious expostulations with an inhuman sneer, saying, That if I should, through want, be obliged to surrender to the enemy, I should only share the same fate that, perhaps, some others had met with before me.

Thus this man, perhaps, through an excess of mean-spiritedness, and dreading the engagement with a ship that was always known to defend itself with some obstinacy, neglected as fine an opportunity as most of our nation have ever had, of taking this ship, which, (as I was informed by some Spaniards from Manilla, when I was in China) came out of Acapulco, about a week after we left the cruise. [The reader will observe, what a different account of this transaction is given by Captain Clipperton, and will probably conclude, on the whole, the commanders were once more heartily weary of one another.]

On the 30th of March in the evening, we entered the road of Sansonnate, and, as the sun set, saw a ship at anchor there. It being a moon-light night, I sent the first lieutenant, with some of the best hands, to discover what this ship might be. On his return, he informed me, she was a large one, of one tier of guns at least; I nevertheless continued to ply in all night, and prepared for action. At day-light we found they had hoisted a jar of powder, containing about ten gallons, with a lighted match, at each main and fore-yard arm, and at the bowsprit end, with design to let them fall on our deck, if we boarded them. This contrivance, if it had taken effect, would have soon made an end of both ships, and of all that were in them. Seeing them so desperate in their preparations, I expected a warm dispute with them; and, by what I could see, they were in all points, by much superior to us in strength.

At eleven in the morning, the sea-breeze came in, and ran us upon them very fast, whilst, our small arms were briskly and effectually employed to break their powder jars, before we came on board them, which we did without delay, and, after the exchange of a few shot when on board of each other, they submitted.

This ship was called the Sacra Familia, of 300 tons, six guns, and 86 men, besides a great number of small arms, with some grenade shells and shot. She had been, some time arrived from Callao, laden with wine and brandy; but had now nothing in her but fifty jars of gun-powder, and a small parcel of rusk, and jerked beef: in short she could hardly be said to be worth the trouble we took, and the risque we ran for her, but she was reputed to be a better sailor, and was visibly better fitted out than our own; therefore I changed ships, and we all went on board our prize, which was equipped in the warlike manner we found her, and commissioned, on purpose to take us. Shelvock takes another ship.

A merchant (the escrivan of the ship) being on board, desired we would sell him the Jesu-Maria, which we agreed to, and sent him on shore to raise the money for that purpose. At night he came off with another Spanish gentleman, and brought us a letter of advice from the governor on shore, signifying that there was a treaty of peace on foot between their Britannic and Catholic Majesties, which was what we had not before heard of. However, I sent to the governor, signifying that I should be very glad to see the proclamation and articles, and that thereupon I should be ready to obey the commands of my sovereign. So we came to an agreement with the governor to lie in the road till he sent to Guatimala (50 leagues distant) for those papers, provided he would supply us with water and provisions. On the 5th of April, the governor sent on board two papers, which by the best interpretation we could get of them, did not appear to us to be in the form of proclamations. We told those who brought the papers on board, that we were in great want of an interpreter; upon which they said there were some Englishmen at Guatimala, whom they would send

for, if we would ſtay three days for them, and that they would ſupply us with water and proviſions for that time; which we agreed to, and they deſired we would ſend our boat on ſhore every morning for a ſupply: accordingly we ſent her on the 7th of April, with our firſt lieutenant, Mr. Brooks, and five men. This officer, men and boat, the governor detained under a flag of truce, and, at night, ſent off a ſmall boat with two of our men, with a letter from himſelf, and another from Mr. Brooks. The governor's letter ſignified, That if we did not deliver up our ſhip to him, he would declare us pirates; and Mr. Brooks by his, informed me, it was his opinion that the governor was endeavouring to bully me into a ſurrender, having ſpoken very ambiguouſly of a ceſſation of arms. Notwithſtanding which, I ſent the governor a letter ſignifying, that if we could be ſecured of a ſafe and ſure conduct for ourſelves and effects to Panama, and from thence, by the way of Porto Bello, be conveyed to any of our Britiſh plantations, we would come to a farther treaty, which if he intended, he was deſired to ſignify by firing two guns as ſoon as he had received this advice, and by ſending back my officer and men; and if not, neceſſity would oblige us to ſail. At three in the morning (the governor having ſhewn no ſignal, nor ſent any word) we weighed our anchor, yet lay to, in the bay, till ten, but then made ſail, being forced thereto for want of water; having, however, no other intent, in caſe of the certainty of a peace, than to deliver up the ſhip we were now in, at the firſt convenient port, as was ſignified to the governor by letter.

Being now got out to ſea, we reduced ourſelves to a pint of water for 24 hours each man, and directed our courſe to the gulph of Amapalla, which was about thirty-five leagues to the E. S. E. of this place, in order to get a freſh ſupply. The loſs of my officer and boat's crew ſenſibly diminiſhed the number of white faces; and we ſhould have been ſo much weakened by it, that we ſhould never have been able to manage this great ſhip with her heavy cotton ſails, if we had not taken with us our negro priſoners who proved to be very good ſailors. The loſs of our boat was alſo a very great inconvenience to us; but as I only thought of taking in water enough to ſerve us to Panama, where we were fully reſolved to ſurrender, if it was really peace, I imagined we might make ſhift without her, and get ſuch a quantity as we might want in two or three days time. The winds were favourable, and we arrived there on the 10th following, in the evening. As ſoon as we entered the gulph, we found ourſelves in the middle of ſeveral ſmall iſlands, one of which was the iſland of Tygers, where we expected to find water, but our expectation proved vain; for, after a hazardous and fruitleſs ſearch not only on that, but on ſome of the greateſt of the other iſles, there was not the leaſt drop of freſh water to be found on any of them. In this miſerable condition, threatened on all ſides with inevitable deſtruction, unfit for the ſea, fearful of truſting ourſelves in the cruel hands of the inhabitants on ſhore, quite diſpirited by the continued courſe of misfortunes, which had hitherto been our conſtant attendants, but above all, lamenting this unhappy baulk, in not finding water where we ſo much expected it, which had reduced us to ſuch extremity as we had never known before; in ſhort, ready to ſink under the burden of our calamities, we weighed our anchor on the 13th of April before day-break, and ſtood out from this gulph. And now, having the open ſea before us, I brought my people to the obſtinate reſolution not to ſurrender on this part of the coaſt, let the conſequences be never ſo miſerable. Upon this unanimous agreement, without 40 gallons of water in the ſhip, and no other liquids to ſupply the want of it, we came to ſo ſmall an allowance as half a pint of water for 24 hours; and even this allowance was too large, there being no place that we knew of where we could get any more, nearer than Quibo, to which iſland, (about 200 leagues diſtant from us) we ſhaped our courſe; but having very uncertain winds, and weather, we were 13 days at this allowance. Our ſufferings from the extremity of thirſt are hardly to be conceived; ſome drank their own water, to allay the burning heat within them; but though they moiſtened their mouths, it increaſed their miſery: ſome drank large draughts of ſea-water, which was near putting a period to their lives, whilſt others eat juſt enough of the calavances moiſtened with water, to ſuſtain life; and theſe ſuffered the leaſt. 1721

At length we were fortunately relieved, by falling in unexpectedly with the iſland of Cano, in latitude 9° north; where ſeeing a run of water, Mr. Randall, without dreading the dangerous ſurf, paſſed through the breakers; and, to the unſpeakable joy of the company, ſoon returned with his jars filled; but as he could not bring off more than 60 or 70 gallons, I took care to reſtrain our people to the proper uſe of it; allowing to each man only a quart for their immediate uſe; and I was the more ſtrict in this diſtribution, becauſe Mr. Randall aſſured me the breakers were ſo dangerous that he believed we ſhould not be able to get any more. Being willing, however, to make another trial, the next day I ſent the boatſwain to endeavour to procure a further ſupply; but after waſting the whole day, in ſearch of a ſmooth beach to land upon, he could not ſee one ſpot where he could venture on ſhore. Therefore, thinking we had ſtock ſufficient to carry us to Quibo, I weighed anchor, and, in ranging the iſland, I accidentally diſcovered a ſmooth beach, where the boat getting on ſhore, the crew filled nine jars, which laſted till we arrived at Quibo, where we anchored, at the ſame place we had twice anchored at before. Here we conſulted about ſurrendering ourſelves to the Spaniards, being within 80 leagues of Panama, a place of little or no ſtrength towards the ſea, and but little frequented by the enemy's ſhips of war, where we could treat with them at a diſtance, and be truly informed how affairs ſtood in Europe. During our deliberations, we wooded and watered at leiſure; and ſome ſearched the woods for fruits to refreſh us, by way of preventing the ſcurvy, which we had been all along leſs ſubject to than any ſhip I ever ſaw or heard of in ſuch long runs. Thoſe who were thus uſefully employed, brought us papas, guavas, caſſia, limes, and a ſmall kind of white, ſour plumb, which was much eaten, and admired by moſt of us; but, by its violent operation, put a ſtop to our proceedings for ſome days. However, we ſoon recovered without any bad ſymptoms, made an end of wooding and watering, and ſet ſail, fully determined to ſurrender at Panama [So after did they change their minds in regard to this circumſtance.] In our way we paſſed by a great many ſmall iſlands; but the moſt remarkable were, Montuoſa, Sebaco, and the Iſle of Picara, which lies on the weſtern ſide of Quibo.

On the 15th of May, a ſmall bark taking us for Spaniards, bore down to us, the maſter of which was in the greateſt conſternation when he found his miſtake, but recovered when he heard we were bound to Panama to ſurrender, and readily offered his pilot thither; his veſſel called The Holy Sacrament, being bound to that port, laden with dried beef, port, and live hogs, and as ſhe was leaky, deſired I would take her in tow. I was glad this bark fell into our hands, and ready complied with his requeſt; becauſe, if we found the governor of Sanſonnate's account to be falſe, we might be thoroughly enabled, by this help, to go to India. In the mean while it had remained a point yet undetermined, which ſhould be the perſon intruſted with the flag of truce; for my people having known much treachery, were apprehenſive that the perſon who might be ſent, would only or chiefly make good his own caſe and that of his friends to the governor, and not care what became of the men. At laſt, my ſon was judged the fitteſt to go, as he would ſurely return, if it were only for my ſake. Other difficulties were ſtarted that could not be ſo eaſily removed, notwithſtanding which, we kept on our way fully fixed in our reſolution.

On the 17th of May another ſmall bark came down upon

1721 upon us, but having ſtood pretty near to us, ſhe bore away again, and ran on ſhore directly, at the hazard of the lives of every ſoul on board. This otherwiſe unaccountable behaviour gave us good reaſon to believe that the governor of Sanſonnate's account of a ceſſation of arms was groundleſs.

On the 15th of May we ſaw a ſail a-head of us ſtanding along ſhore; and being deſirous of ſpeaking with her, I let go the bark we had in tow, and made all the ſail we could after her. We gained very little upon her all the day, but had, nevertheleſs, got a great way a-head of our bark, wherein were 4 of our own people and 5 Spaniards. However, notwithſtanding night came on, all our ſail was kept abroad, and next morning we were within gun-ſhot of her. I immediately ordered our colours to be ſpread, fired a gun to leeward, and ſet a man to wave a flag of truce; but, on ſight of our Engliſh enſign ſhe fired at us, and ſo continued to do, with her decks full of men, abuſing us with the groſſeſt appellations. I made no return till I came cloſe upon her quarter, and then I ſent one of their countrymen to the bowſprit end, to inform them, in Spaniſh, That we were bound to Panama, and deſired to treat peaceably with them, and hoped at leaſt they would have ſome regard to the white flag which they ſaw flying, but they ſtill continued their fire; and preſuming, as I ſuppoſed, by our quiet behaviour that we were unable to defend ourſelves, they were preparing to board us, which I no ſooner perceived than I gave them ſo warm a ſalute that they ſteered round off from us. We juſt miſſed getting hold of them; but, it falling almoſt immediately calm, we continued our engagement for the ſpace of two or three hours. At length, a breeze wafting us nearer to them, we found that as faſt as we approached, ſo faſt did their courage cool. Their captain, however, ſtill bravely encouraging his people, and expoſing himſelf in the openeſt manner, was ſhot through, and dropped down dead, on which his people immediately and with one voice, cried out for quarter, and put an end to the diſpute. Mr. Randall and two or three more went on board the prize, and found the priſoners in the moſt ſubmiſſive poſture, aſking for mercy, which was granted, though they had no great reaſon to expect it, after their direct breach of the laws of arms and nations, in firing at a flag of truce.

The moſt conſiderable priſoners being brought on board, informed me, that their ſhip called the Conception de Recova, belonging to Callao, was of 200 tons burden, and laden with flour, loaves of ſugar, bales of boxes of Marmalade; jars of preſerved peaches, grapes, limes, and the like. She mounted ſix guns, and had upwards of 70 men on board. In this engagement only the Spaniſh captain and a negro were killed and one or two ſlightly wounded. On our part, our gunner was ſlightly wounded by a piſtol ball, and our main-maſt had a ſlight piece carried out of its ſide. We had now about eighty priſoners on board, of all colours, though we ourſelves were but 26. Among theſe priſoners were ſeveral of note, particularly Don Baltazzar de Abarca, Conde de Roſa, an European nobleman, who had been governor of Piſco, and was now upon his return to Spain, together with Captain Morel who had formerly been taken by Captain Rogers. They were all treated with the utmoſt civility; and this they the more wondered at, becauſe, from a ſelf-conviction of their own ungenerous behaviour to us, they could not but expect to have been dealt with quite otherwiſe.

The winds and calms prevented our joining the Holy Sacrament (the prize we had left behind us) till the 22d of May, when we bore down to her, and were ſurpriſed to find no ſoul on board, but her decks and quarters covered with blood. By many circumſtances it plainly appeared that the Spaniſh crew had butchered thoſe who had been left to aſſiſt them, while they were aſleep; otherwiſe it could not have happened that five unarmed Spaniards could have overpowered four Engliſhmen completely provided with arms for their defence. It is very probable, however, that theſe murderers paid with their lives, the loſs of thoſe lives they had taken away; for, being above four leagues from the land, and having no boat with them, they probably jumped into the ſea on our approach, fearing, if they fell into our hands, to meet the vengeance due to ſo horrid a crime. That part of the deck which was dyed with gore they endeavoured to cover, by throwing the flocks and ſtuffings of beds over it; ſo that till theſe were removed, the blood was not to be ſeen. This tragical accident put a damp to the pleaſure we had enjoyed for a day or two paſt, on the account of our late prize. Our priſoners, at ſuch a ſad and ſudden change, began to be alarmed, and looked at one another as if they all expected to be the victims of our revenge upon this unhappy occaſion. On the other hand, I was fearful leſt theſe apprehenſions ſhould urge them to ſome deſperate attempt. In this dilemma, I ordered all the priſoners into the ſtern gallery, except the nobleman and ſome of the chief officers, and a guard to be kept in the cabin. The Spaniſh gentleman obſerving this, let fall ſome expreſſions, whereby I perceived they were afraid I intended to proceed to ſeverities towards their people; but I aſſured them, that if I were of ſo revengeful a nature, the laws of my country forbade my indulging it; that I acted under my king's command, and that the natural abhorrence our nation had to barbarity, might quiet their fears, and make them perfectly eaſy. They then, on their part, in the moſt ſolemn manner, diſclaimed the moſt diſtant thought of an attempt upon our lives, and aſſured us, on their honour, that they never ſhould be able to make a juſt return for the generous treatment they had met with. It was however prudent to ſecure our priſoners of the meaner ſort; and, when we had ſo done, we hauled the Holy Sacrament along-ſide of us. She was half full of water, and the greater part of her dried beef was wet and ſpoiled. We alſo took out of the Conception a twelve month's proviſion of bread, flour, ſugar, and ſweetmeats, and a like proportion for the Succeſs, which I expected to find at the Tres Marias, being then a ſtranger to Clipperton's faithleſs deſertion. I likewiſe took from them their launch and their negros; for, conſidering we had a large ſhip, and a run of 175° of longitude to ſail, which was little leſs than half way round the world, I thought we could do no other than to reinforce ourſelves with theſe blacks; and indeed we afterwards found that we ſhould never have reached the coaſts of Aſia without them.

Having thus ſupplied ourſelves with every thing the Conception afforded, I ſuffered our priſoners to return to their own ſhip; but the chief of them would not leave us till they had drawn up a writing which they ſigned, wherein they acknowledged the circumſtances of our engagement, in the manner I have already related. In ſhort, no people, circumſtanced as we were, could part in a more friendly manner than we did.

Thus were we put by our deſign of ſurrendering, and were going to take a long voyage to Aſia. Our ſtrength was indeed conſiderably augmented; for we had 15 guns, and ammunition ſufficient to ſupply them: But before we proceeded any farther, it was neceſſary to get in a full ſtock of water. The iſland of Quibo was hazardous for us, being too near Panama, it was therefore determined to ply up to Cano, where we ſoon did our buſineſs. In our paſſage thither, the ſweet-meats of all kinds, which we had taken out of our late prize, were divided among the meſſes. It happened that one of the ſailors one day complained that he had a box of marmalade which he could not ſtick his knife into, and deſired it might be changed. I opened it, and found it a cake of virgin ſilver, moulded on purpoſe to fill ſuch boxes; and being very porous, it was nearly the ſame weight as ſo much marmalade. In overhauling the reſt, we found five more of theſe boxes. This was a contrivance to defraud the king of Spain of his fifths, which he claims in all the ſilver taken out of any of the mines of Peru. We

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Methods of the Spaniards to conceal their treasure.

doubtleſs left a great many of theſe boxes behind us; ſo that this deceit ſerved them in a double capacity to defraud their king's officers, and blind their enemies.* I muſt here obſerve, that every thing we took in the Conception was divided amongſt us, according to the Juan Fernandez articles, and that I had no more than ſix, inſtead of ſixty ſhares. They would not ſo much as allow me the money I had laid out at St. Catharine's, which was upwards of 100l. I had ſome difficulty to perſuade them to run to the northward ſo far as California, and was obliged to uſe many arguments to prevail upon them to believe that the harbour of Puerto Seguro was the only port of ſecurity where we could ſafely lay down and refit our ſhip; but having at laſt obtained their conſent, I weighed from Cano, ſteering to the northward, and had favourable gales for 48 hours, but then came on the conſtant, or what may be called the trade winds on this coaſt, which were as contrary to us as they well could be. I was willing to try how far off theſe winds might prevail, which in my opinion, may be called the eddy of the true trade wind, whoſe courſe may be prevented by the interpoſition of the vaſt mountainous continent. Accordingly, I found that, at the diſtance of ſixty leagues, we had light, variable breezes, and that at the diſtance of between ſeventy and eighty leagues, the wind ſettled at E. N. E. and N. E. I therefore kept at this diſtance from the land, till we had run up to the height of 20° north lat. In all this paſſage we were not in the leaſt ſenſible of any currents, and entirely out of the way of certain riplings and over-falls of water, which we frequently met with near to the land, and which often ſurpriſed us when we were becalmed in deep water. In our courſe we were accompanied by vaſt ſhoals of fiſh, and were continually incommoded by numerous flocks of the birds called Boobies, making our ſhip their reſting place, and fouling our ſhips and yards with their dung, as faſt as we could clean them. However for change of diet, ſome of my people made ragoûts of them, and the ſmokers made ſtems for their pipes of their large wing-bones.

We fell in with Cape Corientes in the beginning of the month of Auguſt, and were carried away to the Tres Marias by a hard gale at ſouth, and came to an anchor under the lee of the middle iſland, but could ſee no ſign of the Succeſs having been there. After a tedious ſearch on all the three iſlands for freſh water, there was nothing like a ſtream on it that we could find. This was the more extraordinary to us, as one or two of our late navigators reported that freſh water was to be found there in plenty. It might have been ſo when they were there, but we were unfortunate enough to ſeek when there was none to be found. After employing three days in a fruitleſs ſearch, I ſtretched over for the coaſt of California, and arrived there on the 11th of Auguſt. The inhabitants, as ſoon as they diſcovered us, made fires all along the ſhore, as the ſhip ran by them; and, towards the evening, it falling calm, two of them came off to us on a bark-log, but were a long while before they would accept of our invitation to come on board of us. At length they ventured in, when, in a moment, ſeeing our blacks promiſcuouſly ſtanding together with the white men, they with very angry countenances, ſeparated them from us, and would hardly ſuffer them to look at us. They talked to us with great vehemence, but we could comprehend no more of their meaning than that they rejoiced to ſee us. Night coming on, they took their leave, and we gave them a knife or two, an old coat, and ſome other trifles, which ſeemed to pleaſe them very well. They expreſſed themſelves by ſigns in ſuch a manner, that we could gueſs they gave us repeated invitations to go on ſhore with them. On Sunday the 13th of Auguſt, at day-break we found ourſelves near Puerto Seguro, ſurrounded by numbers of ſmall embarkations of the inhabitants, while the ſhore was crowded with Indians, whoſe numbers viſibly increaſed by multitudes, which flocked together from the adjacent parts. Our anchor was no ſooner down, than they came off to us in ſhoals, ſome few on their bark-logs, but moſt of them ſwimming, talking, and calling out to one another in a confuſed manner, but ſuch as plainly ſhewed how deſirous they were to come to us. Our ſhip was in an inſtant full of theſe ſwarthy gentlemen, quite naked; and among the reſt was their king or chief man, who unexpectedly delivered to us his batton or enſign of royalty, which I immediately returned to him. This man, notwithſtanding the wildneſs of his appearance to us, had a good countenance, and his behaviour had ſomething that was engaging in it. I was at firſt at a loſs how to entertain our numerous gueſts; but at length I thought of regaling them with ſome of our liquid ſweetmeats, which we had in great plenty. Theſe they liked extremely, and the ſpoons, which were moſtly ſilver, they returned with great honeſty. Having thus commenced a friendſhip with them, at day-break the next morning our boat went on ſhore to cut wood and fill water; and before the ſun was up, we were again crowded with our former gueſts, who ſeemed as if they would never be weary of gazing at us. I ordered a great boiler to be carried on ſhore, with great ſtore of flour and ſugar, and a negro cook, who was continually boiling of haſty pudding for the numbers of ſpectators on the beach; and it really behoved us to keep in their favour, for on ſeeing a few of our men rolling great and cumbrous caſks of water over the heavy ſand, it inclined them to help us. To this may be added a ſenſe of the kind treatment they met with from us, and the particular readineſs of their chief to ſerve us, by ſhewing his people a good example; for, after Mr. Randall, my lieutenant, he himſelf took up the ſecond log of wood, to carry to the boat, and was immediately followed by 300 men, who encouraged by his example, all took to the work, repaying our civilities with their ſervices; and every day they were more and more fond of us.——Meanwhile the rumour of our arrival was ſpread through all the neighbouring parts; and ſome of the clans, different from thoſe that inhabited the ſhores, came daily to take a view of us. Thoſe who came from any diſtance in the country, could not ſwim; and that they were different from thoſe we had firſt ſeen on our arrival here, appeared by their manner of painting themſelves, and ſeveral other little diſtinctions that were viſible among them; but they all united to aſſiſt us; nor were any of them idle but the women, who uſed to ſit in companies on the ſcorching ſands, waiting for their ſhare of what was going forward, which they received very thankfully, and without quarrelling.

Having done all our buſineſs here in the ſpace of five days, on the 18th of Auguſt we prepared for our departure in the afternoon. We employed the morning in making a large diſtribution of ſugar amongſt the women. To the men we gave a great many knives, old axes, and old iron, which we had taken in our prizes. Theſe were the moſt uſeful to them, and of which they ſtood moſt in need; in return for which, ſome of them gave us bows and arrows, deer-ſkin bags, live foxes, ſquirrels, and the like. A great many of the men ſtaid in the ſhip all the while we were purchaſing our anchor, and it was not till we were under way that they all jumped overboard to join the lamentations of their countrymen on ſhore.

The men in this ſouthern part of California are tall, ſtrait, and well made; their limbs are large; their hair is black and coarſe, and barely reaches down to their ſhoulders. Their women are of a much

* An affair, as vexatious as this, the captain ſays, was diſcovered too late, on board a prize taken by the Succeſs, where they found a conſiderable quantity of virgin ſilver in the form of bricks, plaiſtered over with clay, which had been dried in the ſun; (the only conſiſtence they give their bricks in theſe parts) a great number of theſe had been thrown overboard as rubbiſh, nor was it diſcovered what they were till they came to the four or five laſt pieces of this curious compoſition.

1721 smaller size; their hair is much longer than the mens, and with it some of their faces are almost covered. The men go quite naked, and have not the least thing to cover any part of them except their heads, round which they wear a band of red and white silk grass, which hangs down to their knees, and have either a deer's skin, or that of a large bird curiously wrapped round their shoulders. Nothing can be more wild and savage to look at than these people at first sight: but there is a wide difference between what they seem and what they really are; for, by all we could discern in their behaviour towards one another, and in their deportment towards us, they are endued with great good nature. They seem to lead a careless life, and to enjoy every thing in common among them: having nothing but their daily food to provide, they are strangers to those numerous gratifications, the want of which multiplies distresses among nations more civilised and more refined. Their contentment makes them honest, for they never offered to steal the things most useful to them. In a word, they seem to pass their lives, according to the notions we have of the purest simplicity of the earliest ages of the world, before discord and contention were heard of among men. Having no enemies, they live in perfect peace and harmony with one another. Hunting and fishing are their only employments, except making the instruments, they use in these pursuits, which are the simplest that can be. They have no canoes, and go to sea on bark-logs; but they are the most expert divers I ever beheld. By their simple manner of living, and their continual exercise, they live to a great age, and yet, what is surprising, they do not appear to be very numerous, considering the extent of their country. Their only enemies are the wild beasts; and of these there are plenty in the woods and forests. They do not seem to be so jealous of their women as they have been represented; for we had the company of some hundreds of them, young and old, without any restraint from the men. Two things were remarkable, that they never would suffer us to take snuff, but would earnestly take it from us, whenever we attempted it; nor would they ever suffer us to look through a spying-glass, which I had frequent resort to, to see how our work of wooding and watering went on. In these two instances they always took upon them to controul us, and in these two only, the causes of which we could never learn. They go out to sea on the bark-logs above-mentioned, which are only composed of five logs of a light wood made fast to each other by wooden pegs, rowing with a double paddle; and with their harpoons (which are made of a sort of hard wood) the strike they largest albicores, and bring them in when struck. This was altogether surprising to us, who had so often experienced the strength of that fish, and the difficulty of getting them into our ship, when either hooked or struck. One would imagine, that as an Indian had struck one of these Albicores, it would run away with him and his bark-log; but they either strike them so as to give them a mortal wound, or have some particular way of managing them; for they struggle and resist in vain. When we were in this port, it was apparently their fishing season; but by the number of deer-skins one sees among them, it is natural to conclude they have also their season for hunting. The skins of their deer are grey, and so are also those of their foxes and squirrels, of all which it is likely they eat indifferently, as of most other animals that become their prey. Of birds we saw scarcely any among them except a few pelicans. What these Indians use instead of bread, is very remarkable. It is a small black seed, of an oily substance, which they grind, much in the same manner as we do our chocolate. The look of these black lumps or rolls, so made up, is not very inviting, yet the taste is not very disagreeable. When they want to drink, they go to the river.

—Their arms are bows and arrows, the former are about six feet in length; the arrows seem to be somewhat too long for the bows. Their bow-strings are made of deer's sinews, and their arrows are composed of a hollow cane, for two thirds of their length, the other third next the point, is of a heavy kind of wood, with a piece of flint, and sometimes with a sort of agate, the edges of which are indented or cut in teeth like a saw. They made no manner of shew of their arms to us; and it was rarely that we saw them in the hands of the men. The women had them in the woods, in search of game, which may there be presumed to be some part of their employment. Upon the whole, they may be said to be a happy people.

Sailing from Puerto Seguro, as already mentioned, we took our departure from Cape St. Lucas on the evening of the 18th of August, designing for Canton in China, the most likely place to meet with English ships homeward bound. On the 21st we discovered an island bearing W. S. W. about 110 leagues distant. I endeavoured to get in with it; but, night coming on, I could not lose time to view it. This isle my people called after my name. From hence we steered gradually into the parallel of 13° north lat. but had our course stopped for two or three days by westerly winds. We were astonished at such an unforeseen delay, and began to dread that we might meet with many such reverses of winds in this passage; nor could we conjecture or conceive the cause of them. In the midst of this, the usual trade-wind prevailed again, and delivered us from the fears and apprehensions in which we had been involved upon the occasion. With this we proceeded on our passage, keeping the parallel of 13° north lat. except when we judged ourselves to be near the shoals of St. Bartholomew. We then ventured to sail a degree more northerly, and so continued to do for a run of 60 or 70 leagues.

[A fortnight after they left California, Captain Shelvock's people who had hitherto enjoyed their health, grew sickly. This he attributes to the quantity of sweet-meats eaten by the crew; and to the dried beef half devoured by the ants, cock-roaches, and other vermin.—The latter is the most probable; and perhaps a great number of the distempers that afflict voyagers and travellers in the warmer climates are owing to the baleful effects of insects, their eggs or excrements, swallowed in corrupted meat, or bad water. At this time they lost their ingenious armourer, who had been so useful to them in constructing their boat, and with a sickly crew they had likewise a leaky vessel.]

Under these circumstances, continues the captain, we met with bleak and dismal weather, with tempestuous winds, flying and varying all round the compass. These boisterous gales raised such a tumbling sea, and our ship laboured so much in it, that the knee of her head, and her whole beak-head became loose; so that the bowsprit fetched away, and played with the motion of the ship, which it continued to do all the time that we were out at sea, and till we arrived at Canton. Our mainmast stood for some time without shrouds on the larboard side, till we could unlay our best cable to make more, having knotted and spliced the old shrouds till our labour was in vain. In the midst of all this sickness and distress, I myself was taken violently ill, and had no hope to recover, till a fit of the gout gave me some relief. Great was our want of every thing fit or comfortable for persons in such a state of sickness; yet, about the beginning of October we passed by Guam; and, though upon the very brink of perishing, we durst not venture in, fearing that the inhabitants should take the advantage of our weakness, and make some attempt upon our lives. From Guam we directed our course for the island of Formosa. And now, though the length of our voyage was decreasing very fast, yet our sickness was increasing upon us in a much greater proportion; and most truly it may be said, that both our ship and ourselves were no longer fit for the sea. It was the 3d of November before we had sight of the island, and the 10th before we could get any sort of directions to inable us to reach our intended port. At length, as we were passing through

They pass by Guam, and come to Formosa.

through a very narrow channel, between a couple of islands, a fisherman took notice, by our cautious manner of working that we were strangers, and made signals to us to bring our ship to, till he came up to us; when we made him understand in general that we were bound to Macao, and he then made a sign that he would conduct us thither, if we would give him as many pieces of silver as he counted little fishes out of his basket, which amounted to sixty. We accordingly counted out forty dollars into a hat, and the next day he took us into charge and anchored us safe in the road of Macao near the river of Canton.

[As we have given our readers in Capt. Clipperton's voyage, the relation of his affair at Guam, we shall here present them with Capt. Shelvock's account of that business, which he says, he had from several of the Success's people that came off to him while he was in these parts.]

Shelvock's account of Clipperton's affair at Guam.

They told me (says he) that their commander Clipperton, left me designedly, that they went directly to Guam, where they were very well refreshed, and supplied with provisions; that their captain sold the governor a great quantity of powder and shot, and several other valuable things; and that he permitted his prisoner, the Marquis of Villa Roche, to go on shore there; That Mr. Godfrey the agent, and a marine officer, went to settle the accounts for what supply of things they had had; and that, as soon as they were landed, and the boat come off again, Captain Clipperton weighed with his ship, in order to attack a ship of 20 guns from Manilla, that had lain quietly in the road with him all the time. In approaching her, he ran his own ship a-ground, and soon found that the enemy was prepared for him; his condition being then desperate, and supposing the loss of his ship inevitable, he had recourse to his cask of brandy, and took so abundantly of it that he fell on the deck, and snored out his time in a heastly manner, whilst his first lieutenant, Mr. Davidson, in his stead, undertook the command of the ship, which he bravely executed till he was killed. He was succeeded by Mr. Cook the second lieutenant, who made a handsome resistance, and got the ship afloat again, after she had lain on the rocks forty-eight hours. It was added that their thus losing the Marquis Villa Roche, and also Mr. Godfrey the agent-general, together with the officer that went on shore, gave the ship's company so much distaste, that they would not suffer him to have the command of them any longer, but locking him up in his cabin, chose Captain Cook to take charge of the ship. It seems, they had much bad weather between Guam and Amoy in China, to which last place they got with great difficulty, and there made a dividend of all they had taken, half to the owners, and half to the ship's company. Clipperton designed for the streights of Malacca; but his people, fearing he had no good intent, would go no farther with him than Macao, that being a Christian port. Upon their arrival there, the governor ordered Clipperton into custody. It seems he had broken prison formerly from thence, being confined upon having ran away with Dampier's commission, and one of his prizes.* But upon producing his majesty's commission for the Success, they gave him no further trouble, and only contented themselves with fleecing him a little. Here he sold the Success for 1000l. sterling. [The different relation of facts given by these voyagers, can only be accounted for by the channel of information, and by the inveterate hatred which they bore to each other. In the circumstances just related, it is probable the account given in Clipperton's voyage and confirmed by Mr. Taylor his chief mate, is more to be depended on than that which Captain Shelvock de-

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livers by hear-say, and has possibly exaggerated with all the bitterness of a rival commander.]

About noon, on the 12th of November, (continues he) a pilot came off to us, and we immediately weighed, and entered the river of Canton, where finding the Bonita and Hastings, two English coasting ships, I anchored, and sent off an officer, to desire them to instruct us how to behave ourselves in this port, and to acquaint me with the customs of it. To this they answered, That since the Cadogan and Frances, two European ships, were arrived at Wampo, they would advise me to send up to their factories at Canton, to acquaint them with our arrival, and with the reasons that obliged me to come into that river; which I accordingly did the next day. I now thought I was going to rest a little from my labour; but, to my misfortune I suffered as much here, all circumstances considered, as I had in any former part of my voyage: for, the evening we anchored at Wampo, where the English ships commonly lie, there happened an accident that gave occasion to much trouble. One of my men, being in a hurry to remove his effects on board the Bonita, was stopped by a Hoppo, or custom-house officer, that wanted to make a search. The fellow being in liquor, and fearing they would take away the silver he had with him, fired a musquet at the pursuers, and killed the officer. Early the next morning the corpse was laid at the door of one of the English houses or factories, where Chinese officers appointed for that purpose, waited for the first considerable Englishman that should come out, without regard to whom this act of violence and murder was to be imputed. It happened that one of the supercargoes of the Bonita was the first that came out; him they seized, put him in chains, and led him, by way of example, about the suburbs of Canton. All that could be said or done by the most considerable of the Chinese merchants that were in commerce with the English, availed nothing, till my man who committed the fact was delivered to them, and soon after the Bonita's supercargo was released. It is the custom at Canton to exact a certain sum of money from all ships that come there, according to their measurement, which is divided into rates or portions of first, second, and third. I therefore every day expected the Hoppo to come to measure my ship, but was given to understand that I must go up to Canton, before that could be done, though even at the hazard of my life. I accordingly went, and staid two days at the Cadogan's factory, during which time I was hourly alarmed by such stories as made me fear that I should, indisposed as I was, be dragged away from my bed, and put in irons: but, at the end of two days, I was obliged to go down again into the ship, to be present at the measurement, and a day afterwards the Hoppo came, with a numerous retinue, and seemed to do his business very quietly, but would not let me know what was the sum he intended to exact. This gave me much trouble; for I began to think the Chinese, through a false representation of that great riches had an intention to gratify their love of money, by a heavy imposition, and in this I was not mistaken. I had not been here many days before I was deserted by all my officers, and ship's company who were continually employed in removing their effects from on board my ship to some of the Europeans, without my knowledge, as I was then confined to my bed. My officers were engaging the Indian gentlemen in their interest, and left me and my son, with a few negros, to look after the ship. In short, my people had so many ways of disposing of their effects, that it was impossible to oblige them to do what I should have thought justice to the gentlemen in England and to myself. In a word, they were

* The reader will observe here, that Captain Clipperton, or Clippington, whose voyage we have related, was the same man who, with a bark of ten tons, having two masts, two square sails, and two patararoes, left Captain Dampier, in the year 1704, on the coast of Mexico, and, after insulting Ria Lexa, undertook to sail in her round half the globe. He took in provisions at the Philippines, then he sailed to Pulo Condore, and from thence came to Macao, where, as Captain Shelvock affirms, half his crew were hanged for pirates, and afterwards found means to get on board an East-Indiaman at Canton, and thus got his passage home, arriving safe in England in the year 1707.

1721 were all soon recovered of their illness by the assistance they met with here, and were become their own masters. The gentlemen who presided over the trade, so little considered our case, that *they had half a mind* to refuse me a passage in one of their ships; and, in effect, I was treated by them almost as one enemy might treat another, in a neutral port. The Captains Hill and Newsham, when they first came to see me, were astonished at the ruinous appearance of my ship; and, when I had given them a short history of my voyage, and desired they would receive me with my effects, they answered, That since they plainly saw my ship was in no condition to stir any further, upon paying our passage they would entertain us as soon as we pleased. This I depended on, and expected we should have no farther trouble than to remove ourselves at any time; but, on the contrary, I found that I had ignorantly applied to the wrong persons, and that my address should have been to the supercargoes; by which means I was then neglected, while the English captains were ordered to fall down with their five ships, five or six miles below us. Thus was I left destitute in the company of five foreign ships, whose captains perceiving my own countrymen so careless of me, were so kind as to offer me their service, and assisted me with what they could: Had it not been for them, I know not what I might have suffered, for I was under perpetual alarms left the Chinese should seize my ship.——Having found my error in applying to the captains, and not to the supercargoes, I sent a letter to them, not to *desire*, but to *demand* a passage for me, my officers, and ship's company, which I was sensible they could not refuse; and indeed they did not; but their condescension was accompanied with a charge to the English Captains not to receive any thing belonging to us, except it was consigned to the East India company in England. This was an article which my people utterly rejected, vowing that they would as soon throw what they had into the sea, as comply with such a demand. For my part, it gave me no concern, being conscious to myself that I had infringed none of their privileges. At the same time that I was acquainted with their intention of receiving us as passengers, I was also informed of the Hoppo's demand for anchorage in the river, which was no less than 6000 tahel; and, to quicken me in the payment of this exhorbitant sum, there was a penalty of 500 additional tahel for every day that we failed in the payment of it. In short, there were no means by which I could evade this unconscionable imposition; and as it was a day before I could possibly send the 6000 tahel up to Canton, they required 500 tahel more, for neglect of payment. So that they received from me, upon this extraordinary occasion, the full sum of 6500 tahel, equal to 2166l. 13s. 4d. of our English money. This, it was apprehended, was about six times as much as the Cadogan paid, which was the largest English ship there, and measured a third more than mine. It was now high time to get out of my ship: but, before I quitted her, I sold her for 2000 tahel, which money, and the rest of my effects, were consigned to the East India company. Towards the latter end of December, I sailed in the Cadogan, commanded by Captain John Hill, in company with the Frances, Captain Newsham, who sailing better than we, left us as soon as we were out at sea. Captain Hill finding his ship very tender, put into Batavia, where we continued about ten days, and were informed there were several pirates in those seas. Therefore, when we departed from Batavia, we joined the homeward bound Dutch fleet in Banum Bay. The commander promised to assist us in wooding and watering at Mew-Island, the water at Batavia being very bad: But, on our joining Captain Newsham, in the Streights of Sunda, the Dutch made it a pretence for leaving us before we got the length of Mew Island, and Captain Newsham also deserted us the same evening, so that we were left to ourselves.

For several days we continued at Mew Island, during which time several boats came off to us from Princes Island, and brought us turtle, cocoa nuts, pine-apples, and other fruits. Some of the people having seen wild cattle grazing near the strand, went on shore to kill them; but before they had advanced near enough, they discovered a small tyger, and saw the track of an old one; whereupon they returned to the boat. From Mew Island we had a very pleasant passage to and about the Cape of Good Hope, which was greatly owing to Captain Hill's good conduct, in coming in with the land be-times upon the easternmost part of the bank, and keeping a moderate distance from the land, which I think never exceeded a degree, and sometimes we even made the land itself. In this course we did not take in our top-sails above twice; once for a squall, which was over in an hour's time, and another time, being threatened by the appearance of bad weather, Captain Hill made all the necessary preparations to receive it; which being done, he stood in for the land; and, in a few hours we had fair weather and a favourable gale, and all our small sails set at the same time that there remained great appearance of foul weather to the southward, which continued for several days afterwards. Though the Frances and the Dutch ships had seven days the advantage of us by leaving us in the streights of Sunda, yet we gained the cape as many days before the Frances, though she sailed so much better than we did; and, as to the Dutch ships, there was no appearance of their arrival when we left the Cape. The officers of our ship, by comparing their accounts with those of some of the gentlemen belonging to the Frances, found that she had suffered a great deal of bad weather, whilst we, who were about ten leagues to the northward of them, or nearer the shore, enjoyed fine pleasant weather, and a fair wind, continually, till we arrived in the Table Bay, which was in the latter end of March. This I should think of sufficient weight for any other to pursue the same track. Here we found Governor Boon, in the London East-Indiaman, and some others, bound for England. From the Cape we had an agreeable passage to St. Helena, and from thence to England. We anchored under Dungeness on the 30th of July, and the same night some of the supercargoes and passengers, with myself, hired a small vessel to carry us to Dover, whither we came early the next morning, and the same day proceeded towards London, where we arrived on the first of August. Thus ended a long and unfortunate voyage of three years, seven months, and some days, in the course of which we sailed very considerably more than round the circumference of the earth, and went through a great variety of dangers, both at sea and on shore.

Such was the end of this expedition, from which the owners promised themselves so much, and which as we have seen was defeated chiefly by the dissension that prevailed between the commissioners. Shelvock appears to have been the ablest of the two, but displeased with the slight cast upon him in the preferment of Clipperton to the command he seems to have been implacable in his resentment. The account we have taken of his voyage, as written by himself, shews him to be an experienced mariner, and an observer of men and manners. Both he and Clipperton in this voyage contributed to extend the nautical knowledge of the navigators of their age and country.

THE VOYAGE OF COMMODORE ANSON, ROUND THE WORLD.

A War with Spain being resolved upon in the year 1739, two expeditions were planned by Sir Charles Wager, then at the head of the Admiralty, Captain Anson then out on a cruise, was ordered to return with his ship the Centurion, to command the one; and Mr. Cornwall was designed to conduct the other. As the scheme was first intended, two strong squadrons were to be fitted out, Captain Anson was to take on board three independant companies of 100 men each, and Bland's regiment of foot (who was himself to command the land forces) and was to sail round the Cape of Good Hope, to Manilla, in the island of Luconia; while Captain Cornwall was to proceed round Cape Horne, into the South Seas, there to range the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, and when he had gotten the treasures in those parts into his possession, he was to join Captain Anson at the Philippine Islands; then they were to act in conjunction, as occasion might offer, or wait for orders from government to proceed on fresh enterprizes.

It was the 10th of September, before Captain Anson arrived in town. By the 13th of the same month, he received orders to take under his command the Argyle, Severn, Pearl, Wager, and Trial Sloop, and to proceed to victual them with the utmost expedition. They were ready to take the troops on board by the end of December; but when Captain Anson attended the board in January, he was told that the intended Manilla expedition was laid aside, but that to the South Seas, being still intended he should command the squadron. It was not, however, till the end of June that he received his majesty's instructions, nor did he sail till the latter end of September, by which unaccountable delay it appeared afterwards that the Spaniards got full intelligence of his strength and destination.

At length, however, the squadron was prepared for sea. It consisted of five men of war, a sloop, and two victualling ships, namely, The Centurion, of 60 guns, 400 men, as commodore; the Gloucester, of 50 guns, and 300 men, Richard Norris, Esq; commander; the Severn, of 50 guns, and 300 men, the Hon. Edward Legg, commander; the Pearl, of 40 guns, and 250 men, Matthew Mitchell, Esq; commander; and the Wager of 28 guns, and 160 men, the Hon. John Murray, commander, besides which the commodore had two victuallers, the Industry and Anne pinks, the larger of which was of 400, the smaller of about 200 tons burden. The troops were ordered to be taken on board at St. Helen's, but their numbers and strength were diminished by the delay before-mentioned. The deficiency in the crews amounting to 300 men, was made up only by 100 people sent from the hospitals, and a party of marines, who had never been at sea. Instead of the three independant companies, and Bland's regiment of foot, as had been designed, they had 400 invalids from Chelsea, many of whom perished upon the voyage before they arrived at the scene of action. The accounts we have of this voyage, are two, the one written by Mr. Thomas, the mathematical master on board the Centurion, and by the Rev. Mr. Richard Walters, who has explained many circumstances, and from these relations ours will chiefly be extracted.

"Being quite ready, says our author, about the beginning of 1740, we put to sea three different times, but as often put back by contrary winds, and stormy weather. At last, on Thursday the 18th of September, we sailed in company with the Lark and St. Albans, two of his majesty's ships of 13 guns each. The king's ships which joined us here were, the Dragon, the Winchester, the Chatham, and South Sea Castle, and near 200 sail of merchantmen, under convoy, some of which were bound to the Mediterranean, and others to North America. We had at present the command of the whole fleet; and, this afternoon, seeing a ship to the S. W. we made the Dragon a signal for chasing; but she proved one of our own ships, too far a-head of her station. On Monday the 22d we saw two sail to the westward, and sent the Trial sloop to speak with them. They were Dutch ships, bound to Curacoa with soldiers for garrisons there. The Winchester, and South Sea Castle, with the merchant vessels under their convoy, parted from us on the 25th. And on Monday the 29th the Dragon, St. Albans, and Lark, with the merchant ships in their charge for the Mediterranean, did the same; and we had now no ships left in company but our own proper squadron. The next day we spoke with a Dutch man of war bound from Malta for Amsterdam. On the third of October we spoke with two English merchant ships, and on the 8th with a French sloop from Rochelle. On the 13th died one Philip Merrit, a common sailor, who was the first man that we lost on the voyage. At six o'clock in the morning of the 16th, we saw land, bearing W. N. W. at the distance of about six leagues; and, at four in the afternoon we anchored in Fonchale Road, abreast of the town, and about half a mile from it. During this whole passage, we had almost continual contrary winds, and boisterous, uncertain weather, by which means a passage that is very commonly made in ten or twelve days, took up thirty-eight. Our business in this place was only to take in water and wine, and some private stock; but soon after our arrival, we were informed that they had seen from the island to the westward, about 16 or 18 sail of ships, for several days together, which were supposed to be a junction of French and Spanish ships of war; and, as we had reason to imagine that our expedition had been long known, there was little room to doubt but that those ships were designed to intercept and destroy us before we could attempt any thing to the prejudice of Spain. On these tidings, the commodore sent out an English privateer that lay in the road, with one of his own officers, to see if they could discover them at sea, and what they were; but she returned the next day without having made any discovery. Captain Norris, at his own request, on account of his ill state of health, with the commodore's consent, quitted the command of the Gloucester, in order to return to England. The Gloucester was hereupon given to Captain Mitchell, the Pearl to Captain Kidd, the Wager to the Hon. Captain Murray, and the Trial sloop to Mr. David Cheap, our first lieutenant; and as one of the lieutenants of the Gloucester had quitted with Captain Norris, our two mates, who had long depended on the commodore, were promoted to be lieutenants on this occasion. On the afternoon of the 4th we weighed, and put to sea, with all the squadron under our command. An English sloop that lay in the road, saluted us with nine guns, which we returned with five. On the 6th of November, at four o'clock in the evening, we saw Palma, in 29° of north lat. and 19° 44 west long. from the meridian of London. The same day we spoke with a French ship from Marseilles, bound to Martinico, and the next morning with a Dutch ship bound to Batavia, the metropolis of the Dutch settlements in the East-Indies. On the 11th, about four in the morning, we crossed the northern tropic, for the first time in this voyage, in long. 24° 24' west from London. The Anne pink fired a gun, and hoisted a red flag at her fore-top-mast head, to give us notice of it. The next day all the lieutenants of

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1741 the ſquadron were, by a ſignal, ordered on board the Centurion; and orders were given to unload the Induſtry pink, and each ſhip to take on board from her their reſpective quotas of proviſions; in purſuance of which we immediately began to unload her, lying by in the day, and making an eaſy ſail in the night. On the 19th, having unloaded and diſcharged the Induſtry, ſhe parted from us at eight in the evening, in order to proceed for Barbadoes, whither ſhe was bound; but the commodore having entered into a new contract with the maſter of the Anne pink, ſhe was detained with us for his majeſty's ſervice, our ſhips being too much incumbered to admit of taking on board any more proviſions at this time. We croſſed the equinoctial line on the 28th, about five in the morning, in 28° 15′ weſt long. from London, obſerving the variation of the compaſs to be 34′ eaſt.

On the 2d of December, at eight in the morning, we ſaw a ſail to the N. W. to which we gave chace. At night we loſt ſight of her; next morning we ſaw and chaſed her again, but quitted her in the afternoon. We imagined this ſail to be a tender belonging to the Spaniſh fleet, ſent purpoſely to gain intelligence of us; but, on our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, in our return home, we learned that ſhe was the Eaſt-India Company's packet, bound for the iſland of St. Helena.

[Thus they proceeded on their voyage, anchored on the 17th, at ſeven in the evening, at the iſland of St. Catherine, and ſent a lieuteuant on ſhore to compliment the governor, and deſire a pilot to carry them, who returned a civil anſwer, and their requeſt was granted.]

Accordingly, ſays my author, we weighed and ran up the harbour, and, about noon, anchored in five fathom and an half water, in a place they call Boon Porto; but being ſtill too far from the watering place, we weighed on the 20th about eleven in the morning, and ran farther up between St. Catherine's, and the main-land of Brazil, and, in the afternoon, anchored and moored in five fathoms, about two miles from the watering place. The ſame evening our firſt lieutenant went on ſhore, with materials for building a tent to ſhelter the people who were to be employed in watering. Our ſhip's crew beginning to be very ſickly, tents were erected on ſhore, one for every ſhip, to which the ſick were ſent, with proper ſurgeons to attend them. The agents for victualling were ordered to procure what proviſions we could expend during our ſtay here, which they accordingly did; but though their meat, which is altogether beef, was both cheap and plentiful, it was, for the greateſt part, carrion, and ſcarcely fit to be eaten. The men throughout the whole ſquadron began to drop off apace with fevers and fluxes, probably occaſioned by the violent heat of the climate, and the bad air, which is ſtagnated in this woody country. We continued here, wooding, watering, and overhauling our rigging, till Sunday the 18th of January, during which time we had ſhort, variable, uncertain weather, with thunder, lightening, and exceſſive heat. While we lay here, we gave our ſhip a thorough cleanſing, ſmoked her between decks, in order to deſtroy the vermin, and waſhed every part with vinegar, which I mention, becauſe it is abſolutely neceſſary in all ſhips, the ſtench of ſo many ſick perſons being noiſome in hot climates. Before we arrived at this iſland, from the deſcriptions of M. Frezier, a French author, and ſome other perſons who had been on the ſpot, we had received ſuch accounts as, together with the climate wherein it is ſituated, gave us very great ideas of its fruitfulneſs, and hopes of a plentiful ſupply of every thing that we wanted for a long run; but we found ourſelves miſerably miſtaken in almoſt every article we expected.

As here are ſeveral fine, ſandy bays, we had very good fiſhing, with a ſeine for mulletts, old wives, ſting-rays, maids, turbots, and other flat fiſh, baſs, &c. Saſſafras is here in great plenty, guiacum is reported to be plentiful likewiſe; but I ſaw none of it, nor heard of any perſon who did, during our ſtay. Rum and ſugar they have in ſmall quantities, but very indifferent and dear. The inhabitants are a mixture of Portugueſe and Indians incorporated together, and appear to be very poor, idle, lazy, ignorant and rude. I believe the original of the Portugueſe here was chiefly from felons, who fled hither from other parts of the Brazils, to ſhelter themſelves from juſtice; they were, till lately, without any regular form of government, except a chief, choſen from among themſelves, who was more like a captain of robbers than the commander of a colony. When we came there, they had ſome European ſoldiers, and a governor from Rio Janerio, called Don Joſſe Silva de Paz, a very expert engineer, who underſtood one part of his buſineſs very well; namely, the advantage which accrue from new works to thoſe who are intruſted with the care of erecting them: for, beſides a battery on a neck of land that narrowed the channel to a little more than a quarter of a mile; there were three other forts carrying on for the defence of the harbour, neither of which was completed.

The country (including the main and the iſland) is mountainous, and overgrown with thick woods, and thoſe ſo much intangled with the under-growth of briars, brambles, and the like, that in moſt places they are ſcarcely penetrable. Theſe woods are reported to be full of tygers, which makes any excurſion into the country dangerous, unleſs one goes well armed; and even then much caution is neceſſary.—They have here ſome hogs and fowls, but I believe not in great plenty. In the woods are monkeys, apes, armadilloes, and other wild creatures, as alſo parrots, paroquites, and other ſorts of birds proper to the climate. Alligators are ſaid to be plentiful in the lakes, and yet we ſaw none of them. The country ſeems to have a good ſoil, and to be capable of improvement, were the inhabitants more civiliſed and induſtrious. On the 29th we diſcovered a ſail in the offing, on which the eighteen oared barge was manned and armed, and was ſent under the command of the ſecond lieutenant of the Centurion, to examine her before ſhe arrived within the protection of the fort. She proved to be a Portugueſe brigantine from Rio Grande, but though the officer behaved to the maſter with the greateſt civility, yet the governor took offence at our ſending our boat; complained of the violation of the peace, and made that a pretence for ſending Don Piſarro the moſt circumſtantial intelligence of our force and condition, as we afterwards learned, by letters intercepted in the South Seas.

We left this iſland on the 18th of January, having had a melancholly proof how much the healthineſs of the place had been over-rated by former writers; for we found that though the Centurion alone had buried twenty-eight men ſince our arrival, the number of the ſick had increaſed to ninety-five; and three men died this very day.

Before our departure, the commodore took every precaution to prevent a ſeparation; but, conſidering that, in ſuch boiſterous ſeas as we were about to encounter, he himſelf might be diſabled, he called the officers together, and, in a full council ſo ordered it, that if but one ſhip eſcaped, the expedition ſhould not be abandoned. Proper places of rendezvous were appointed; the time was ſettled for ſtaying at theſe places; and if the commodore did not arrive in that time, the captains were ordered to put themſelves under the command of the ſenior, and to proceed without farther delay.

We had very ſtormy weather with thunder and lightening on the morning of the 22d, and the Trial carried away the head of her main-maſt: A thick fog ſucceeding, we ſoon after loſt ſight of the Pearl, the Trial, and the Anne pink. In the afternoon, however, we joined company with the Trial and the Anne, but the Pearl was ſtill miſſing. From this time, to the 15th of February, we had very variable weather, moſtly foggy, from 35 to 39 degrees of ſouth latitude, the reſt of the weather being a mixture not much

The ſhips ſeparate.

much unlike ours in England in the month of October, except that we had often thunder and lightning. Being paſt the lat. of 36° we obſerved the current which had hitherto ſet ſoutherly, was now to the northward and the great river of Plata being between 35° and 36° ſtrengthens my conjecture, that thoſe currents are occaſioned by the flux and reflux of that mighty river. On the 13th of February we ſaw the land very plain, and, at four in the afternoon of the ſame day, found ourſelves within four miles of Cape Blanco, on the coaſt of Patagonia, in 12 fathom water; on which we hauled off, and ran along the coaſt. At five the next morning we ſaw the land from weſt by north to ſouth-weſt, half-weſt, which I believe to have been the harbour of Port Deſire. The northermoſt land in ſight was Cape Blanco, and the ſouthermoſt, Penguin Iſland.——

We anchored on the 17th in the evening, about 18 leagues ſhort of the harbour of Port St. Julian, where Drake touched in his voyage, and where Mr. Doughty was condemned and executed, on pretence of a conſpiracy to murder him and ruin the expedition; from whence a ſmall iſland within the harbour is to this day called the Iſland of True Juſtice. The next morning we ſaw a ſail at S. by E. which we believing to be the Pearl, made the ſignal for the return of all cruiſers; but ſhe not minding or not ſeeing it, the Glouceſter was ordered to chace, and returned, to our great ſatisfaction, with her at two in the afternoon. The Pearl's company informed us, that their commander, Captain Dandy Kidd, died on the 31ſt of January, and that they were chaced on the 7th inſtant, by five large ſhips, which they believed to be Spaniſh men of war, and were ſometimes within gun-ſhot of them, though they never fired, having endeavoured to decoy, the Pearl, by hoiſting a broad red pendant, like that of the Engliſh commodore, at the admiral's main top-maſt head, and hoping by that means to inveigle and make ſure of their prey. Captain Mitchell thus decoyed, narrowly eſcaped the enemy, by running through a ſpace of water, where the tides or currents making a great rippling, the Spaniards, who thought it was rocky and broken ground, were afraid to follow her. Theſe we ſuppoſed to be the ſquadron of Admiral's Piſarro, who got ſo great a name for bringing the flota ſafe home, the preceding year, by eluding the vigilance of our ſquadrons then waiting off Cadiz, and was therefore looked on as the moſt proper perſon to be ſent to intercept us. We were now, on the 18th, ſailing along ſhore for the harbour of St. Julian, I found the tide to ſet in here north and ſouth, about a mile an hour. The time of flowing, on the full and change days, is N.E. by E. and S. W. by W. neareſt. We ſent one of our boats with an officer on ſhore, to ſound, and endeavour to diſcover the mouth of the harbour. At ſix in the evening, we came to an anchor in twelve fathom water. At eight the lieutenant returned, having found the harbour, we ſent our boats aſhore, to make farther diſcoveries, and to endeavour to get ſome freſh water, and others to procure ſalt. We continued here till the 27th, during which time we ſtaved moſt of our empty caſks, in order to clear our ſhips as much as poſſible, and got up, and mounted ſuch of our guns as we had before put down in the hold, in order to eaſe the ſhips; for now, not knowing how ſoon we might meet with the Spaniſh ſquadron, it was neceſſary to have them all in readineſs. We could find no freſh water here, and but a very ſmall quantity of ſalt, and no other refreſhments whatever, all the country, as far as we could diſcover, being quite barren and deſolate. We got ſome proviſions out of the Anne victualler, on board each of the other ſhips, repaired the Trial's maſt, and aſſiſted her and the victualler to overhaul and new fix moſt of their rigging. Having loſt the hopes of a ſupply of water, we were put to the allowance of one quart a man for one day, and three pints for another, alternately; but conſidering our paſſage had hitherto proved extremely ſtormy, and a dead time of the year coming on very faſt, it was thought proper in order to keep the people in as good heart as poſſible, to give them whole allowance of all other proviſions, which was ordered accordingly. Here we farther ſecured our lower deck guns, by nailing quoins under the trucks, in caſe the tackles, breachings, or iron-work might give way, or fail in the ſtormy weather, which we had reaſon to expect. Here the commodore removed the Hon. Captain Murray into the Pearl, in the room of Captain Kidd, and Captain Cheap into the Wager, in the room of Captain Murray. He advanced Mr. Charles Saunders, his firſt lieutenant, to be commander of the Trial ſloop, in the room of Captain Cheap, and made Mr. Piercy Brett firſt lieutenant of the Glouceſter, ſecond lieutenant of his own ſhip. The Trial being prepared, and the Pearl which had thrown about 14 tons of water overboard, when chaced by the Spaniards, being ſupplied from the other ſhips, we prepared to proſecute our voyage. 1741

This harbour of Port St. Julian is a barren harbour, fit only to receive ſmall veſſels. We lay off in the road about two miles from the mouth of it. It is not to be ſeen open from where we lay, one point ſhutting in another; and before any ſmall ſhip or veſſel pretends to venture into the harbour, they ought to ſend in their boats at low water, and ſix poles or buoys at the end of the ſhoals, which in a manner block up the paſſage. The country around is pretty much on the level, except a few hillocks to the northward, and a pretty high one in the bay, which bears W. S. W. from the place where we lay at anchor. The latitude of Port S. Julian is 49° 10′ its longitude from London 69° 48′ weſt, and the variation of the compaſs 17° 20′ e.... We had uncertain weather here, with much rain, ſome ſnow, and generally a thick fog, with ſo much wind and ſea as made us ride hard, and haſtened our departure from this uneaſy ſituation. Sir John Narborough and others write that they have often ſeen and converſed with the inhabitants of this and other parts of Patagonia, and have given wonderful deſcriptions of them; but as we ſaw none of them, I have nothing to ſay of that ſort; nor indeed do I think there is any thing in this wild part of the world worthy of the leaſt notice.

On the 27th, at ſix in the morning, we made the ſignal, weighed, and put to ſea; but the Glouceſter being long in weighing her anchor, and the weather proving thick and hazy, we ſoon loſt ſight of her; and, at one in the afternoon, tacked and lay by for her coming up. At ſeven, we fired a gun, as a ſignal for her, and ſoon after ſhe joined us, having broken he main yard in the ſlings.

Previous to our leaving this port, a council was held on board the Centurion, at which all the officers by ſea and land attended; when it was propoſed by the commodore that their firſt attempt ſhould be on the town of Baldivia, the principal frontier of the diſtrict of Chili. To this propoſition of the council unanimouſly agreed; in conſequence of which, new inſtructions were given to the captain of the ſquadron, by which they were directed, in caſe of ſeparation, to rendezvous at the iſland of Nueſtra Senora del Seccoro, and there to cruiſe for ten days; after which they were ordered to repair to the height of Baldivia, and there, 30° and 40° 30′ to continue cruiſing 14 days longer; and, if in that time they were not joined by the reſt of the ſquadron, they were then to quit that ſtation, and direct their courſe to the iſland of Juan Fernandez.

On the 5th of March, in the morning, we paſſed by the ſtreights of Maghellan, ſo near, that we ſaw them very plainly; the northermoſt point of which, known by the name of Cape Virgin Mary, I found to be in 52° 28′ of ſouth lat. and long. from London 70° 55′ weſt, variation of the compaſs 18° 50′ eaſt. The ſoundings when it bore S. W. by S. at the diſtance of eight leagues, from 32 to 50 fathoms, the bottom black grey ſand and mud.

The afternoon of this day being very bright and clear,

1741 clear, with light breezes, inclinable to be calm, moſt of the captains took the opportunity of the favourable weather to pay a viſit to the commodore, but while they were in company together, they were all greatly alarmed by a ſudden flame which burſt out on board the Centurion, and which was ſucceeded by a cloud of ſmoke. However, they were ſoon relieved from their apprehenſions, by receiving information that the blaſt was occaſioned by a ſpark from the forge lighting on ſome gunpowder and other combuſtibles, which the officers were preparing for their uſe, in caſe we ſhould fall in with the Spaniſh fleet, and that it had been extinguiſhed without any damage to the ſhip.

In the morning of the 6th, we ſaw the land of Terra del Fuego, conſiſting of high, craggy hills, towering above each other, moſtly covered with ſnow; with deep, horrid valleys, ſome few ſcattered trees, no plains, nor one chearful green, through all the horrid proſpect; ſo that the whole may not improperly be called The Land of Deſolation; and I much queſtion whether a more dreary proſpect is to be ſeen in any other part of the habitable earth; for voyagers ſay this is inhabited; but ſurely its inhabitants muſt be the moſt miſerable of human beings. This evening we lay by, that we might not overſhoot the Streights of Le Maire in the night, though I believe, had we kept on, and paſſed round Staten Land, and a ſmall iſland or two, which lie to the eaſtward of thoſe ſtreights, and, together with Terra del Fuego, frame them, it might have been more to our advantage than paſſing through them. The 7th, at eight in the morning, we were very near a point of land on Terra del Fuego, called Cape St. James, bearing E. S. E. another called Cape St. Vincent, S. E. half E. the middlemoſt of the Three Brothers, being three high hills on this land Monte Gorda appearing above, farther up in the country and bearing ſouth from us. It is by theſe marks that the mariner knows he is near the Streights of Le Maire, and indeed we began to open them in this poſition. By noon we were almoſt through them, being aſſiſted by a very ſtrong tide, with much rippling, and which made to the ſouthward ſomewhat before ten o'clock in the morning. The courſe through is almoſt directly ſouth, and there are no ſhoals nor rocks in the paſſage, from whence any danger may be incurred, the only thing to be feared is the tide's turning, after the ſtreights are entered, in which caſe the veſſel will certainly be hurried back again, and can have no paſſage there till the next turn of the tide. The breadth of this paſſage appears to be about ſix or ſeven leagues, and its length about ſeven or eight. The ſtreight lies in 55 degrees ſouth latitude, longitude 67° 30' weſt from London; the ſoundings from 43 to 58 fathoms; the bottom black ſand and pebbles.

In paſſing through, our joy was increaſed by the brightneſs of the ſky and the ſerenity of the weather, which was indeed remarkably pleaſing; for though the winter was now advancing a-pace, yet the morning of this day, for its brilliancy and mildneſs gave place to none we had ſeen ſince we had left England. But we here found, what was conſtantly verified by all our obſervations in theſe high latitudes, that fair weather was always the fore-runner of a ſucceeding ſtorm, and that ſun-ſhine and tempeſt followed one another like light and ſhade. We had ſcarcely reached the extremity of the ſtreights when the ſerenity of the ſky, which had ſo much flattered our hopes, was all at once obſcured; the wind ſhifted to the ſouthward, and the ſea began to ſwell to an aſtoniſhing height. Before night the tempeſt aroſe, and the tide, which had hitherto favoured us, turned furiouſly againſt us; ſo that inſtead of purſuing our intended courſe, we were driven to the eaſtward, by the united force of wind and current, with ſo much precipitation, that in the morning we found ourſelves ſeven leagues to the eaſt of the Streights of Le Maire. From this time, we had ſuch a continual ſucceſſion of tempeſtuous weather as ſurpriſed the oldeſt and moſt experienced mariners on board, and obliged them to confeſs that what they had hitherto called ſtorms were inconſiderable gales, compared with the violence of theſe winds, which raiſed ſuch ſhort, and at the ſame time, ſuch mountainous waves, as greatly ſurpaſſed in danger all ſeas known in any other parts of the globe; and it was not without reaſon that this unuſual appearance filled us with continual terror; for had any one of thoſe waves broke fairly over us, it muſt in all probability, have ſent us to the bottom. Nor did we eſcape with terror only; for our veſſel inceſſantly rolling gunwale to, gave us ſuch quick and violent motions that we were in perpetual danger of being daſhed againſt the maſts or ſides of the ſhip: And though we were extremely careful to ſecure ourſelves from theſe ſudden ſhocks, by graſping at ſome fixed body, yet many of our people were forced from their holds, ſome of whom were killed, and others greatly injured: In particular, one of our beſt ſeamen was carried overboard, and drowned, another diſlocated his neck, a third was thrown into the main-hold, and broke his thigh, and one of our boatſwain's mates broke his collar-bone twice, beſides other accidents of the ſame nature. Theſe tempeſts, ſo dreadful in themſelves, (even though unattended by any other unfavourable circumſtance,) were rendered more miſchievous to us by their inequality, and the deceitful intervals which they at ſome times afforded; for though we were often obliged to lie to for four days together under a heavy wind, and were frequently reduced to remain at the mercy of the waves, under our bare poles; yet now and then we ventured to make ſail, with our courſes double-reefed, and the weather proving more tolerable, would encourage us to ſet our topſails; after which the wind without any previous notice, would return upon us with redoubled force, and, in an inſtant, tear our ſails from the yards; and that nothing might be wanting to aggravate our diſtreſs, theſe blaſts generally brought with them a great quantity of ſnow and ſleet, which caſed our rigging and froze our ſails, thereby rendering them and our cordage brittle and apt to ſnap upon the ſlighteſt ſtrain, adding inexpreſſible difficulty and labour to the working of the ſhip, benumbing the limbs of the people employed in handling the ſails, or handling the ropes, and making them incapable of exerting themſelves with their uſual activity, and even diſabling many by mortifying their fingers and toes. And now, as it were, to add to the finiſhing ſtroke of our misfortunes, our people began to be univerſally afflicted with that moſt terrible, and at ſea, incurable diſeaſe, the ſcurvy, which quickly made a moſt dreadful havock among us, beginning at firſt to carry off two or three a day; but ſoon increaſing, and at laſt carrying off eight or ten; and as moſt of the living were ill of the ſame diſtemper, and the little remainder who preſerved their health better, were quite worn out with inceſſant labour, I have ſome times ſeen four or five dead bodies, ſome ſown up in their hammocks, others not; lying about the decks, for want of help to bury them in the ſea.

[In ſhort, the voyagers met with nothing but difficulties and dangers, ſplitting their ſails, and having their ſeamen killed or diſabled in almoſt every gale. The Pearl and Severn were ſeparated from the fleet on the 10th of April, and from that time they ſaw no more of them, but afterwards, by letters taken on board ſome of the Spaniſh ſhips, they heard of the arrival of thoſe veſſels at Rio. On the 23d of the ſame month, they loſt ſight of the Glouceſter, Wager, Trial, and Anne, being all the remainder of the ſquadron. The Wager ſuffered ſhip-wreck at the Iſland del Seguro, the reſt joined the commodore at the Iſland of Juan Fernandez. The bad weather, with ſome few intervals ſtill continued. On the 8th of May the commodore ſaw the main land of Patagonia, as alſo ſeveral iſlands, one of which he took to be Seguro, which owing to Sir John Narborough's agreeable

The Pearl and Severn and other veſſels are ſeparated from the fleet.

agreeable description of it* was appointed for the first place of rendezvous for the fleet in the South Seas.

This (says my author) was an unhappy appointment in its consequences, for when the people, already reduced to the last extremity, found this to be the place of rendezvous, where they had hoped to meet the rest of their companions with joy, and saw what a miserable part of the world it appeared to be, their grief was succeeded by despair; they saw no end of their sufferings, nor any door open to their safety. Those that had hitherto been well, and in heart, were now full of despondency, fell down, sickened, and died; and, to sum up this melancholy part, I verily believe that our touching on this coast, the long stay we made here, and our hindrance by cross winds, which we should have avoided in a direct course to Juan Fernandez, lost us at least 60 of as stout and able men as any in the navy. This unspeakable distress was still aggravated by the difficulties which we found in working the ship, as the scurvy had destroyed, in all, no less than 200 of our men, and had, in some degree, affected the whole crew. Indeed, it were endless to recite minutely the various disasters, fatigues, and terrors, which we encountered on this coast. All these went on increasing till the 22d of May, at which time the fury of all the storms that we had hitherto experienced, seemed to be combined, and to have confirmed our destruction. In this hurricane almost all our sails were split, and great part of our standing rigging was broken. About eight in the evening, a mountainous sea took us on our starboard quarter, and gave us so prodigious a shock, that several of our shrouds broke with the jerk, by which our masts were in danger of coming by the board, and our ballast and stores were so strangely shifted, that the ship heeled afterwards two streaks apart. It was a most tremendous blow, and we were all thrown into the utmost consternation, from the apprehension of instantly foundering. Our deplorable situation no longer allowing any room for deliberation, we stood for Juan Fernandez; and, to save time, which was now very precious, (our men dying, four, five, or six in a day,) we endeavoured to hit the island on a meridian course. On the 28th of May, being nearly in the parallel in which it is laid down, we expected to have seen it; and indeed the commodore was persuaded that he did see it; but all the officers being of opinion that it was only a cloud, to which the haziness of the weather gave too much colour, we made sail to the eastward, and, by so doing lost above 14 days in recovering our westing again. This was a most fatal disappointment; for in this run we lost above 80 of our men, most of whom would probably have been saved, if the commodore's advice had been attended to. On the 8th of June, at six in the evening, we at last saw the island, bearing north by east, half-east, about 15 or 16 leagues off. On the 10th, at two in the morning, we anchored in 56 fathom water, close under the north-east part of the island. At ten in the morning of the 11th, with much labour and difficulty, we weighed our anchor, and, at noon, happily moored our ship in the great bay, about a mile from the shore, in 52 fathom water, to our inexpressible joy; having been from St. Catherine's in the Brazils to this place, 148 days on such a dreadful and fatal passage, as I believe very few other persons ever experienced. At two in the afternoon, the Trial appeared in the offing; on which we immediately sent some hands on board her, by which assistance she was brought to an anchor between us and the land. We soon found that the sloop had not been exempted from calamities similar to those which we had so severely felt; for her commander, Captain Saunders, waiting on the commodore, informed him, that out of his small complement he had buried 34, and those who recovered were so universally afflicted with the scurvy, that only himself, his lieutenant, and three of his men were able to stand by the sails. The same day we got out our long boat, and sent her on shore, with materials for building tents for the sick, and with orders to bring on board some water. On the 17th the Trial came again to an anchor, and moored: This day and the next, we sent on shore the remainder of our sick people, the whole number now on shore being 135, many of whom as they were too far gone in the scurvy died, to the number of sixty. We now began to send on shore materials for the tents, for the coopers, sail-makers, and some of the officers; we sent also a copper oven, which we had with us for baking soft bread for the ship's company, and the smith's forge, for making or repairing such iron-work as was necessary. After a short interval of relaxation, all hands were busily employed in cutting large quantities of wood for the ship's use, some in making charcoal for the smith, and for a farther store; the bakers in preparing bread; the coopers in making up and cleaning the casks for water; the sail-makers in mending the sails and making others. Some were fishing for the sick, and others were otherwise employed. Here being great plenty of fine fish, all to be taken by the hook, two or three people could never fail to take as much in about two hours, as all the ship's company could eat. Besides we took great quantities for salting and curing; and some private persons who had hooks and lines, fished for themselves, and caught enough for their own use, and to give to those who had none. In the mean time, the people on board were employed in cleaning the vessel, which was in a very filthy condition, and in stripping the masts, and overhauling the rigging. One of the boatswain's mates, (with some assistants) having run up a rope-walk on shore, was employed in making what small cordage we might want; others in watering; in short, in every thing that might contribute to put us in as good a condition, and in as short a time as possible; and as fast as the sick recovered, they were put on the like employments.

1740

They meet with the Trial at Juan Fernandez.

At first sight of this island it appeared with a most unpromising aspect, being extremely mountainous, rugged, and irregular; but, on our near approach it improved upon us; and, when we were landed, we found all the vegetables which are usually esteemed to be peculiarly adapted to the cure of those scorbutic disorders that are contracted by salt diet, and long continuance at sea; for here were water-cresses, wild sorrel, and Sicilian radishes, in profusion. These vegetables (not to mention the turnips which now abound in every plain with the fish and flesh we got here) were not only extremely grateful to us, but were likewise very refreshing to the sick, and contributed not a little to the recovery of those who were not already too far advanced in the disorder to admit of relief, and to the restoring of others to their wonted vigour, who though not apparently under the malignancy of the distemper and its baleful concomitants, were yet greatly debilitated by continual watching and anxiety of mind, from which not one on board was exempt.

During the time of our residence here, we found the inland parts of the island no way to fall short of the sanguine prepossessions we had first entertained in its favour: For the woods which covered most of the steepest hills and precipices, were free from all bushes and underwood, and afforded an easy passage through every part of them; and the irregularities of the hills and precipices in the northern parts of the island, necessarily traced out, by their various combinations, a great number of romantic valleys, most of which had a stream of the clearest water running through them, which tumbled in cascades from one rock to another, as the bottom of the valley, by the course of the neighbouring hills, was at any time broken into a sharp and sudden descent. Some particular spots occurred in these valleys, where the shades and fragrance of the contiguous woods, the loftiness of the overhanging rocks, and the transparency and frequent falls

* He had been there in the height of summer; whereas winter was approaching, when Anson arrived in those parts.

1740 falls of the neighbouring ſtreams, preſented ſcenes of ſuch elegance and dignity, as could with difficulty be rivalled in any other part of the globe. It is in this place that the ſcenes of ſimple nature may perhaps be ſaid to excel all the fictitious deſcriptions of the moſt animated imagination. The ſpot where the commodore choſe to fix his reſidence, exceeded in beauty any thing that words can be ſuppoſed to repreſent. It was a delightful little lawn that lay on an eaſy aſcent, at the diſtance of about half a mile from the ſea, and was probably the very ſpot whereon Captain Shelvock had pitched his tent twenty years before. In front there was a large avenue cut through the woods to the ſea-ſide, which ſloping to the water with a gentle deſcent, opened a proſpect to the bay with the ſhips at anchor. This lawn was ſcreened behind by a tall wood of myrtle, ſweeping round it in the form of a theatre, the ſlope on which the wood ſtood, riſing with a much ſharper aſcent than the lawn itſelf, yet not ſo much but that the hills and precipices without land towered conſiderably above the tops of the trees, and added to the grandeur of the view. There were beſides, two ſtreams of chryſtal water, which ran on the right and left of the tent, within an hundred yards diſtance, and were ſhaded by the trees that ſkirted the lawn on either ſide, and completed the ſymmetry of the whole.

It is aſtoniſhing (continues the writer) that among all the voyagers who have viſited this iſland before us, and who have obliged the world with deſcriptions of it, none of them have mentioned a charming little bird, that with its wild, various, and irregular notes inchants the ear, and makes the woods reſound with its melody. This untutored choriſter is ſomewhat leſs in ſize than the gold-finch, its plumage beautifully intermingled with red and other vivid colours, and the golden crown on its head ſo bright and glowing, that when ſeen in the full light of the ſun, it ſurpaſſes all deſcription. Theſe little birds are far from being uncommon or unfamiliar: They perched on the branches of the myrtle trees ſo near us, and ſang ſo chearfully, as if they had been conſcious that we were ſtrangers and had come to bid us welcome. Beſides the above, there is another little bird unnoticed by any former writer, and which ſeems likewiſe to be peculiar to the iſland, and is conſequently without a name. It is ſtill leſs than the former in ſize, but not inferior in beauty, though not ſo muſical. The back, wings, and head, are of a lively green, intermixed with ſhining golden ſpots, and the belly is a ſnow-white ground with ebony coloured ſpots, ſo elegantly varied, that no art can imitate. To the catalogue of birds mentioned by former writers, ſhould alſo be added blackbirds and thruſhes very like thoſe of England, and owls, but of a very diminutive ſize. Of four-footed animals we ſaw none but cats, rats, dogs, and goats, and of the latter but few, as the dogs of various kinds, gray-hounds, maſtiffs, pointers, ſpaniels, and mungrels, have thinned them in plains, and driven them to inacceſſible mountains; yet ſome were ſhot by the hunters, and were preferred by them to the beſt veniſon. Among thoſe preſented to the commodore were two or three venerable through age, which had been marked more than thirty years before by Sulkirk.

We once had an opportunity of obſerving a remarkable diſpute between a herd of theſe animals and a number of dogs; for going in our boat into the caſtern bay, we perceived ſome dogs run very eagerly upon the foot, and being willing to obſerve what game they were after, we lay on our oars ſome time to view them, and at laſt ſaw them take a hill, where looking a little farther, we obſerved, upon the ridge of it, an herd of goats, which ſeemed drawn up for their reception. There was a very narrow path ſkirted on each ſide by precipices, in which the leader of the herd poſted himſelf fronting the enemy, the reſt of the goats being ranged behind him where the ground was more open. As this ſpot was inacceſſible by any other path except that where this champion had placed himſelf, the dogs, though they ran up hill with great alacrity, yet, when they came within about 20 yards, found they durſt not encounter this formidable Goliah; for he would infallibly have driven the firſt that approached him down the precipice; they therefore laid themſelves quietly down, panting, and did not offer to ſtir while we were in ſight. Theſe dogs have multiplied prodigiouſly, and have deſtroyed moſt of the cats as well as goats: the rats, however keep poſſeſſion, and were very troubleſome gueſts in the night, when they generally paid us their viſits. It is not eaſy to determine in what manner ſuch a number of dogs ſubſiſt, as they are much more numerous than all the other four-footed creatures upon the iſland. Our people were inclined to think they lived in a great meaſure upon the young ſea-lions and ſeals, and ſupported their opinion by the report of the ſailors, ſome of whom killed the dogs for food, and ſaid they taſted fiſhy: and indeed there is hardly any other way of accounting for the ſubſiſtence of theſe animals; for, as has been ſaid, they have already deſtroyed all the goats in the acceſſible part of the country; ſo that there remain now only a few, among the crags and precipices, where the dogs cannot follow them. Theſe are divided into ſeparate herds of twenty or thirty each, which inhabit diſtinct faſtneſſes and never mingle with each other: by theſe means we found it extremely difficult to kill them; and yet we were ſo deſirous of their fleſh, that we diſcovered I believe, all their herds; and it was thought, on comparing their numbers, that they ſcarcely exceeded 200 upon the whole iſland. The dogs had deſtroyed the pardellas likewiſe, ſo that there was not one of them to be ſeen: we found, indeed, their boroughs in the earth, which leaves no doubt of their being in plenty there in Selkirk's time, as well as cats, of which there is now ſcarcely one left alive. Fleſh-meat being very ſcarce, our people, tired of fiſh, though excellent in its kind, at length condeſcended to eat ſeals, which, by degrees they came to reliſh, and called them lamb. Of theſe, it being their breeding time, and of the ſea-lions the numbers were incredible. Theſe animals have frequently furious battles among themſelves, principally about their females; and we were one day ſurpriſed by the ſight of two animals, which at firſt ſeemed different from all we had ever obſerved; but, on a nearer approach, they proved to be two ſea-lions that had being goring each other with their tuſks, and were covered with blood, with which they plentifully abound. This led us to watch them more cloſely; and one was obſerved larger than the reſt, and from his driving off other males, and keeping a great number of females to himſelf, he was humorouſly ſtyled the Baſhaw. To this pre-eminence, however, he had not arrived without many bloody conteſts; for on our people's attacking him in the midſt of his ſeraglio of females, being overpowered after having made a deſperate defence, the ſigns of his bravery appeared in numerous ſcars on every part of his body.

We had now been ten days on this iſland, when ſome of our people diſcovered from an eminence a ſhip to the leeward, with her courſes even with the horizon, without any other ſail abroad but the main-top-ſail; from whence it was concluded ſhe was one of our own ſquadron; but the weather being hazy, no definitive determination could be formed concerning her. She diſappeared for ſome days, and we were all under the deepeſt concern, fearing that the weakneſs of her condition had diſabled her from working to windward, and that all on board had periſhed. We continued our employ till the 20th, when we ſaw the ſhip again, and, on her near approach, could diſtinguiſh her to be the Glouceſter; and, making no doubt of her being in diſtreſs, the commodore ſent our boat on board her with water and refreſhments. We found her in a miſerable condition, having not many more than an hundred people alive, and almoſt all thoſe helpleſs with the ſcurvy; their water ſo very ſhort, that they were obliged to allow but a pint a day to a man, and the continual ſtaws off the land, together with their

being disabled in their sails and yards hindered them from getting into the bay. The next day we sent them a fresh supply of fish, greens, and water, and men to help to work the ship; soon after which the flaws drove them off again, and the ship appeared no more till the 30th, when she fired a gun, and made a signal of distress. She continued in this manner off and on, sometimes in sight, and sometimes not, till the 23d of July; during which time, though we often relieved the people on board with water and other necessaries, yet their sufferings were insupportable and their whole complement was by this time reduced to 96 men, all of whom must have perished in a few days more, had not the wind proved favourable to bring them into the bay; but providentially a fresh gale sprung up from the sea, which brought them to an anchor. We immediately sent men on board to assist in mooring the ship, and continued our assistance during our stay at this place.

The Gloucester joins them again.

On the 5th of August the commodore sent the Trial sloop to search the island of Little Juan Fernandez, lest any of the squadron should have mistaken that island for the place of rendezvous, and might remain there, in expectation of meeting with the rest of the ships. On the 15th, the Anne pink, which had been separated from us, with the rest of the squadron, on the 23d of April, appeared in sight. Her arrival gave us new spirits, she being principally laden with provisions, and we were immediately ordered full allowance of bread. This ship had been about two months in a safe harbour, on the main land, near the same parallel with del Soccoro, whither she had been directed by Providence, and where she lay in security, and enjoyed plenty, and her people, sixteen in number being freed from their fears of shipwreck, very soon recovered their wonted vigour, having experienced none of those hardships which were endured by the rest of the fleet. They told us they had seen some Indians, and, once took one of their canoes, with a man, a woman, some children, a dog, a cat, &c. but the day after this capture, all escaped, the dog excepted, in the ship's boat, and left the canoe in her stead. Those Indians, they said, understood a few Spanish words, and probably might have some little correspondence with the Spaniards of Chili, or their nearer bordering Indians, or some of the fathers for propagating the faith, might sometimes have been among them. The principal refreshment the crew met with in this port were wild nettle-tops, celery, and sorrel; cockles and muscles of an extraordinary size; and good store of sheep, geese, and penguins. They judged the place to lie in lat. 45° 30′ south, and might be known by an island which faces it, which the inhabitants call Inchin, and by a river in which they found some excellent fish. The Anne pink was the last that joined us at Juan Fernandez. The remaining ships of the squadron were the Severn, the Pearl, and the Wager store-ship. The Severn and Pearl, which parted company at Cape Noir, (as has been already observed) put back to the Brasils, so that of all the ships that came into the South Seas, the Wager alone was missing. [Of the fate of this ship a relation will be given before the conclusion of this voyage, as also of the expedition of the Spanish admiral Pizarro, who by this time was set out to intercept the English squadron.]

They meet with the Anne pink.

On the 22d the Trial returned from searching the island of Little Fernandez, and reported it to be about 20 leagues distant from the place where we lay, being about three leagues in compass, very mountainous, and having some woods, and good runs of water; with multitudes of goats, fish, sea-lions, seals, as with us; but no ships were to be seen, nor the marks of any having been there. While we were at Juan Fernandez, we began, and pretty far advanced a wharf for the better landing and embarking such necessaries as we had occasion for. We kept two ovens employed in baking bread for the ship's companies, two Smith's forges for repairing old, and fitting new iron work, and continued making charcoal for future use. The commodore likewise ordered the carpenters to take a careful survey of the Anne pink, the master of which set forth that she was in so rotten a condition, as not to be able to proceed or return, without very considerable repairs; which representation, upon a survey, being found to be true, the commodore purchased her materials at a fair valuation, and ordered her to be broken up, and her crew to be put on board the Gloucester, that ship not having hands enough left to navigate her, much less to fight her, in case of an attack from the enemy. 1740

We reckoned this island (Juan Fernandez) to be in 33° 40′ south lat. and in 87° 37′ west lon. from London. The distance from the main continent is 150 leagues, and the compass, by the best accounts of those who have been round it, is about 12 or 13 leagues. There are two small and very commodious bays within the points, which form a large one where we lay; one to the eastward, the other to the westward of us, and no doubt several others in other parts of the island. The variation, by an observation taken on the morning of the 2d of July, was 8° 4′ half-east. It was reported that the south-west end of the island was more level than that where we resided, and the goats more numerous, but wood scarcer.

On Tuesday, Septe er the 8th, at noon, we saw a sail, bearing N. E. by E. and perceiving by our glasses, that she could be none of our squadron, nor was an English built ship, we fired a gun, as a signal for getting all our people on board; and having taken several men out of the Trial, bent our sails, set up our rigging, and slipped our small bower cable; and at six in the evening we weighed, in pursuit of her. In the morning of the next day we got down our stumps, which are generally set up in bad weather instead of top-gallant masts and yards, rigged them and bent their sails. At eleven the same morning, we mustered and quartered the ship's company. At noon the island of Juan Fernandez bore half south at distance eight leagues. The two next days we saw nothing of the chace, nor any thing remarkable.

On Saturday, September the 12th, at five in the morning, we saw a sail to the windward, which bore down to us; and about two leagues distance, she hauled up the lee clue-garnet of her main-sail, and fired a gun, which we supposed to be a signal concerted between her and others that came out in her company; but we not answering nor regarding it, she hauled close on a wind, and stood from us, endeavouring to escape; upon which we gave chace; but the weather sometimes proving hazy and foggy, we were in danger of losing sight of her. About nine in the morning we tacked, and at noon coming within gun shot, we fired five shot at her rigging, to bring her to; but she keeping on her course, we fired four more, on which she struck her colours, and surrendered without making any opposition. This ship, however, happened not to be the same that we went out after. She proved to be a rich merchant ship, having on board 18,000l. in dollars and plate, with some jewels and abundance of gold and silver twist; but the bulk of her cargo consisted of sugars and bale goods, most of the latter European, but from the produce of the country. She was called the Nuestra Senora del Monte Carmelo, was of about 500 tons burthen, and was commanded by Don Manuel Zamora, and had on board thirteen passengers, most of them persons of fortune, amongst whom was the governor of the city of S. Jago, the capital of Chili. She came from Callao in Peru, and was bound for Valparaiso in Chili, where those ships annually trade, exchanging silver in return for gold and corn, the latter being very scarce in Peru. Some of the prisoners informed us, that if we had taken this vessel on her return from Chili to Peru, we should have met with as much gold in her as we had now found silver. She had on board her, in the whole, fifty-seven persons, many of them Indians and black slaves, who were afterwards very useful to us in assisting

1740 ſifting towards the ſhip's duty. She had been 27 days from Callao, and wanted not above two days to complete her voyage when we took her.

[In this ſhip the commodore found an account of the miſadventures of the Spaniſh admiral Piſarro's ſquadron, who in his courſe, had met with two ſhips which they ſuppoſed to be Engliſh, but the ſea ran ſo high, that they could not pretend to purſue them. Theſe ſhips were ſuppoſed to be the Pearl and Severn. As to the reſt they found that the Spaniard had been forced to put back, but heard alſo that he had ſent advice to the viceroy of Peru concerning them, intimating, That though he had been forced back, yet poſſibly the Engliſh, who were obſtinate enough to perſiſt in deſperate undertakings, might come into theſe ſeas; but knowing experimentally what they muſt have ſuffered in that dreadful paſſage, he doubted not but that they muſt be in a very weak and defenceleſs condition; he therefore adviſed the viceroy to fit out all the ſtrength of ſhipping that he could, and to ſend them to cruiſe at Juan Fernandez, where it was likely that they might meet their enemy; in which caſe he farther adviſed that the Spaniards ſhould not waſte the time in a diſtant cannonading, but board the Engliſh ſword in hand, which, in their weak condition was likely to prove an infallible method of taking them.]

This, (ſays our author) was a well laid ſcheme, and, in purſuance of it, the viceroy equipt three ſhips at Callao, one of 54, one of 30, and one of 20 guns, all double manned with the choiceſt men they could poſſibly procure, and ſent them to wait for us accordingly. Thoſe ſhips arrived at Juan Fernandez ſome time in May, and continued till about June the 6th, when, imagining that we muſt be either put back or loſt, they quitted their ſtation, and ſailed for the port of Conception in Chili, and, by theſe means, we luckily miſſed them: had it happened otherwiſe, as we arrived there with only our ſingle ſhip, in ſuch a defenceleſs condition, and had they put their orders in execution with any tolerable degree of reſolution, we muſt, in all human probability, have fallen into their hands. Our priſoners informed us further, that thoſe ſhips, during their cruiſe, had met with a ſtorm, in which they had received ſo much damage, that it muſt be at leaſt two months before they could again be fit to go to ſea,; the whole of this intelligence was as favourable as we could have wiſhed; and now we were at no loſs to account for the freſh marks that we found at Juan Fernandez, of that iſland's having been lately viſited by ſome white people.

On Sunday the 13th, having got on board moſt of the priſoners of note, and all the ſilver, we made ſail for Juan Fernandez; and the weather proving very moderate, at ſix in the evening that iſland bore N. W. by N. at the diſtance of five leagues. At ſix the next morning we fired three guns, as a ſignal to the ſhips in the bay. At four we anchored, got in our ſmall bower cable, which we had ſlipped at leaving the place, and moored our ſhip. The 15th we employed in watering, and ſetting up our rigging, in order to purſue our voyage. And this day, the commodore being informed that ſeveral merchant-ſhips were now purſuing their trade without fear of any ſurprize, the trial was ordered out on a cruiſe, and proceeded immediately. On the 16th we got up a new top-gallant maſt, and wanting ſome cordage we were ſupplied with it from the Glouceſter. This and the following days until the 19th, we ſpent in getting every thing ready for ſea with the utmoſt expedition. The 19th we ſent 28 of our priſoners on board the Glouceſter, ſhe being weakly manned, and theſe priſoners being good ſailors. We likewiſe ſupplied the prize with two months proviſions of all ſorts, at full allowance, for 20 men; put all the guns belonging to the Anne pink on board of her; and, having left orders with Captain Mitchell, of the Glouceſter, to burn the pink, together with her uſeleſs ſtores, and appointed him his ſtation off the town of Payta, (where the ſhips between Lima and Panama generally touch to deliver part of their cargoes to be diſperſed through the inland parts of Peru) with orders to ſail to that ſtation as ſoon as poſſible; we weighed, and took leave of our winter reſidence, in company with the prize, which the commodore had fitted up to cruiſe againſt the enemy. The 21ſt at four in the evening, we had the laſt ſight of this iſland, it then bearing from us W. by N. at the diſtance of 17 leagues. The remaining days, until the 24th, we had variable and uncertain weather, in which we ſplit our main-top-ſail and fore-ſail, and received ſome other ſlight damage.

The 24th, at five in the evening, being ſomewhat hazy, we ſaw two ſail to windward, on which we cleared ſhip, in order to be ready to engage; the largeſt of the two ſhips bearing down upon us. At ſeven ſhe came ſo near, that we hailed her in Spaniſh, and ſhe anſwered in Engliſh, and told us, that ſhe was a prize taken by the Trial, and that her conſort was the Trial itſelf, which was very much diſabled. At eleven the next morning, there being a hard gale, and high ſea, the Trial fired two guns as a ſignal of diſtreſs, and bore away before the wind, and we after her. The ſame day at half an hour paſt noon, we ſpoke with her, and found ſhe had ſprung her main-maſt, and that her main top-maſt had gone by the board; and as we were all of us ſtanding to the eaſtward next morning, with a freſh gale at ſouth, ſhe had the additional misfortune to ſpring her fore-maſt, ſo that now ſhe had not a maſt left. This was a great obſtruction; for now we had intelligence by the Trial's prize, that there were many ſhips at ſea richly laden, and that they had no apprehenſions of being attacked by us, having received intelligence that our ſquadron was either put back, or deſtroyed. Therefore in the courſe of 28 hours, which we were detained in waiting upon the Trial, I am perſuaded we miſſed the taking many valuable prizes. The reſult was, that a council being called, and all the officers convened together on board our ſhip, it was there concluded that, in her preſent condition, the Trial could be of no farther ſervice; and the commodore, being reſolved to ſeparate the ſhips in order to cruiſe upon the coaſt to the greateſt advantage, gave orders to Captain Charles Saunders, the commander, to burn the Trial, and in her room commiſſioned the Trial's prize for his majeſty's ſervice, with the ſame commander, officers, and people. This ſhip was called by the Spaniards the Nueſtra Senora de Arinzazie; but, being now commiſſioned for his majeſty's ſervice, ſhe was henceforth called the Trial's prize. She was the largeſt ſhip we took in thoſe ſeas, being between five and ſix hundred tons, and laden with bale goods, ſugar, and other commodities to a conſiderable value, and about 5000l. in ſpecie and wrought ſilver.

On the 28th, at nine in the morning, we parted with the Trial and both the prizes. And on the 30th we ſaw the main land of Chili. This day we began to exerciſe our people with ſmall arms, which was the firſt time we had done it ſince we came into thoſe ſeas, and which we continued at all proper opportunities during the voyage.

On the firſt of October we came in ſight of the high land of Valparaiſo, bearing N. E. half E. at the diſtance of about 14 leagues. This city lies in the latitude of 32° 58′ ſouth, its longitude from London is by my account 80° 37 weſt. On the 5th, the commodore, being informed that there were murmurings amongſt the people, becauſe the prize-money was not immediately divided, ordered the articles of war to be read; and, after that, remonſtrated to them on the danger of mutiny, and ſaid he had heard the reaſon of their diſcontent, but aſſured them their properties were ſecured by act of parliament as firmly as any one's own inheritance, and that the money, plate, &c. were weighed, and marked in public; ſo that any capable perſon, if he pleaſed, might take an inventory of the whole. He then read an account of the particulars, and told them they might (if they

pleasure) make choice of any person to take an inventory for them, or buy their parts; which spread a visible joy and gave content to every one.

We continued cruising off the coast of Valparaiso till the 8th, when, at twelve at night we broke the main topsail yard in the slings, on which we unbent the top sail, and got down the broken yards. At ten in the morning we saw the high land of Choupa, and over it the Cordillera mountains, being part of that long ridge of mountains called the Andes, which run from one end of South America to the other, appearing excessively high, with their tops covered with snow. We crossed the south tropic to the northward on the 14th, and from this time till we were some degrees to the northward of the equator, met with nothing but fair weather and a smooth sea.

The 21st, at noon, the high land of Morro Quemado bore E. by N. at the distance of four leagues; and here we continued cruising off and on till the 2d of November, when, about six in the morning, we saw two sail of ships standing towards us, upon which we made a clear ship, and immediately gave them chace, when we soon perceived that they were the Trial and Centurion prizes. As we had the wind of them, we brought to, and hailed their coming up, when Captain Saunders came on board, and acquainted the commodore that he had cleared the Trial, pursuant to his orders, and having shuttled her, he remained by her till the sunk; but that it was not till the 4th of October, that this was effected, by reason of the great swell and hollow sea, that, during his attendance on the sloop, they were all driven so far to leeward, that they were afterwards obliged to stretch a long way to the westward, to regain the ground they had lost. He added that in their cruise they had met no prize, nor had seen any vessel on all the coast. At four in the afternoon, of the 5th instant, we discovered the high land of Barlnca, and half an hour after we saw a sail to the northward, to which we gave chace, and cleared our ship for engaging; and at ten in the evening, coming up with her, we fired eight guns, and took her. She came from Guiaquil, and was bound for Callao, with timber, cacao, cordage, tobacco, and a small trunk of bale goods, all of little value to us, but a considerable loss to the Spaniards. She was called the Santa Teresa, and was commanded by Don Bartolo Urunaga, having between 30 and 40 people on board, passengers included, and five or six women besides children. Our third lieutenant, two other officers, and a party of sailors were sent on board to take care of her; and our other prizes being far astern, occasioned by our chacing this ship, we lay by till four the next morning, and fired a gun every hour, as a signal for their joining us.

On the 12th of this month, at five in the morning, we saw a sail, to which we gave chace; but there being very little wind, we manned and armed our barge, pinnace, and the Trial's pinnace, and sent them to take her, and at eight they boarded and took her, and brought her to us at half an hour past ten. She was called the Carmen, commanded by Signor Marcus Marina, and came out of Payta the day before. She was bound to Callao, and laden with iron and cloth. We found an Irishman on board named John Williams, who pretended to be a prisoner amongst them, and with much seeming joy entered with us. He informed us, that amongst other ships in the port of Payta, they left in the road a bark which was taking in 400,000 dollars, with which she would sail for Panama, in a day or two at farthest; and the Spanish prisoners on being examined, confirming the intelligence, and farther giving some account of the strength of the place, the commodore resolved to attack it that very night, and made preparations accordingly. Mr. Thomas Simmers, mate of our ship, with one midshipman, and about ten or twelve men, were sent to command and take care of this last prize. At ten at night we sent our barge and the Trial's pinnace to attack the town of Payta, and to take it by surprize. They had 49 men well armed, and were commanded by the Lieutenants Brett, Dennis, and Hughes, who had orders, if possible, to secure the governor of Payta, and send him prisoner on board, in order to procure a supply of provisions, and a ransom for the town. At half an hour past eleven we sounded, and found 43 fathom water, the ground mud, the island of Lobos bearing N. N. E. at the distance of three or four miles. At seven in the morning, Point Orado, being the point that forms the Bay of Payta, bore S. S. E. two miles distant, and the town of Payta, at the same time, began to open in a direct line with it, distant about four miles; soon after which we saw our British colours flying on the castle. At ten, the Trial's boat came on board, laden with gold and silver coin, wrought plate, jewels, and rich moveables. The crew informed us, that they took the town about two in the morning; and that though the Spaniards had some time before been apprised of our intent, yet they made a very faint resistance, having fired but two guns from their castle before our men landed, and a few small arms afterwards; and then they all quitted the town with the greatest precipitation. The governor and his family made their escape in so much haste, that his lady was handed out of a window with no other clothes to cover her but her shift. All the inhabitants fled in the like confusion; except some women and children. In this action we lost one man, Peter Obrian, the commodore's steward, who was shot through the breast by a musquet ball; and had two wounded, namely, Arthur Lusk, a quarter-master, and the Spanish pilot of the Teresa, whom we had made use of as a guide; the first through the fleshy part of the arm, near the shoulder, the second through the wrist, but neither dangerously; and I have had it reported from several officers then on shore, that our men ran to the attack, and fired in so irregular a manner, that it was, and still remains a doubt whether those were not shot by our people rather than by the enemy. Payta, at the time of the attack, had a fort with eight guns mounted, which commanded the town and harbour; and the balcony of the governor's house, which again commanded that fort, and several other houses were lined with armed men, of which there might be about 400 in the town; but these people having enjoyed a long peace, and being enervated by luxury so customary in those parts, their arms in a bad condition, and no person of experience or courage to head them, it is no wonder that they made so small a resistance, and were all driven out of the town in less than half an hour, by only 49 men, but I believe the noise of two drums which we made use of, together with the suddenness of the surprise, contributed to intimidate them, and facilitated our success.

On our getting possession of the castle, our commanding officer very inconsiderately ordered the guns to be thrown over the walls, which accordingly was executed; but some time after, reflecting on the ill consequence which might attend that proceeding, he ordered two of them to be got up and remounted.

This town contained 140 or 150 houses; We found in it two churches, which, together with the governor's house and castle, were the only remarkable buildings. There were several large store-houses full of rich European goods, all which were destroyed when we let the town on fire. This afternoon we employed in getting off the plunder, and provisions of hogs and fowls, which were here in great plenty. On the evening we anchored in ten fathom water, the town bearing from us S. by E. half E. at about three miles distance, not being able to get farther in, by reason of the flaws of wind from off the land.

From this time to the 15th we were employed in getting on board the plunder, which chiefly consisted of rich brocades, laced clothes, bales of fine linens and woolens, and the like; together with a great number of hogs, as also some sheep and fowls, cases of Spanish brandies and wines, a quantity of onions, olives, sweet-meats, &c. all which the sailors hoped would have been equally di-

1741 vided among the ships companies, but they found themselves disappointed.

We found in the road one ship, two snows, one schooner, and two quarter galleys, all which we took possession of. The 14th in the morning, we saw a bark-log, as they call it, being a sort of raft, made of the stumps of trees, fastened together, overlaid with poles, and covered with small twigs twisted mat-wise, with several people in her coming along shore, from the southward, she had a sort of mast and sail in her, and at first sight we knew not what to make of her; and none of our boats being on board, we sent the Carmen's boat with Mr. Langdon, a midshipman, who commanded in the second place on board that ship, and some armed people to pursue them, who perceiving it put on shore, and made their escape over the rocks. Mr. Langdon took their bark-log, which he found to be laden with dried fish, which we suppose they were carrying to Payta for a market. This evening the Spaniards, who had all along appeared in great numbers from the hills, and were now considerably increased, making a show of warlike preparations as if they designed in the night to attack our people in the town, they thereupon barricaded the streets, and kept very strict watches, to prevent a surprise. Several negros delivered themselves up, desiring to be made prisoners, that they might have some food, and more especially water, to keep them from perishing; for the country thereabouts being for many miles round quite barren and sandy, without either water or any other thing necessary for life, and the nearest town to them, named, as I think, Santa Cruz, whence relief might be got, being a day and a half or two days journey off, the people who had left the town were in a starving condition, and we had melancholy accounts of several dying among them chiefly for want of water during our small stay; and yet so greatly were they infatuated or frightened, that they never offered to treat for the ransom of the place, which if they had done, I believe it would not have been destroyed; in which case they might have secured to themselves not only their habitations, but provision and water enough (till they could have got a fresh recruit) which we should, on that condition, have readily left them.

The town seems to be very unhappily situated on that and some other accounts. They having no water but what is brought them by land carriage from several leagues off; so that they are obliged to keep very considerable quantities by them in earthen jars, not only for their own use, but for the ships which frequently touch here, where they likewise often unload, and take in fresh cargoes. They are in the same case as to grain, bread, and almost all other necessaries of life; and lie so open to an enemy, that the town has been often taken and ruined by the English, Dutch, and French; all which inconveniencies, one would imagine, should tempt them to change their situation: but then the convenience of their trade is so great, being the only proper place they can pitch on for a mart between Panama and Peru, that they prefer this lucrative convenience to all other considerations.

Among the slaves who had desired to be entertained in our service, was one, who, having been a slave in Jamaica, had, on the death of his master, obtained his liberty, and thereupon entered himself a servant to one of the South-Sea Company's factors, whom he accompanied to Porto Bello and Panama, and there got into the service of a Spanish gentleman, who took a great fancy to him, and with whom he went to Lima in Peru, where his master likewise dying, left him a very considerable legacy; but the power being now in the hands of his executors, they not only defrauded him of his legacy, but made him a slave a second time. He was now at Payta with one of his masters, on his passage from Lima to Panama, when he took this opportunity to come over to us; and being a handy fellow, and accustomed to wait upon gentlemen, he was immediately taken into the commodore's service, came with us into England; and, I believe, continued with him to his death. This person gave us some information of the designs of the Spaniards on shore, and told us that we had killed one or two of them, and wounded several others; but this account was never, that I know of, farther confirmed.

The 15th in the morning, we sent on shore all our Spanish, and several Indian prisoners, keeping all the blacks, and some of the Indians, to assist in working the ships, &c. To the blacks, who were all or the most of them slaves, was promised their liberty in England, in case they would stand by and assist us against our enemies the Spaniards; which they all promised very cordially; but we could soon discover, that notwithstanding their seeming condescension, most of them would much rather have continued in their old master's service, than to sail to accept of liberty with us; not that I believe those people were in love with slavery, but then it must be on their own terms, the Spaniards in those parts being in great fear of the Indians, whom, though they have subdued, and seem to have incorporated among them, they dare not trust, but keep these blacks as guards, and use them well. The truth is, those Indians have still preserved, by tradition, from father to son, the memory of the great cruelties which the first Spaniards exercised in those parts, and are angry enough at their present hard usage. They look on themselves as the natural lords of the country, and the Spaniards as covetous intruders, and cruel and inhuman tyrants; and want only opportunity to make them sensible of their resentment, and to recover their lost country and liberty. It is on this account that the Spaniards are very kind to their black slaves, whom they cherish and encourage highly, and look on them in the same light as a standing militia, always ready to arm against those Indians; so that, though the negros in all other plantations in the West-Indies are ever ready for revolts and rebellions, these, on the contrary, are always ready to defend their kind masters with their lives. In effect, they live very easy, are favoured by the Spaniards, and scorn and insult the poor Indians, who in return hate and detest both them and their masters; that being all that is left in their power.

This day an order was given to Mr. Brett, the then commanding officer on shore, to burn and destroy the town entirely, the two churches, which stood a little way from the rest, only excepted, the Spaniards, as has been already said, never having made any advance towards treating for its ransom.

But now, before I entirely quit the relation of our transaction at this place, it may, perhaps, be expected, that I should give a more particular account of the booty we made, and of the loss the Spaniards sustained, I have already observed, that there were great quantities of valuable effects in the town, but as most of them were, what we could neither dispose of, nor carry away, the total of this merchandise can only be guessed at. The Spaniards, in their representations sent to the court of Madrid (as we were afterwards assured) estimated their whole loss at a million and a half of dollars; and when it is considered, that no small part of the goods we left behind us, were of the richest and most expensive species, as broadcloths, silks, cambrics, velvets, &c. I cannot but think their valuation sufficiently moderate.

As to ourselves, the acquisition we made, though inconsiderable in comparison of what we destroyed, was yet far from despicable; for the wrought plate, dollars, and other coin, which fell into our hands, amounted to upwards of 30,000l. besides several rings, bracelets, jewels, whose intrinsic value we could not then estimate: and over and above all this, the plunder, which became the property of the immediate captors, was very great; so that, upon the whole, it was by much the most important booty we met with upon that coast.

There remains still another matter to be related, which on account of the signal honour, that our national character in those parts has thence received, and the reputation which our commodore in particular, has

has thereby acquired, merits a distinct and circumstantial discussion. I have already observed, that all the prisoners taken by us, were before our departure, put on shore and discharged, amongst whom there were some persons of considerable distinction, especially a youth about 17 years of age, son of the vice president of the council of Chili. As the barbarity of the buccaneers, and the artful uses the ecclesiastics had made of the account, had filled the natives of those countries with the most terrible ideas of English cruelty, we always found our prisoners, at their first coming on board us, to be extremely dejected, and under great horror and anxiety; particularly this youth, who, having never having been from home before, lamented his captivity in the most moving manner, regretting, in very plaintive terms his parents, his brothers, his sisters, and his native country, of all which, he was fully persuaded, he had taken his last farewel, believing that he was now devoted for the remaining part of his life to an abject and cruel servitude. Indeed, his companions on board, and all the Spaniards that came into our power, had the same desponding opinion of their situation. Mr. Anson constantly exerted his utmost endeavours to efface those terrifying impressions they had received of us, always taking care, that as many of the principal people among them as there was room for, should dine at his table by turns, and giving the most peremptory orders that they should be treated with the utmost decency and humanity; but notwithstanding all his precaution, it was generally observed, that for the first day or two they did not quit their fears, suspecting the gentleness of their usage to be only preparatory to some unthought of calamity. However, being at length convinced of our sincerity, they grew perfectly easy in their situation, and remarkably chearful; so that it was often disputable whether they considered their being detained by us as a real misfortune; for the youth I have mentioned, who was near two months on board us, had at last conquered his melancholy surmises, and had taken such an affection to Mr. Anson, that it is doubtful to me, whether, if his own opinion had been asked, he would not have preferred a voyage to England in the Centurion, to the being set on shore at Payta, where he was at liberty to return to his country and friends.

This conduct of the commodore to his prisoners, which was continued without interruption or deviation, gave them all the highest idea of his humanity and benevolence, and occasioned them likewise (as mankind are fond of forming general opinions) to entertain very favourable thoughts of the whole English nation; but whatever they might be disposed to think of Mr. Anson, before the capture of the Teresa, their veneration for him was prodigiously increased by his conduct towards the ladies, whom he took in that vessel; for, being informed that there were among them a mother and two daughters of exquisite beauty, he not only ordered that they should be left in full possession of their own apartments, but also on the severest penalty forbade any of the common people to approach them: and that they might be the more certain of having these orders complied with, or otherwise of having the means of complaining, he permitted the pilot, who in Spanish ships is generally the second person on board, to stay with them as a guardian and protector. These were measures that seemed so different from what might have been expected from an enemy and a heretic, that the Spaniards on board, though they had experienced his beneficence were surprised at this new instance of it; and the more so, as all was done without the solicitation or the interposition of one friend in their favour. The ladies were so sensible of the obligations they owed the commander, that they absolutely refused to go on shore at Payta till they had been permitted to wait on him on board the Centurion, there personally to return thanks for his civilities. Indeed all the prisoners left us with the strongest assurances of their grateful remembrance of his uncommon treatment. A Jesuit, in particular, whom the commodore had taken, and who was an ecclesiastic of some distinction, could not help expressing himself with great thankfulness for the civilities which he and his countrymen had found on board; declaring, that he would consider it as his duty to do Mr. Anson justice at all times; adding, That his usage of the men prisoners was such as never could be forgotten, and such as he should never fail to acknowledge on all occasions, but that his behaviour to the ladies was so extraordinary, and so extremely honourable, that he doubted if all the regard due to his own ecclesiastical character would be sufficient to render it credible. Indeed we were afterwards informed that he and the rest of our prisoners had not been silent on this head, but that at Lima, and at other places, they had given the greatest encomiums to our commodore. The Jesuit, in particular, as we were told, on this account, in a lax and hypothetical sense interpreted the article of his church which asserts the impossibility of heretics being saved. 1741

After we had finished our business, set the town in flames, and got the treasure on board, Mr. Brett, the officer who commanded the attack, having collected his men together, was directing his march towards the beach, where the boats waited to take them on board, when the Spaniards on the hill behind the town, observing his retreat, resolved to try if they could not precipitate his departure; and thereby lay some foundation for future boasting. To this end, a party of horse, all picked men, singled out for this daring enterprize, marched down the hill with much seeming resolution; so that, had we not entertained a just opinion of their prowess, we might have imagined, that, now we were upon the open beach, with no advantages of situation, they would certainly have charged us: but we presumed, and we were not mistaken, that all this was mere ostentation; for, notwithstanding the pomp and parade they at first came on with, Mr. Brett had no sooner ordered his men to halt and face about, than the enemy stopped their career and never dared to advance a step farther. They burn Payta.

When our people arrived at their boats and were ready to go on board, they were for some time retarded by missing one of their number; and being unable, on their mutual enquiries among each other, to inform themselves where he was left, or by what accident he was detained, after a considerable delay, they resolved to get into their boats, and to depart without him: but, when the last man was actually embarked, and the boats were just put off, they heard him calling to them to take him in. The place was by this time so thoroughly on fire, and the smoke covered the beach so effectually, that they could scarcely discern him, though they heard his voice. However, the lieutenant instantly ordered one of the boats to his relief whose crew found him up to his chin in water, for he had waded as far as he durst, being extremely frightened with the apprehensions of falling into the hands of the enemy, enraged, as they must be at the pillage and destruction of their town. On enquiry into the cause of his staying behind, it was found that he had taken that morning too large a dose of brandy, which had thrown him into so sound a sleep, that he did not awake till the fire came near enough to scorch him. He was strangely amazed, at the first opening of his eyes, to see the houses in a blaze on one side, and several Spaniards and Indians not far from him on the other, the greatness and suddenness of his fright, instantly reduced him into a state of sobriety, and gave him sufficient presence of mind to push through the thickest of the smoke, as the likeliest means to escape the enemy; and making the best of his way to the beach, he ran as far into the water as he could (for he could not swim,) before he ventured to look back. By the time our people had helped their comrade out of the water, and were making the best of their way to the squadron, the flames had taken possession of every part of the town, and burned so furiously, both by means of cumbustibles that had been distributed for that purpose, and by the slightness of the materials

1741. trials of which the houſes were compoſed, and their aptitude to take fire, that it was ſufficiently apparent no efforts of the enemy (though they flocked down in great numbers) could poſſibly put a ſtop to it, or prevent the entire deſtruction of the place, and all the merchandiſe contained therein. Our detachment having now ſafely joined the ſquadron, the commodore prepared to leave the place the ſame evening, at ſeven. Cape Blanco in lat. 3 deg. 28 min. S. and long. 88 deg. 16 min. W. from London, bore from us S. S. E. half E. about ſeven or eight miles diſtant. This afternoon and the next day we employed in taking the moſt uſeful and valuable things out of the Santa Tereſa and the Payta bark: we likewiſe deſigning to take every neceſſary thing which we conveniently could out of the Santa Tereſa, in order to deſtroy her, and bring our ſtrength into a leſs compaſs, took her in tow, and ſet the Payta bark on fire, with the ſame view. The next day we deſtroyed the Santa Tereſa in the ſame manner, having got out of them both ſome anchors, cables, hawſers, yards, and top-maſts, blocks, bales of goods, and ſeveral other neceſſaries.

On the 17th, at three in the afternoon, the Glouceſter, with a prize of her's in tow, joined us. This prize was called The Del Oro, and was chiefly laden with wine; however, out of her, and a ſmall boat which they took going along ſhore, they got, in gold, ſilver, and wrought plate, to about the value of 17 or 18,000l. Theſe two were all the prizes the Glouceſter took in thoſe ſeas.

On board this prize of the Glouceſter, (ſays our author) were two horſes, which being, I ſuppoſe, fat, and probably better in taſte than their ſalt beef or pork, they killed for food; and this, I imagine, gave ground to that fiction which one of the ſpurious accounts of our voyage has given, of our eagerly hunting and eating wild horſes, whereas in reality we never ſaw nor heard of a wild horſe during the voyage.

The Glouceſter had chaced two or three ſhips, which had eſcaped her, and one of thoſe touched at Payta; and though they could give no certain account that the ſhip which had chaced them was an enemy, yet the circumſtances they gave were ſo ſtrong, that it put the people of Payta, upon ſecuring their treaſure, and the beſt of their effects, not caring to be too well provided for the profit of ſuch unwelcome viſitants.

The 21ſt, at half paſt five in the morning, we ſaw the iſland of Plata, ſo called from Sir Francis Drake's having, as it is ſaid, divided the treaſure he took in the South Seas, at this place. At two this afternoon, the port of Manta bore S. E. by E. diſtant about eight or nine leagues; we at this time ſent ſix months proviſions on board the Carmen; and all the ſhips had orders, in caſe of ſeparation, for ſeveral places of rendezvous, on the coaſt of Mexico, or, in caſe of not meeting there, to make the beſt of their way to Macao in China, where they were to wait for the arrival of the commodore.

On the 22d a diviſion was made of the plunder of Payta, and here we cannot but obſerve a great difference between the relations given by Paſcoe Thomas, and that given by Mr. Walters; the former having aſſerted, that the commodore did not interfere in the diſtribution; the latter, that it was by his prudent management, that a jealouſy, which had ariſen between thoſe who were the real captors, and thoſe who remained on board the ſhip, was accommodated. Mr. Walters's account of the matter is as follows:—And now, ſays he, (while the ſhips lay to, in hopes of joining the Glouceſter) a jealouſy, which had taken its riſe at Payta, between thoſe who had been commanded on ſhore for the attack, and thoſe who had continued on board, grew to ſuch a height, that the commodore, being made acquainted with it thought it neceſſary to interpoſe his authority to oppoſe it. The ground of this animoſity was the plunder gotten at Payta, which thoſe who had acted on ſhore had appropriated to themſelves, conſidering it as a reward for the riſques they had run, and the reſolution they had ſhewn in that ſervice. But thoſe who had remained on board, looked on this as a very partial and unjuſt proceedure, urging that, had it been left to their choice, they ſhould have preferred the acting on ſhore to the continuing on board, that their duty while their commanders were on ſhore was extremely fatiguing for, beſides the labour of the day, they were conſtantly under arms all night, to ſecure the priſoners, whoſe numbers exceeded their own, and of whom it was then neceſſary to be extremely watchful, to prevent any attempts there might have been formed in that critical conjuncture, that, upon the whole, it could not be denied, but that the preſence of a ſufficient force on board was as neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the enterprize, as the action of the others on ſhore: and, therefore, thoſe who had continued on board, maintained, that they could not be deprived of their ſhare of plunder without manifeſt injuſtice. Theſe were the conteſts amongſt our men, which were carried on with great heat on both ſides; and, though the plunder in queſtion was a very trifle in compariſon of the treaſure taken in the place (in which there was no doubt but thoſe on board had an equal right) yet as the obſtinacy of ſailors is not always regulated by the importance of the matter in diſpute, the commodore thought it neceſſary to put a ſtop to this ferment betimes. Accordingly, on the morning after our leaving Payta, he ordered all hands upon the quarter deck, where, addreſſing himſelf to thoſe who had been detached on ſhore, he commended their behaviour, and thanked them for their ſervices on that occaſion; but then, repreſenting to them the reaſons urged by thoſe who had continued on board, for an equal diſtribution of the plunder, he told them that he thought thoſe reaſons very concluſive, and that the expectations of their comrades were juſtly founded; and therefore, he inſiſted that not only the men, but all the officers likewiſe who had been employed in taking the place, ſhould produce the whole of their plunder immediately upon the quarter-deck, and that it ſhould be impartially divided amongſt the whole crew, in proportion to each man's rank and commiſſion; and, to prevent thoſe who had been in poſſeſſion of the plunder from murmuring at this diminution of their ſhare, the commodore added, that, as an encouragement to others who might be hereafter employed on like ſervices, he would give his entire ſhare to be diſtributed amongſt thoſe who had been detached for the attack of the place. Thus, this troubleſome affair, which, if permitted to have gone on, might, perhaps, have been attended with miſchievous conſequences, was, by the commodore's prudence, ſoon appeaſed, to the general ſatisfaction of the ſhip's company; not but there were ſome few whoſe ſelfiſh diſpoſitions were uninfluenced by the juſtice of this procedure, and who were incapable of diſcerning the force of equity, however glaring, while it tended to deprive them of any part of what they had once got into their hands.

Being now joined by the Glouceſter and her prize, it was reſolved that we ſhould ſtand to the northward and make the beſt of our way either to Cape St. Lucas, in California, or to Cape Corientes, on the coaſt of Mexico; indeed, the commodore, when at Juan Fernandez, had determined to touch in the neighbourhood of Panama, and to endeavour to get ſome correſpondence over land with the fleet under the command of Admiral Vernon, for when he departed from England, he left a large force at Portſmouth, which was intended to be ſent to the Weſt-Indies, there to be employed in an expedition againſt ſome of the Spaniſh ſettlements, and Mr. Anſon, taking it for granted that this enterprize had ſucceeded, and that Porto Bello might perhaps be then garriſoned with Britiſh troops, he hoped that, on his arrival at the iſthmus, he ſhould eaſily procure an intercourſe with our countrymen on the other ſide, either by means of the Indians, who were greatly diſpoſed in our favour, or through the Spaniards themſelves, ſome of whom, for proper rewards might be induced to

carry on his intelligence, which, after it was once begun might be continued with very little difficulty, ſo that Mr. Anſon flattered him by theſe means he might have received a reinforcement from the other ſide, and by ſettling a prudent plan of operations with our commanders in the Weſt-Indies, he might even have taken Panama itſelf, which would have given to the Britiſh nation, the poſſeſſion of that iſthmus, whereby we ſhould have been in effect, maſters of all the treaſures of Peru.

Such were the projects which the commodore revolved in his thoughts, at the iſland of Juan Fernandez, notwithſtanding the feeble condition to which he was then reduced; but on examining the papers which were found on board the Carmelo, the firſt prize that we took, we learned that the attempt againſt Carthagena had failed, and that there was no probability that our fleet in that part of the world would engage in any new enterprize which would at all facilitate this plan. Mr. Anſon therefore gave over all hopes of being reinforced acroſs the iſthmus, and conſequently had no inducement at preſent to proceed to Panama, as he was incapable of attacking the place, and there was great reaſon to believe that, by this time, there was a general embargo on all the coaſt. The only feaſible meaſure then which was left us, was to ſteer as ſoon as poſſible to the ſouthern parts of California, or to the adjacent coaſt of Mexico, there to cruiſe for the Manilla galleon, which, we knew was now at ſea, bound to the port of Acapulco; and we doubted not but we ſhould get on that ſtation time enough to intercept her: but there was a buſineſs which we foreſaw would occaſion ſome delay, and that was recruiting our water, it being impoſſible to think of venturing upon this paſſage to the coaſt of Mexico till we had procured a freſh ſupply. It was for ſome time a matter of deliberation, where we ſhould take in this neceſſary article; but by conſulting the accounts of former navigators, and, examining our priſoners, we at laſt reſolved for the iſland of Quibo, ſituated at the mouth of the bay of Panama; nor was it but on good grounds that the commodore conceived this to be the propereſt place for watering the ſquadron. Indeed, there was the ſmall iſland called Cocos, which was leſs out of our way than Quibo, where ſome of the buccaneers had pretended to find water, but none of our priſoners knew any thing of it, and it was thought too dangerous to riſque the ſafety of the ſquadron, by expoſing ourſelves to the hazard of not meeting with water when we came there on the mere authority of thoſe legendary writers, of whoſe miſrepreſentations and falſities we had almoſt daily experience. Determined, therefore to take in water at Quibo, we directed our courſe northward, being eight ſail in company, and conſequently having the appearance of a very formidable fleet; and on the 19th, at day-break, we diſcovered Cape Blanco, bearing S. S. E. half E. ſeven miles diſtant. By this time we found that our laſt prize, the Solidad, was far from anſwering the character given of her as a good ſailor; and ſhe and the Santa Tereſa delaying us conſiderably, the commodore commanded them to be cleared of every thing that might prove uſeful to the reſt of the ſhips, and then to be burnt. And having given proper inſtructions, and appointed a rendezvous to the Glouceſter, and to the prizes in caſe of ſeparation, we proceeded in our courſe to Quibo.

On the 25th, Point Manta bore S. E. by S. at ſeven miles diſtance, and there being a town of the ſame name in the neighbourhood, Captain Mitchell, in the Glouceſter, took the opportunity of ſetting on ſhore ſeveral of his priſoners. The boats were now daily employed in diſtributing proviſions on board the prizes to complete their ſix months ſtock, and that the Centurion might be the better prepared to give the Manilla ſhip a warm reception, if happily ſhe ſhould fall in our way, the carpenters were ordered to fix eight ſtocks on the main and fore-tops, which were properly fitted for the mounting of ſwivel guns.

[After coming in ſight of the iſland of Gallo, they croſſed the Bay of Panama, and in their paſſage had ſultry weather, frequent calms and heavy rains, which attended them as far as the 7th degree of north latitude. They burned Captain Mitchell's largeſt prize on the 27th, and on the 30 of December they ſaw Quibo; the eaſt end of it bearing, W. N. W. but kept off all night on account of the ſhoals at the entrance of the channel. At ſix the next morning they ſaw Point Manta, at the diſtance of about three leagues, and all the veſſels, except the Centurion, were very near point in weathering it; and the Glouceſter, being moſt to the leeward, was obliged to tack and ſtand to the ſouthward. At length the reſt of the veſſels came to an anchor at ſeven in the evening.] 1741.

The next morning, ſays my author, an officer was diſpatched on ſhore to diſcover the watering place, who having found it, returned before noon; and then we ſent our long-boat for water, and, at the ſame time, weighed and ſtood farther in with our ſhips, for the convenience of being ſooner ſupplied; ſo that we were little more than two days in laying in all the wood and water we wanted.

While the ſhip continued at anchor here, the commodore, attended by ſome of his officers, went to examine a bay which lay to the northward, and they afterwards ranged all along the eaſtern ſide of the iſland. In the places where they put on ſhore in the courſe of this expedition, they generally found the ſoil to be rich, and met with great plenty of excellent water. In particular, near the north-weſt part of the iſland, they diſcovered a natural caſcade, which ſurpaſſed, as they conceived every thing of this kind, which human art had ever yet produced. It was a river of tranſparent water, about forty yards wide, which rolled down a declivity of near a hundred and fifty feet in length. The channel itſelf was very irregular, entirely compoſed of rocks, both its ſides and bottom being made up of large detached blocks, and by theſe the courſe of the water was frequently interrupted; for in ſome parts it ran ſloping with a rapid but uniform motion, whilſt in others it tumbled over rocks with a perpendicular deſcent. In the neighbourhood of this ſtream was a fine wood, and even the huge maſſes of rock which over-hung the water, and which, by their various projections, formed the inequalities of the channel, were covered with lofty foreſt trees. While the commodore, with thoſe that accompanied him, were attentively viewing this place and were remarking the different blendings of the water, the rocks, and the wood, there came in ſight, as it were to heighten and animate the proſpect, a prodigious flight of Macaws, which hovering over this ſpot, and often wheeling and playing on the wing above it, afforded a moſt brilliant appearance by the glittering of their variegated plumage.

Within three days we completed our buſineſs in this place, and were impatient to depart, that we might arrive time enough on the Mexican coaſt to intercept the galleon; but the wind being contrary, detained us a night; and when we had gained an offing, while we were hovering about, in hopes of getting ſight of the Glouceſter, on the 20th we diſcerned a ſmall ſail to the northward, to which we gave chace, and took her. She proved to be a bark from Panama, called the Jeſu Nazareno, laden with oakum, rock ſalt, and a ſmall quantity of money to purchaſe a cargo of proviſions at Cheripe, which has a good market, though it is but an inconſiderable village on the continent. On the 12th of September we joined the Glouceſter, and found that, in tacking to the ſouthward on her firſt approach to the iſland, ſhe had ſprung her fore-top-maſt which had diſabled her from working to windward, and prevented her from joining us ſooner. We now ſcuttled and ſunk the Jeſu Nazareno, and on the 12th of December ſtood to the weſtward, having previouſly delivered freſh inſtructions for the conduct of the fleet.

We had now little doubt of arriving ſoon enough upon our intended ſtation, as we expected to fall in with the regular trade wind; but, to our extreme

1742 vegation, we were baffled for near a month, ſo that it was the 25th of December before we ſaw the iſland of Cocous, which, according to our reckoning, was only an hundred leagues from the continent; and even then we had the mortification to make ſo little way that we did not loſe ſight of that iſland again in five days. We had flattered ourſelves that the uncertain and weſtern gales we met with, were owing to the neighbourhood of the continent, from which, as we got more diſtant, we hoped to be relieved, by falling in with the regular eaſterly wind; but being likewiſe diſappointed in this, we began at length to deſpair of the great purpoſe which we had in view. This produced a general dejection amongſt us, having conſidered the project as almoſt infallible, and indulged ourſelves in the boundleſs hopes of the advantages we ſhould receive from it. However, our deſpondency was in ſome meaſure alleviated by a favourable change of the wind; and as we now advanced apace to our ſtation, our hopes began to revive. On the 17th of January we were advanced to the lat. of 12° 50′ north; and, on the 26th of January, finding ourſelves to the northward of Acapulco, we tacked and ſtood to the eaſtward, with a view of making the land; and we expected by our reckonings to have fallen in with it on the 28th, yet though the weather was perfectly clear, we had no ſign of it at ſun-ſet. About ten at night, we diſcovered a light on the larboard bow bearing N. N. E. from us, and ſoon after the Trial's prize made the ſignal for ſeeing a ſail. As none of us had any doubt but that what we ſaw was a ſhip's light, we were all extremely animated with a firm perſuaſion that it was the Manilla galleon, which had ſo long been the object of our wiſhes. We immediately caſt off the Carmelo, and preſſed forwards with all our canvas, making a ſignal to the Glouceſter to do the ſame. Thus we chaced the light, keeping all our hands at their reſpective quarters, under an expectation of engaging within half an hour, as at ſome times we conceived the chace to be about a mile diſtant, and at others to be within the reach of our guns. In this conſtant and eager expectation we continued all night, always preſuming that another quarter of an hour would bring us up to this Manilla ſhip; but when day-light came we were vexatiouſly diſappointed, finding that the light which had occaſioned all the expectancy, was only a fire on the ſhore. At ſun-riſe, after this mortifying deluſion, we found ourſelves about nine leagues off land. Being now in the track of the Manilla galleon, it was a doubt with us, being near the end of January, whether ſhe was arrived or not; but, examining our priſoners about it, they aſſured us that ſhe was ſometimes known to come in after the middle of February; and they endeavoured to perſuade us that the fire we had ſeen on ſhore was a proof that ſhe was yet at ſea, it being cuſtomary, they ſaid, to make uſe of theſe fires as ſignals for her direction when ſhe continued out longer than ordinary. On account of this reaſoning of our priſoners, we reſolved to cruiſe for her ſome days; and we accordingly ſpread our ſhips at the diſtance of 12 leagues from the coaſt, in ſuch a manner that it was impoſſible ſhe ſhould paſs us unobſerved; however, not ſeeing her ſoon, we were ſolicitous to gain ſome poſitive intelligence. With this view, the commodore reſolved to ſend a boat, under cover of the night, into the harbour of Acapulco, to ſee whether the Manilla ſhips were there or not. To execute this enterpriſe, the barge was diſpatched on the 6th of February, carrying a ſufficient crew, and two officers, alſo a Spaniſh pilot and an Indian. She did not return till the 11th, when the officers acquainted Mr. Anſon, that they had miſtaken the harbour, and that Acapulco lay conſiderably more to the eaſtward; ſo that not having a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, they were obliged to return, to make known their diſappointment. On this intelligence, we made ſail to the eaſtward; and, the next day, we diſpatched the barge with particular inſtructions to the crew to keep at a ſufficient diſtance not to be ſeen from the ſhore. We watched ſix days without receiving any intelligence, ſo that we began to be uneaſy for her ſafety; but on the 7th ſhe returned with advice that being at the very place they ſought for, though they were then ignorant of their ſituation, they ſurpriſed a fiſhing canoe with three negroes on board, who told them that the Manilla ſhip had arrived at Acapulco on the 9th of January, but that having delivered her cargo, ſhe was taking in water and proviſions in order to return, and that the Viceroy of Mexico had fixed her departure for the 14th of March. This laſt intelligence was moſt joyfully received by us, ſince we had no doubt but that ſhe muſt fall into our hands; and it was much more eligible to ſeize her on her return than before her arrival, as the money for which ſhe had ſold her cargo, and which ſhe would have now on board would be much more eſteemed by us than the cargo itſelf. Thus were we a ſecond time engaged in an eager expectation of meeting with this Manilla ſhip, which, by the fame of its wealth, we had been taught to conſider as the moſt deſirable capture that could be made on any part of the ocean. As it was the 17th of February when the barge returned and brought us our intelligence, the commodore reſolved to continue the greater part of the intermediate time in his ſtation to the weſtward of Acapulco, in order to avoid a diſcovery from the ſhore. During this interval we were ſo ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed with the certainty of our intelligence, and with an aſſurance of her coming out of port, that one or other was conſtantly imagining that he diſcovered one of our cutters returning with the ſignal. Thus diſappointed, however, we did not deſpair, nor did we abate of our vigilance; but after remaining till the 25th of March, we at length concluded (and we afterwards found it true) that we had been diſcovered, and that, in conſequence, an embargo had been laid upon the galleon, and her departure poſtponed till the next year. The cutters having finiſhed their cruiſe before the harbour, returned to the ſquadron, and the ſignal being given for the fleet to join, it was determined to retire to Chequetan, in order to take in a freſh ſupply of water, our ſtock being then nearly exhauſted. In the mean time, a cutter commanded by Mr. Hughes, lieutenant of the Trial's prize, was ordered to continue off the harbour of Acapulco for 24 days, that if the galleon ſhould ſet ſail in that time we might be ſpeedily informed of it.

We entered the harbour of Chequetan on the 5th of April. It lies in 17° 36′ of north latitude, and is about 30 leagues to the weſtward of Acapulco. The watering place has the appearance of a large ſtanding lake, without any viſible outlet to the ſea, from which it is ſeparated by a part of the ſtrand. The origin of this lake is a ſpring that bubbles out of the ground, near half a mile up the country. We found its water a little brackiſh, but conſiderably more ſo towards the ſea ſide, but the nearer we advanced towards the ſpring head, the ſofter and freſher it proved. This laid us under a neceſſity of filling all our caſks from the fartheſt part of the lake, which, however, was facilitated by means of canoes that traverſed the lake, and brought a number of ſmall caſks to the ſide next the beach; there the water was ſtarted into larger veſſels in the boats, and by that contrivance brought on board with very little trouble.

Chequetan deſcribed.

The country hereabouts, particularly the tract of the coaſt contiguous to Acapulco, appearing to be well cultivated and peopled, we hoped eaſily to procure from thence ſome freſh proviſions and other refreſhments of which we ſtood in need. To facilitate theſe views, the morning after we came to an anchor, the commodore ordered a party of 40 men well armed, to march into the country, and endeavour to diſcover ſome town where they were to ſet on foot a correſpondence with the inhabitants; as, when we once began this intercourſe, we doubted not but by proper preſents we ſhould allure them to bring us down whatever fruits or freſh proviſions were in their power. As our prizes abounded with various ſorts of coarſe merchan-

dise which were of little consequence to us, though to them they would be extremely valuable, our people were directed to proceed with the greatest circumspection on this occasion, and to make as little shew of hostility as possible; for we were sensible that we could find no wealth in those parts worth our notice; and thought that what necessaries we really wanted, would be better, and more abundantly supplied, by an open, amicable traffic, than by violence and force of arms. But this endeavour of opening a commerce with the inhabitants proved ineffectual, and therefore we desisted from any more attempts of the same nature, contenting ourselves with what we could procure in the neighbourhood of the port where we lay. We caught fish in abundance; among the rest were bream, mullets, soals, fiddle-fish, and lobsters; and we here, and in no other place met with that extraordinary fish called the torpedo, which is in shape very much resembling the fiddle-fish, and is only distinguished from it in appearance by a brown circular spot of about the bigness of a crown piece near the center of its back. This fish is, indeed, of a most singular nature, benumbing whoever touches it all over his body, but more particularly that limb which happens to come immediately in contact with it; the same effect, too, will be in some degree produced by touching the fish with any thing held in the hand; and it has lately been discovered, that it may be communicated like the electrical stroke to a large circle, by means of a certain apparatus much more simple than that which is used in experiments in electricity.

The animals which we met with on shore, were chiefly guanoes, with which the country abounds, and which by some are reckoned delicious food. We saw no beasts of prey, except we should esteem that amphibious creature the alligator as such; several of which our people discovered, but none of them very large. It is, however, certain, that there were great numbers of tygers in the woods, though none of them happened to make their appearance while we remained upon the coast. Parrots and pheasants were found in plenty, but by no means proper food, being dry and tasteless, though they were often killed and eaten, being by some thought preferable to salt provisions.

The papah, lime, and a little sour plumb, were all the fruits the woods furnished, and of these there were but a scanty portion; nor was there any other useful vegetable, except brook-lime, which, being esteemed an antiscorbutic, was frequently eaten, though from its bitterness it was exceedingly unpalatable.

While we lay at Chequetan, it was resolved, after mature deliberation, to destroy all our prizes, as the whole number of men on board our squadron did not amount to the complement of a fourth-rate man of war. It was therefore judged most prudent to set fire to the ships, and to divide the men between the Centurion and Gloucester, now, preparing to set sail for China. Besides the necessary repairs for a voyage of such a length, the removal of their stores and cargoes into the men of war took up so much time, that it was the end of April before we were in a condition to leave the place.

It should have been remarked, that from this harbour of Chequetan we discovered but one path-way through the woods into the country; and as this was much beaten, we were from that circumstance convinced, that it was not unfrequented by the natives. As it passed by the spring-head, and was the only avenue by which the Spaniards could approach to surprise us, we, at some distance from the spring-head, felled several large trees, and laid them one upon another, across the path, and at this barricadoe we constantly kept a guard. We, besides, ordered our men, employed in watering, to have their arms always in readiness, in case of an alarm, and to march instantly to his post. And, though our principal intention herein was to prevent our being disturbed by the enemy's horse, yet it answered another purpose, which was, to hinder our people from straggling singly into the country, where we had reason to believe they would be surprised by the Spaniards, who would doubtless be very solicitous to pick up some of them, in hopes of getting intelligence of our future designs. To avoid this inconvenience, the strictest orders were given to the centinels; to let no person whatever pass beyond this post, but notwithstanding this precaution, we missed one Lewis Legere, who was the commodore's cook; as he was a Frenchman and a Roman catholic, it was first imagined that he had deserted with a view of betraying all that he knew to the enemy, though this appeared by the event, to be an ill-grounded surmise: for it was afterwards known, that he had been taken by some Indians, who carried him prisoner to Acapulco, from whence he was transported to Mexico, and from thence to Vera Cruz, where he was shipped on board a vessel bound to Old Spain. But, the vessel being obliged by some accident to put into Lisbon, Legere escaped on shore, and was by the British consul sent from thence to England, where he gave the first authentic account of the safety of the commodore, and of his principal transactions in the South Seas. The relation he gave of his own seizure, was that he rambled into the woods at some distance from the barricadoe where he had first attempted to pass, but had been stopt and threatened to be punished; that his principal view was to gather a quantity of limes for his master's stores, and that in this occupation he was surprised unawares by four Indians, who stript him naked, and carried him in that condition to Acapulco, exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, which at that time of the year shone with its greatest violence; that afterwards, at Mexico, his treatment was sufficiently severe; so that the whole course of his captivity was a continued instance of the hatred which the Spaniards bear to all those who endeavour to disturb them in the peaceable possession of the coasts of the South Seas. Indeed, Legere's fortune was, upon the whole, extremely singular; as, after the hazards he had run in the commodore's squadron, and the severities he had suffered in his long confinement among the enemy, a more fatal disaster attended him on his return to England; for though, when he arrived in London, some of Mr. Anson's friends interested themselves in relieving him from the poverty to which his captivity had reduced him, yet he did not long enjoy the benefit of their humanity, since he was killed in an insignificant night-brawl, the cause of which could scarcely ever be discovered.

1742

Adventure of Lewis Legere.

When we were necessitated to proceed to Chequetan to recruit our water, the commodore considered that our arrival in that harbour would soon be known at Acapulco: and therefore he hoped, that on the intelligence of our being employed in that part, the galleon might put to sea, especially as Chequetan is so very remote from the course generally steered by the galleons: he therefore ordered the cutter, as has been already noticed, to cruize 24 days off the port of Acapulco, and her commander was directed, on perceiving the galleon under sail, to make the best of his way to the commodore at Chequetan. As the Centurion was certainly a much better sailor than the galleon, Mr. Anson, in this case, resolved to have got to sea as soon as possible, and to have pursued the galleon across the Pacific ocean; however the viceroy of Mexico ruined this project, by detaining the galleon in port all the year.

Towards the latter end of April, all things being in readiness for sailing, the Centurion and Gloucester weighed anchor; and, having gained an offing, the prizes were set on fire, and a canoe fixed to a grapple in the middle of the harbour, with a bottle in it, well corked, inclosing a letter to Mr. Hughes, directing him to go back immediately to his former station, before Acapulco, where he would find Mr. Anson, who resolved to cruise for him in that station some days. Indeed, it was no small mortification to us, now we were at sea, and the stormy season approaching, that we were detained by the absence of the cutter, and under the necessity of standing towards Acapulco in search of her. As the time of her cruise had

1742 had been expired near a fortnight, we ſuſpected that ſhe had been diſcovered from the ſhore, and that the governor of Acapulco had thereupon ſent out a force to ſeize her; which as ſhe carried but ſix hands, was no very difficult enterpriſe. However, this being only conjecture, the commodore, as he was got clear of the harbour of Chequetan, ſtood along the coaſt to the eaſtward in ſearch of her; and, to prevent her from paſſing by us in the dark, we brought-to every night, and carried lights, which the cutter could not but perceive.

By the 2d of May we were advanced within three leagues of Acapulco; and, having ſeen nothing of our boat, we gave her over for loſt; which, beſides the compaſſionate concern for our ſhipmates, and for what it was apprehended they might have ſuffered was in itſelf a misfortune, that in our preſent ſcarcity of hands we were greatly intereſted in; ſince the crew of the cutter were the flower of our people, purpoſely picked out for this ſervice, as known to be every one of them of tried and approved reſolution, and as ſkilful ſeamen as ever trod a deck. However, as it was the general belief amongſt us, that they were taken and carried into Acapulco, the commodore's prudence ſuggeſted a project which we hoped would recover them. This was founded on our having many Spaniſh and Indian priſoners on board, ſome of them of quality. The commodore, therefore, wrote a letter to the governor of Acapulco, telling him that he would releaſe them all, provided the governor returned the cutter's crew. This letter was diſpatched by a Spaniſh officer, of whoſe honour we had a high opinion and who was furniſhed with a launch belonging to one of our prizes, and a crew of Spaniards, who gave their parole for their return. The Spaniſh officer, too, beſides the commodore's letter, carried with him a joint petition ſigned by all the reſt of the priſoners, beſeeching the governor to acquieſce in the terms propoſed for their liberty. But while we were thus contriving their releaſe, the centinel called out from the maſt-head that he ſaw a boat under ſail at a conſiderable diſtance to the ſouth-eaſtward, which to our unſpeakable joy upon her nearer approach, we found was our own cutter, the wan and meagre countenances of whoſe crew, the length of their beards, and the feeble and hollow tone of their voices, convinced us that they had ſuffered much greater hardſhips than could be expected from even the ſeverities of the Spaniſh priſon. They were obliged to be helped into the ſhip, and were immediately put to bed, when by reſt and nouriſhing diet, with which they were plentifully ſupplied from the commodore's table, they recovered their health and vigour.

And now we learned that they had kept the ſea the whole time of their abſence, which was above ſix weeks, and that when they had finiſhed their cruiſe, and had juſt began to ply to the weſtward, in order to join the ſquadron, a ſtrong adverſe current had forced them upwards of 80 leagues to the leeward, where they found ſo great a ſurf, that there was no ſuch thing as landing. They paſſed ſome days in the moſt diſagreeable ſituation, without water, having no other means left them to allay their thirſt than ſucking the blood of the turtles which they caught. At laſt, giving up all hopes of ſuccour, the heat of the climate likewiſe augmenting their neceſſities, and rendering their ſufferings inſupportable, they abandoned themſelves to deſpair, fully perſuaded that they ſhould periſh by the moſt terrible of all deaths; but ſoon after, a moſt unexpected incident happily relieved them; for there fell ſo heavy a rain that, on ſpreading their ſails horizontally, and putting bullets in the centre of them, they caught as much water as filled their caſks. Immediately upon this fortunate ſupply, they ſtood to the weſtward in ſearch of the commodore; and being now luckily favoured by a ſtrong current, they joined him in leſs than 50 hours from that time, after having been abſent in the whole full 43 days.

And now having got on board our people, to our intire ſatisfaction, and the ſeaſon of the year for ſailing to Aſia being far advanced, the commodore reſolved not to wait for any return from Acapulco, but gave orders to equip two large prize launches, to carry on ſhore the Spaniſh and Indian priſoners both from our ſhip and the Glouceſter; and, having given them proviſions and all neceſſaries for Panama, whither they intended to ſail, they left us about four in the afternoon, to the amount of about ſixty perſons; having firſt (though enemies) obſerved the cuſtom of ſeafaring people at parting, and wiſhed us a proſperous voyage.

From the ſixth of May, the day we took our departure, we met with little that was remarkable for a month, except that the true trade-wind, which is ſaid never to fail at about 60 or 70 leagues from the ſhore of Mexico at the fartheſt, was ſo far from anſwering our expectations, that we had nothing but croſs winds, rain, thunder, and lightening, till by account we were 600 leagues to the weſtward of Acapulco, having been above 40 days in getting ſo far. On the 9th we found the foremaſt ſprung in a dangerous manner, and thereupon faſtened and ſecured it very ſtrongly. A leak that was ſprung on the 22d was ſtopped by the carpenter with very little trouble.——On the 11th of June we found a current ſet to the ſouthward about 24 miles a day, but could not diſcover whether to the eaſt or weſt, for want of opportunity to try it. This was, by account, 450 leagues from Acapulco. About this time, abundance of ſcorbutic ſymptoms, ſuch as blackneſs in the ſkin, hard nodes in the fleſh, ſhortneſs of breath, and a general laſſitude of all the parts, began to prevail almoſt univerſally among our people. This, with the great mortality we experienced from this diſtemper in our Cape Horn paſſage, added to the time we might ſtill expect to be at ſea, formed a melancholy proſpect, as we had ſtill 1800 leagues to run to the Ladrones, which the Spaniards call the Marian Iſlands. Theſe conſiderations gave us dreadful apprehenſions of what this paſſage might terminate in, and the event ſhewed that we had but too much reaſon for them.

The ſhip's company attacked with the ſcurvy.

[For ſome days we find nothing remarkable related except the ſpringing and damaging of maſts and yards, which were repaired or replaced as expeditiouſly as poſſible; but the Glouceſter was obliged to have recourſe to a jury maſt, on which ſhe made ſail on the 29th of June.]

We had not only now (continues our author) but for almoſt our whole paſſage, abundance of birds of prey, alſo flying fiſh, which are their proper food, and vaſt quantities of ſkipjacks, albicores, &c. whereof we took a great number, which contributed much to our refreſhment after the loſs of the tortoiſes that generally leave all the ſhips about twenty or thirty leagues off the land. I think this more worthy of notice, becauſe Dampier, Rogers, Cook, and other voyagers, ſome of whom have been not only once, but ſeveral times on this voyage have reported, that they never ſaw a fiſh or fowl in this whole run. [Here a very probable cauſe is aſſigned for the different accounts of voyagers in this particular, namely, the different ſeaſons of the year, in which they might have arrived in theſe latitudes. On the 10th day of the month they ſaw three gannets, birds which are deſcribed to reſemble what are called Soland geeſe, in Scotland.]

On the 12th at noon, the longitude by account was 180° 41 to the weſtward of London, which is juſt 11′ more than half the circumference of the globe, being then 1429 leagues diſtant from the port of Acapulco. From this time till the 16th we had freſh gales with ſqualls and rain, the 17th and 18th we had moderate and cloudy, the 19th and 20th freſh gales, with abundance of rain. We made this obſervation, that with rainy weather, or even ſlight tranſient ſhowers, the fiſh bit more freely, and were caught in greater numbers than with fair weather, which made our fiſhermen the more attentive at ſuch times. It was likewiſe remarked that when the Glouceſter's people could find an opportunity to fiſh they had always more ſucceſs than we; whether their fiſher-

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men had more art, or whatever elſe occaſioned it, the fact is true. They had alſo a better way of diſpoſing of them, when taken; for Captain Mitchell conſtantly ordered ſeveral boys, who were very dextrous at it, to catch fiſh for the ſhip's company, eſpecially for the ſick, and what was taken was very juſtly and regularly divided among them; whereas our fiſhermen were left at liberty to make their advantage of what they took, and to prey upon their ſuffering ſhipmates. Theſe took care not to let ſlip the opportunity; for the leaſt fiſh you could purchaſe of them would coſt a bottle of brandy (which at this time was worth four, or perhaps ſix, and ſometimes eight ſhillings, or half a guinea) and you muſt be very thankful, and acknowledge yourſelf to be highly obliged into the bargain, or elſe expect none the next time, and very often fail of it notwithſtanding. About this time, our people began to die very faſt, and, I believe, five parts out of ſix of the ſhip's company that were ill, expected to follow in a ſhort time. Thoſe whoſe breath was any way affected, dropped off immediately; but thoſe who were attacked firſt in the more remote parts of the body, languiſhed generally a month or ſix weeks; the diſtemper advancing, in the mean time, towards the lungs, by a very ſenſible and regular approach. As I myſelf was one of thoſe who were ſeverely afflicted in this latter manner, I ſhall give ſuch an account of its progreſs as I found in myſelf, and which was corroborated by the ſimilar report of my fellow-ſufferers.

I was firſt taken about the beginning of this month with a ſlight pain on the joint of my left great toe, but having hurt that a little while before, I imagined it to be the effect of that hurt, and minded it the leſs; but here I muſt obſerve once for all, that if ever any part of the body had received a bruiſe, ſtrain, or contuſion, if it was not perfectly cured, the ſcurvy was ſure to attack that part firſt. In a little time, a large black ſpot appearing on the part affected, with very intenſe pains at the bone, gave me to underſtand my caſe. I now took phyſic often, by way of prevention, but to little purpoſe. Several hard nodes began to riſe in my legs, thighs, and arms, and not only many more black ſpots appeared in the ſkin, but thoſe ſpread till my legs and thighs were for the moſt part, as black as a negro; and this was accompanied with ſuch exceſſive pains in the joints of the knees, and ancles, as I thought before I experienced them, that human nature could never have ſupported. It next advanced to the mouth: all my teeth were preſently looſe, and my gums overcharged with extravaſated blood, fell down over my teeth, which occaſioned my breath to ſmell much, yet I believe, without affecting my lungs. But I believe, one week more at ſea would have ended me, and leſs than a month more all the reſt. One thing was very remarkable, and likewiſe univerſal; which was, that when the diſtemper had far prevailed, if the afflicted perſon lay quiet in his hammock he ſeemed to be perfectly well and hearty; but if he was removed out of it on any neceſſity, he immediately fainted away; and this was always a ſure ſign of the party's diſſolution.

[This account is the more extraordinary ſince the laſſitude incurred by lying ſtill, generally encourages the ſcurvy, if it does not bring it on in the firſt inſtance. Of this we have been convinced by ocular demonſtration, and have experienced the great efficacy of moderate exerciſe, in preventing the dreadful effects of this diſtemper. Perhaps it may be affirmed, upon the whole, that the diſorder is not thoroughly underſtood; becauſe the ſea ſcurvy has this in common with that which we contract on ſhore; namely, that it puts on various appearances according to the ſituation, climate, time of life and conſtitution of the patient. In concluſion, our author ſeems willing to adopt a contrary hypotheſis to that generally received; for he is of opinion that reſt rather than exerciſe is good in caſe of the ſea ſcurvy; but this appears to be only in the laſt ſtage of it, when the patient may be incapable of motion.]

Since our paſſing Cape Horne (ſays he) our ſurgeon, Mr. Henry Ettrick, who was a very good practical ſurgeon, had been very buſy in digeſting a theory of ſcurvies, wherein he enumerated many caſes very particularly, having been allowed to open and examine as many bodies as were abundantly ſufficient for that purpoſe. His ſyſtem was principally grounded on the obſervations made on a long paſſage in a very cold climate. He took abundance of pains to prove by many inſtances, that the tone of the blood was broken by the cold nipping air, and rendered ſo thin as to be unfit for circulation, or any other of the uſes of life, and being thus deprived of force and vigour, ſtagnation and death muſt neceſſarily enſue. From this ſuppoſition, he had laid it down as an infallible rule, that food of a glutinous nature, ſuch as fiſh, bread, and ſeveral ſorts of grain were alone proper on ſuch voyages. As for liquids, I know not which he pitched on, as the moſt ſalubrious on this occaſion. But this paſſage, in a very hot climate, where the ſymptoms were not only more dreadful, but the mortality much more quick and fatal in proportion to the number of people, put our ſcheming doctor to a non-plus. All this obliged him at laſt (though he was ſtill endeavouring to reconcile contradictions) to own that though ſome of the concurrent circumſtances of this diſeaſe were plain enough, yet the grand cauſe was the long continuance at ſea, or an entire ſecret; and that no cure but the ſhore would ever be effectual. 1741

The commodore, on this great mortality, having by him a quantity of Ward's pills and drops, in order to experience whether they would be of any uſe, firſt tried them on himſelf, and then gave what he had left to the ſurgeon, to adminiſter to ſuch of the ſick people as choſe to take them. The ſurgeon would not recommend them to any perſon; but ſeveral took them, though I know of none that believed they were of any ſervice. They worked moſt people who took them very violently; after which, as ſeveral told me, they would ſeem to be a little eaſier though weaker for a day or two, but then they always relapſed, and became worſe than before; and this, together with the inefficacy of all that our ſurgeon could do in the caſe, ſufficiently ſhewed the vanity of attempting the cure of their diſtemper at ſea. [After a digreſſion tending to inculcate the uſefulneſs of reſt to people afflicted with the ſcurvy, and an obſervation on contrary winds and bad proviſions, the relation proceeds as follows.]

On the 29th in the morning, the Glouceſter's fore-cap ſplitting, her fore-top-maſt came by the board, and meeting with the fore-yard, broke it in the ſlings. As ſhe was hereby rendered incapable of making any ſail for ſome time, we were under a neceſſity, as ſoon as the gale ſprang up, to take her in tow, and near 20 of the healthieſt of our ſeamen were removed from the duty of our own ſhip, and were continued for eight or ten days together to aſſiſt in repairing her damages, but theſe things, mortifying as we thought them, were only the commencement of our misfortunes; for ſcarcely had our people finiſhed their buſineſs in the Glouceſter before we met with a violent ſtorm from the weſt, which obliged us to lie to. This ſtorm, which laſted from the 10th to the 13th of Auguſt was attended with rain, thunder and lightning, and ſuch a lofty ſea as I have ſeldom ſeen, and could not have believed in latitudes between the tropics, for ſuch a long duration. Moſt of the time that we lay to, we drove to the northward. Abundance of our people died daily, and the ſhip proving very leaky, every perſon that could ſtir, (the principal officers not excepted) was obliged to take his turn at the pumps, and all little enough to keep us above water.

On the 13th of Auguſt at ten in the morning, the Glouceſter made a ſignal of diſtreſs, and being to windward, bore down to us; but we obſerved ſhe was long in veering, rolled very much, and made bad ſteerage. About half an hour after noon, her people ſpoke with us, and told us they were ſo leaky that

1741 they muſt quit their ſhip; that they had ſeven feet water in the hold; and that all the men they had capable of ſtirring, were quite exhauſted with pumping, and could work no longer. This was an additional misfortune, and ſeemed to be without reſource; for while the Glouceſter's crew were thus enfeebled, our own ſick were ſo much increaſed, and thoſe who ſtill remained in health, ſo over-fatigued with labour, that it was impoſſible for us to lend them any aid. Therefore all that could be done was to ſend our boat on board for a more particular account of the ſhip's condition; as it was ſoon ſuſpected, that the taking her people on board us; and then deſtroying the Glouceſter was the only meaſure that could be proſecuted in the preſent emergency, both for the preſervation of their lives and for our own. Our boat ſoon returned with a repreſentation of the melancholy ſtate of the Glouceſter, and of her ſeveral defects, ſigned by Captain Mitchell and all his officers; by which it appeared that the ſhip was decayed in every part; that her crew was greatly reduced; they added that there remained alive no more than 77 men (officers included) 18 boys, and two priſoners; that of the whole number only 16 men, and 11 boys were capable of keeping the deck, and ſeveral of theſe very infirm, and that the water was ſo deep in the hold, that thoſe who were yet alive were ſtarving, and could neither come at freſh water nor proviſions. On account of this repreſentation, which was in no inſtance exaggerated, the commodore ſent immediately an order to Captain Mitchell, to bring his people on board the Centurion, and take out ſuch ſtores as could moſt eaſily be come at, among which he was very deſirous of ſaving two cables, and a ſheet anchor. But the ſhip rolled ſo much, and the men were ſo exceſſively fatigued, that it was with the greateſt difficulty the prize-money was ſecured, the prize goods amounting to many thouſand pounds being abandoned) nor could any other proviſions be got at, than five caſks of flour, (three of which were ſpoiled by the ſalt-water), a ſmall quantity of brandy, and ſome living ſtock. Even this little buſineſs was ſo languiſhingly performed, that two days were waſted in the execution, during which time three or four of the ſick periſhed on being removed. As the weather was now calm, and we were uncertain how far diſtant we might be from Guam, a ſettlement in poſſeſſion of the enemy, to whom the wreck of ſuch a ſhip with guns and ammunition on board would have been a very valuable acquiſition, the commodore judged the moſt effectual way to prevent her falling into their hands was to ſet her on fire: and, accordingly, as ſoon as the captain and his officers had quitted her, the combuſtibles placed for that purpoſe were lighted, and ſhe continued burning the whole night, and at ſix the next morning ſhe blew up. Thus periſhed his majeſty's ſhip the Glouceſter; and now it might have been expected, that being freed from the embarraſſment in which her frequent diſaſters had involved us, we ſhould have proceeded on our way much briſker than we had hitherto done. However, we were ſoon taught that our anxieties were not ſo to be relieved.

The Glouceſter ſet on fire.

We were at this time in the utmoſt diſtreſs; the ſhip conſiderably lumbered with prize goods, and the ſmall room we had left thronged with the ſick, whoſe numbers were now very much increaſed with thoſe from the Glouceſter, the dirt, nauſeouſneſs, and ſtench almoſt intolerable, more people daily diſabled with the diſeaſe; no ſign of land, and but very little wind, and that not fair but variable; very bad proviſions and water, and the ſhip very leaky; and though we diſcovered the leak to be in her bows on each ſide the ſtern, it lay in ſuch a manner that we could not ſtop it, nay, the attempting it rather made it worſe. In this diſtreſs we made the beſt of every ſpurt of wind.

Nothing farther remarkable happened till Sunday the 22d, when about eight in the evening, we diſcovered two iſlands; one bearing weſt half ſouth, and the other S. W. by W. at the diſtance of about 10 leagues. We were overjoyed at this ſight, and ſtood toward them with all our ſail: but there being little wind, we did not get near them till the next day about noon, when being about three miles off the largeſt and moſt promiſing of them, which opened very hilly and full of trees, we ſent on ſhore one of our lieutenants in the cutter to make diſcoveries, who returned at nine in the evening, and gave us but a very indifferent account of the ſhore.

The trees were moſtly cocoa-nut trees, of which there were prodigious quantities: they brought about 60 cocoa-nuts on board with them, but they could find no water, nor any good place to anchor in. On this account it was thought fit to ſtand farther to the ſouthward, for ſome more proper place. This was a ſevere diſappointment to moſt of the ſick, who, on the ſight of land, (or hearing that it was ſo near) had begun ſenſibly to revive: but as perſons in ſuch circumſtances are ſoon driven to deſpond, when an aid they depended upon deſerts them, ſo this diſappointment deſtroyed our hopes, and increaſed our dejection. We feared, that, if we met with more iſlands in the ſame run, they might be either as bad, worſe, or inhabited by our enemies the Spaniards, who in our weak condition, might eaſily be able to hinder us from proper refreſhments: add to this, how many of us were near to death, and how little we could expect to ſurvive any time in ſearching for other iſlands, I know not whether theſe were the general thoughts of the ſick, but I muſt own they were mine, and made our ſituation at that time appear ten times worſe to me than at any other in the whole courſe of our voyage; I was indeed very ill, and my illneſs might poſſibly occaſion every thing to appear in its worſt light, yet I was never one of thoſe who were frightened at the apprehenſion, or even the viſible approach of death; it had no unreaſonable terrors in any of its proſpects to me; and I always could, meet it with reſignation: but I believe the healthieſt and ſtouteſt at that time, had probably the greateſt apprehenſions; and I have ſince heard from many of thoſe, that they expected all to have periſhed, had we been ſo little as three weeks longer at ſea; and I much queſtion whether they were not right in that expectation.

On the 26th at five in the morning, we ſaw three other iſlands, being from S. E. by S. to N. E. the middleſmoſt of the three, which was the largeſt, due eaſt. The 27th, at three in the afternoon, being got pretty near the ſhore of the middle iſland, we ſent our cutter and pinnace in-ſhore for diſcovery. At four, the pinnace came off, and brought with her an Indian praw, with a Spaniard and four Indians whom they took in her. They likewiſe told us, that they had in ſhore a ſmall bark of about 16 tons, and between 20 and 30 more people on the iſland, all of whom had been ſent thither from Guam, to kill cattle and hogs, and make jerked beef and cocoa-nut oil, &c. for the Spaniſh garriſon there; and that there are people conſtantly ſent on that account, who, after ſome months ſtay at that place, are relieved by freſh parties for the ſame purpoſe. We ſecured both the bark and praw, together with all the Indians who fell into our hands, to hinder their carrying intelligence of us to the Spaniards at Guam. One of thoſe Indians was a carpenter by trade, and his father was one of the principal builders at Manilla. This young man having been ill uſed by the governor at Guam, voluntarily entered with us, became one of our carpenter's crew, and proved a very uſeful handy fellow.

The Spaniard being examined as to the ſtate of the iſland we were now approaching, the account he gave ſurpaſſed even our moſt ſanguine hopes; and, though uninhabited, he ſaid, it wanted none of thoſe accommodations with which the beſt cultivated countries are furniſhed. On muſtering up our whole force, as we drew near, all the hands we could collect, capable of any kind of duty, even on the moſt preſſing occaſions, amounted to not more than 71 men, (officers included). This number, inconſiderable as it may ſeem, were all of the united crews of the Centurion,

Glouceſter, and Trial, that could move without being aſſiſted, notwithſtanding when they left England they conſiſted of near 1000 men.

When we had entered the road, our firſt buſineſs, after furling the ſails and ſecuring the ſhip, was to provide an hoſpital on ſhore for the ſick: but the officer and ſeamen who were ſent upon this ſervice, returned joyfully, and acquainted us that the Indians on ſhore had ſaved them that trouble, and had provided for us better than we could have done for ourſelves; for, having erected a number of little cabins for their accommodations during their reſidence on the iſland, and one in particular which they made uſe of by way of ſtorehouſe to ſtow their proviſions in, there could be nothing more ſuitably adapted for the reception of both the ſick and the healthy, than theſe erections. Accordingly we began ſending aſhore as many of the ſick as could poſſibly be conveyed, among which number I myſelf was one: I ſay, as many as poſſibly could be conveyed, for we were ſo extremely feeble and helpleſs, that we were no otherwiſe to be landed than by being carried in our hammocks, both in and out of the boats, on mens ſhoulders, in which ſervice both the commodore himſelf and his officers very humanely aſſiſted; and indeed they were almoſt the only perſons on board capable of performing it, the healthieſt ſeamen being ſo much enfeebled, that they had but juſt ſtrength enough left to help themſelves. The next day, being the 29th, the remainder of the ſick were brought on ſhore, when 21 men died; but the greateſt part of the reſt recovered ſurpriſingly. The ſoil, upon examination, we found to be every where dry and healthy; and being withal ſomewhat ſandy, it was thereby the leſs diſpoſed to a rank and over-luxuriant vegetation: and hence the meadows and woods were neater and ſmoother than is uſual in hot climates. The valleys and hills were moſt beautifully diverſified by the mutual incroachments of woods and lawns, which ſkirted each other, and traverſed the iſlands in large tracts. The woods conſiſted of tall and well-ſpread trees, ſome celebrated for their beauty, and ſome for their fruit: whilſt the lawns were generally crowded with herds of cattle, of which it was not uncommon to ſee thouſands feeding in a herd, and being all milk-white, it was no wonder that ſuch an appearance excited our longings, and encreaſed our impatience, to kill and eat. Add to this, the innumerable ſwarms of poultry that filled the woods, and, by their frequent crowings, gave us in idea the pleaſing apprehenſion of being in the neighbourhood of farms and villages; and we even fancied, that in the covert of the woods we ſhould find ſuch concealed. The cattle we had ſight of were computed at 10,000; and, beſides theſe and the poultry, we likewiſe found abundance of wild hogs, which were excellent food, but fierce, and not eaſily maſtered. At firſt we killed them by ſhooting; but our ammunition failing, owing to an accident, we at laſt hunted them down with dogs, ſeveral of which joined us on the iſland, and being trained to the ſport by the Indians, readily enough followed us, and afforded good diverſion. In their conflicts with the boars, ſome indeed were killed; but thoſe that came off victorious, were ſtill more eager to engage in every new purſuit. *

Tinian deſcribed.

This iſland was no leſs fortunate to us in its vegetable than in its animal productions, more particularly in abounding in ſuch fruits and plants as were beſt adapted to the cure of that diſeaſe by which we had been ſo dreadfully debilitated. In the woods cocoa-nuts were to be gathered without number; and, what is remarkable, cabbages grew on the ſame trees. There were, beſides, guavas, limes, ſweet and ſour oranges, and, what is common to all the tropical iſlands, bread fruit; in the plains we found water-melions, dandelion, creeping-purſlain, mint, ſcurvy-graſs, and ſorrel: all which, together with the freſh meats of the place, were ſuch ſalutary refreſhments, that the ſick, who were at death's door when they landed, before they had been a week on ſhore, put on very different countenances, and with their new complexion received a freſh recruit of ſpirits. 1741

Amidſt ſuch a variety of proviſions as the land furniſhed, it was thought unneceſſary to indulge ourſelves in thoſe offered us by the ſea. From fiſh, therefore, we wholly refrained; and the rather, as ſome we caught at our firſt arrival, ſurfeited thoſe who ate of them. This, however, was not regretted, as beef, pork, poultry, and wild-fowl, were in ſuch plenty, that except the trouble of bringing them from a conſiderable diſtance ſometimes, there was no difficulty attending their procurement. It were indeed, an endleſs taſk to recount all the excellencies and delicacies we met with in this delightful iſland; nor is it eaſy to ſay which to prefer where every thing is worthy of admiration, the neatneſs of its lawns, the ſtatelineſs, freſhneſs, and fragrance of its woods, the happy inequality of its ſurface, and the variety and elegance of the views it afforded. All theſe conſpired to charm the ſight, while, at the ſame time, the excellency of its productions could not fail to gratify the appetite. And theſe advantages were greatly enhanced by the healthineſs of the climate, by the almoſt conſtant breezes that prevailed, and by the frequent, gentle ſhowers that ſeemed to fall juſt to refreſh the earth, and add to its fertility; for theſe, inſtead of the long continued rains that in other countries fill the air with noxious vapours, and overflow the earth, with waſteful inundations, ſeemed juſt enough to purify the air, and to refreſh the ſoil; which was obſervable enough by the effects it had in increaſing our appetites, and promoting our digeſtion. This effect was indeed remarkable, ſince thoſe among our officers who were at all other times ſpare and temperate eaters, were here in appearance transformed into gluttons; as inſtead of one reaſonable fleſh-meal a day, they were ſcarcely ſatisfied with three: and yet our digeſtion ſo well correſponded to the keenneſs of our appetites, that we were neither diſordered nor even loaded by this uncommon repletion; for after having made a large beef breakfaſt, it was not long before we began to conſider the approach of dinner as a very deſireable and ſomewhat tardy event: The principal inconveniences that attended our reſidence upon this iſland aroſe from the vaſt number of muſkittos and other troubleſome inſects, by which we were perpetually teaſed: there was likewiſe a venomous little inſect that, like the ſheep-ticks in England, would bury its head in the ſkin, and if not ſoon removed, cauſe an inflammation. Running water there was none in the iſland, but that defect was ſupplied by a large lagune or lake, almoſt in the centre of it, to which the cattle, in times of drought, generally reſorted; but the freſhneſs of their paſture, and the copious dews and gentle ſhowers that often moiſtened it, rendered that reſource almoſt unneceſſary. There were beſides ſprings of excellent water, and, near the ſurface, wells might every where be dug, whoſe waters in any other place, would not have been complained of.

But the great danger we had to dread, remains to be told. During four months in the year; that is, from the middle of June to the middle of October, when the weſtern monſoons prevail, the winds about the full and change of the moon are variable, and blow with ſuch fury, that the ſtouteſt cables afford no ſecurity to ſhips riding at anchor in the road: and what adds to the danger in the rapidity of the tide, which ſets to the S. E. and occaſions ſuch a hollow and overgrown ſea as is ſcarcely to be conceived; inſomuch that though we were in a ſixty-gun ſhip, we were under the dreadful apprehenſion of being pooped by it. During the reſt of the year, the weather is conſtantly ſettled, and when ſhips have nothing to fear, if their cables are well armed, which otherwiſe will ſoften from the foulneſs of the ground. From the 19th of Auguſt, when our ſick were all put on ſhore, to the 12th of September, when the commodore himſelf

* The iſland of Tinian is differently deſcribed by Commodore Byron.

1741 ſelf landed, thoſe that remained on board were chiefly employed in mooring their ſhip, in ſhifting their guns, to come at their leaks, and in ſecuring the cables from being galled againſt the rocky bottom; at the ſame time an anchor and cable were put on board the Spaniſh bark, her own being only a heavy log of wood, and a rope made of baſs, and ſome barrels of powder, which by long keeping were become moiſt, to be dried and recovered. From the 12th to the 15th, their hands were continually ſhifting; thoſe who were ſo well recovered as to be capable of duty, were ſent on board, and thoſe who had borne the burden of the labour were relieved and ſent on ſhore.

A violent tempeſt drives the Centurion from her anchor.

The weather began to alter on the 19th, and to threaten a ſtorm. On that day, the next, and the 21ſt, it blew hard; however, we rode it out, and flattered ourſelves that the prudence of our meaſures had ſecured us from accidents. On the 22d the hurricane came on, and our only hope of ſafety ſeemed to depend on our putting out to ſea; but the commodore was on ſhore, and all communication with the land abſolutely cut off. At five in the afternoon, the ſmall bower parted, and the ſhip ſprang off to the beſt bower. As night approached, the violence of the ſtorm increaſed; yet, notwithſtanding its inexpreſſible fury, the rapidity of the tide was ſuch as to prevail over it, and to force the veſſel before it, as it were, in deſpight of its utmoſt rage. It was now that the ſea broke round us in a tremendous manner, and a large tumbling ſwell threatened to ingulph us in its boſom. The long-boat which was moored a-ſtern, was, on a ſudden, thrown ſo high that it broke the tranſum of the commodore's galley, and would, doubtleſs, have riſen as high as the tafferil, had it not been for the ſtroke, which ſtove her to pieces; yet the poor boat-keeper, though much bruiſed, was ſaved almoſt by miracle.

About eight o'clock the tide ſlackened, but the wind did not abate; and the beſt bower cable by which alone we held, parted at eleven. In this extremity, Mr. Saumarez, our firſt lieutenant, who commanded in the abſence of the commodore, ordered guns to be fired, and lights to be ſhewn, as ſignals of diſtreſs. In a ſhort time after, the night being exceſſively dark, the ſtorm raging, the thunder roaring, and nothing to be ſeen but the blue lightning flaſhing through the rain, we were driven to ſea; and by this cataſtrophe the whole crew, both by ſea and land, were reduced to a ſtate of deſpair; thoſe on ſhore, concluding that they had now no means left them ever to get home, while thoſe on board, being utterly unable to ſtruggle with ſuch winds and ſeas, expected each moment to be their laſt. In this deſpondent ſtate, while the crew on board were every moment expecting to be daſhed againſt the rocks of Aiguignan, an iſland about three leagues from Tinian, thoſe on ſhore were perſuaded the ſhip could not ſurvive the ſtorm, the whole channel between the two iſlands, appearing from the land like one continued breach; the ſea ſwelling, breaking, and roaring, like mountains over mountains, and forming the moſt aweful and terrifying ſight that the mind of man can poſſibly conceive. Indeed the condition of thoſe driven to ſea was truly pitiable: they were in a leaky veſſel, with three cables in their hawſes, to one of which ſtill hung their yet remaining anchor: they had not a gun on board laſhed, nor a port barred in. Their ſhrouds were looſe, their fore-top-maſt was unrigged, and they had ſtruck their fore and main yards down before the hurricane came on, ſo that there was no ſail they could ſet except the mizzen. To add to their misfortunes, they were no ſooner at ſea than by the labouring of the ſhip, whole floods of water ruſhed in at the hawſe-holes, ports, and ſcuppers, which, with the uſual leakage, kept the pumps conſtantly at work. Perſuaded that their deſtruction was inevitable, yet ſinking was but their ſecondary concern, for they judged by the driving of the ſhip, that they were making towards the land, and in the darkneſs of the night that they ſhould no otherwiſe perceive it than by ſtriking upon it. Day-light, however, relieved them from that uneaſy apprehenſion, by ſhewing them that the iſland which they had ſo much dreaded was at a conſiderable diſtance, and that the northern current had proved the means of their preſervation. It was not, however, till the expiration of three days, that the turbulent weather which had driven them from Tinian, began to abate; when every man in the ſhip was ſo worn out with fatigue, that they found it impoſſible to man the pumps, and hand the ſails at the ſame time. They had twice attempted to get up the main and fore yards, in which they had as often miſcarried, by the breaking of the jeers; and in the laſt effort, one of their beſt men periſhed.

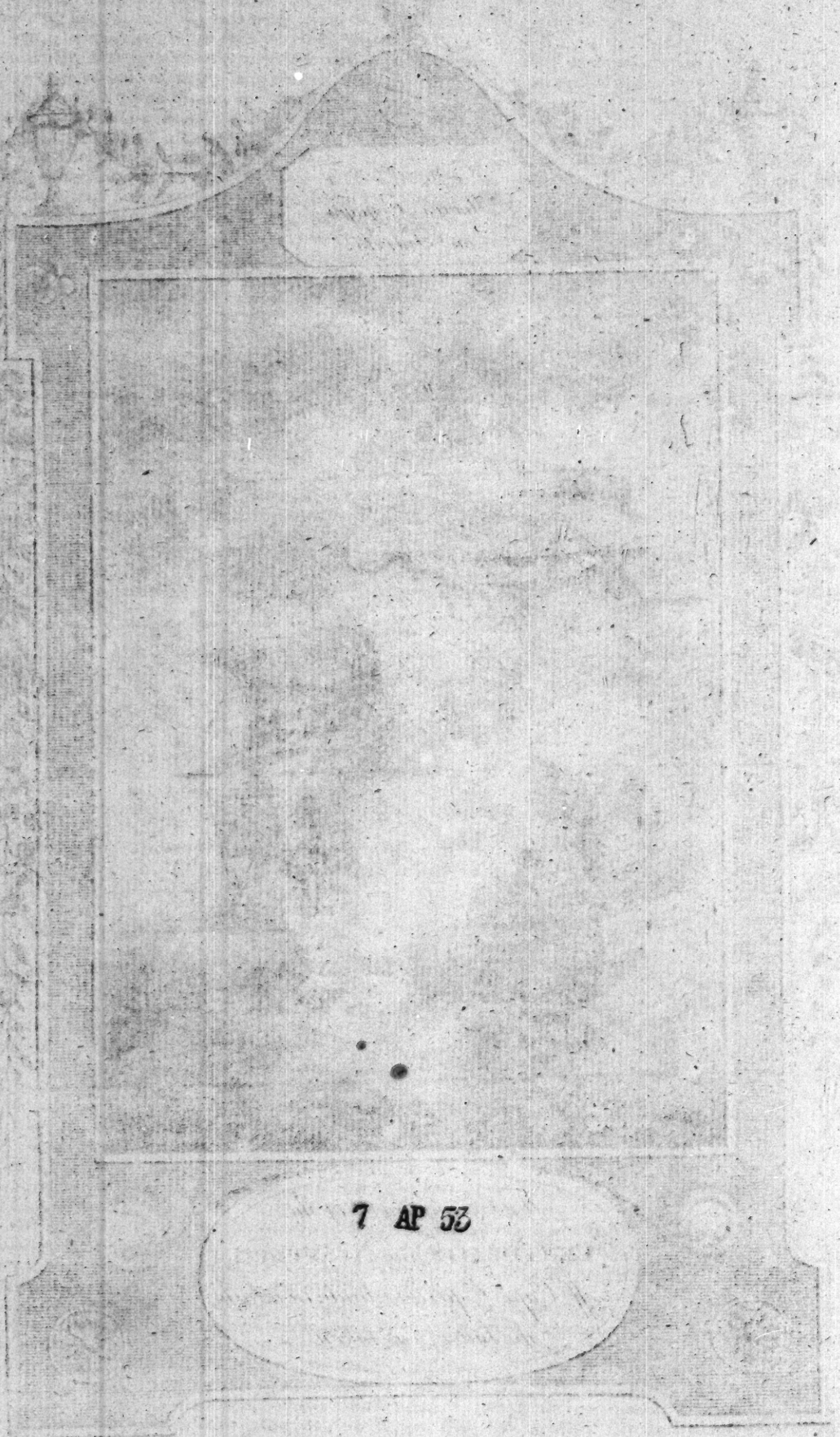
All this time the ſhip was driving to leeward, and dragging her ſheet-anchor, the only one ſhe had, with two cables on end at her bows. This was a circumſtance of the greateſt conſequence, and required a ſpeedy remedy; for though, upon a third exertion of their whole force, they had replaced their yards, they durſt not, while the anchor remained in that ſituation, venture to ſpread their canvas. Some reſt and refreſhment became neceſſary before a work of ſuch labour could be propoſed to a feeble and diminiſhed crew, that hardly conſiſted of 100 men. It was therefore five days after their departure, before they could ſecure their anchor. Then they ſet their courſes, and, for the firſt time, ſtood to the eaſtward, in hopes of ſoon regaining the iſland, and rejoining their commander, and the reſt of the company. But in this they were unhappily diſappointed; for having run, as they thought, the diſtance neceſſary, and being in full expectation of ſeeing the iſland, they found themſelves bewildered by the irregularity of the currents, and knew not what courſe to ſteer, till, after many days uncertainty, they came at laſt in ſight of Guam, from whence, with infinite labour, they directed their courſe to Tinian, the wind being conſtantly againſt them, and the tide variable. This ſevere employment held till the 11th of October, when, after 19 days abſence, they appeared again in the offing, and were reinforced from the ſhore, to the inexpreſſible joy of the whole crew.

A few days after the ſhip was driven off, ſome of the people on ſhore cried out, *A ſail!* This ſpread a general joy, they ſuppoſing it to be the Centurion returning; but preſently another ſail was deſcried, which wholly deſtroyed the firſt conjecture, and made it difficult to gueſs what they were. The commodore, by the help of his glaſs, ſaw they were two boats; on which he inſtantly concluded, that the Centurion was gone to the bottom, and that thoſe were her boats, returning with the remains of her people. This ſudden ſuggeſtion wrought ſo powerfully upon him, that, in order to conceal his emotion, he was obliged to retire to his tent, where he ſpent ſome bitter moments in the firm perſuaſion that all his hopes were now at an end, and that, inſtead of diſtreſſing the enemy, he muſt himſelf, with his people, fall a prey to their cruelty. He was, however, ſoon relieved from this mortifying thought, they appearing, on their near approach, to be Indian proas [or praws] directing their courſe towards the bay with a view, as was ſuppoſed, to relieve their countrymen, or take on board their proviſions.

On this intelligence, the commodore ordered his people to conceal themſelves; but the praws, after advancing within a quarter of a mile of the ſhore, lay by for the ſpace of a few hours; and, probably obſerving ſome change in the appearance of the place, which might raiſe their ſuſpicion that an enemy lay in ambuſh, they got again under ſail, and ſteered to the ſouthward.

After this incident, an opinion began generally to prevail that the Centurion would never more appear at this iſland; and that ſhe was either loſt, or forced upon the coaſt of China, from whence, in her crazy condition, it would be impoſſible for her ever to return. Though the commodore did not apparently give into this opinion, yet he was not without his fears; and to provide againſt the worſt, he propoſed

Engraved for
Moore's Voyages
and Travels.
The Engagement of the
CENTURION and ACAPULCO,
off Cape Espiritu Santo, in which
the latter was taken.



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cutting asunder the Indian bark which they took, on their first arrival, and lengthening her in such a manner as to render her capable of taking on board all who were then upon the island, and follow the ship, if peradventure she should be driven to Mocao. After some hesitation, owing to the difficulty attending the execution, they were prevailed upon to engage in the work, and the commodore by his example encouraged their diligence; for, being always at work by day-break himself, it was thought a disgrace to be idle when their chief was employed. It fortunately happened, that the carpenters both of the Glouceſter and the Trial were on shore, and that they had brought for safety their chest of tools with them. The smith too, was on shore with his forge, but his bellows was still in the ship. This defect occasioned some delay; but was soon supplied by the ingenuity of his ship-mates, one or other of them never being at a loss for expedients on such occasions. They limed a fresh hide for leather; the carpenters shaped out a wooden frame, and a gun barrel served for a nozel; the smith being now in readiness to prepare the iron work, some were employed in cutting down trees, and sawing them into planks, whilst the main body were busied in digging out a draw-dock to receive the bark, and laying of ways to heave her up and down. All, in short, were variously employed; and the work went on successfully for 16 days; in which time the bark was sawn asunder, and her two parts were separated, and placed at the proper distance from each other; and, the materials being all in readiness before hand, they proceeded with no small dispatch in the enlargement, insomuch that they fixed on the 5th of November as the day when they should be ready to depart. The alacrity with which the business was carried on, left no room for reflexion among the common sailors, though their superiors were not without their fears. They had no sea provisions, except the jerked beef, which the Indians had prepared, and abandoned when they fled, and they had a run of 600 leagues before they could presume upon a supply. They had no bread, and the bread fruit on this island could not be preserved at sea; they wanted salt; and, what was still a more necessary article in their present situation, they wanted ammunition for their defence, in case of an attack from an enemy; for, upon the strictest search, no more than 90 charges of powder could be collected, which was short of one round a-piece for each of the company. They were in an unknown sea, and wanted instruments to direct their course; in short, though the common men had no other thought than how they should get on board, the officers foresaw a thousand difficulties, which were almost insurmountable to human apprehension, but which they carefully concealed, that the main business might not be retarded. But, in the midst of these gloomy apprehensions, which, the nearer the time of their departure approached, still became the more serious, and when all hopes of seeing the Centurion at Tinian had subsided, one of the Glouceſter's men, being upon a hill at a distance, looking out for cattle, perceived, something like a ship in the clouds, which, on steady observing it, seemed to move slowly towards the land, it was not long before he was sensible of its approach, and persuaded himself it was the Centurion. The man with extasy ran towards the landing-place, crying to his comrades, *The ship! The ship!* This being heard by the nearest, was echoed from mouth to mouth, till it reached the spot where the commodore was at work, who, on hearing the joyful news, threw down his axe, and joined in the general transport. In a few hours, the Centurion appeared in the offing, and a boat with 18 men was sent off to reinforce her, and to carry fresh meat, fruits and refreshments, for the crew. In the afternoon of the 11th of October, she happily cast anchor; the commodore went instantly on board, and the joy and congratulation on that occasion were equally sincere and mutual.

The labour of the artificers was now at an end, and another kind of employment succeeded, which was that of laying in water for the voyage. Now also hunting, shooting, and every device that could be contrived to catch live cattle, hogs, and poultry, for stores, took place; while, at the same time, the commodore and officers amused themselves with traversing the island, and examining more minutely its several parts. In one of these excursions, being on a rising ground, they observed, in a valley beneath them, the appearance of a small thicket, which, by attending to it, seemed to have a progressive motion, as indeed it had, but was no other than a parcel of cocoa-bushes trailed upon the ground by persons concealed beneath them. From this uncommon circumstance, it was immediately concluded, that the Indians, whose boat they had surprised upon their first arrival, must be the persons who were dragging the bushes, and that it could not be far to the place of their concealment. They therefore kept their eye upon them, and traced them to their cell; but, to their surprise, when they entered it, they found it abandoned, though all things were ready prepared for dinner, and stood smoaking hot on a table of turf. The officers, having in vain endeavoured to track them returned, and, with an appetite increased by the keeness of the pursuit, sat down to eat that meal which the poor hungry savages had abandoned. It consisted of salted spear-ribs, and bread fruit; all which they found ready dressed, and in quantity as much as they all could eat. 1742

On the third day, after the second arrival of the ship, the commodore being on board, a sudden gust of wind arose, and again brought home our anchor, and drove us out to sea. Our chief officers were now all on board; and only about 70 of our men, with a midshipman or two to command them, were employed on shore in filling water and catching cattle. Of these about 30 came off to us in a cutter, and the eighteen-oared barge was sent for the rest: but they not being in readiness, and the ship quickly driving out of sight, it was no longer in their power to join us. However, as the weather soon proved favourable, and we were now stronger and healthier than when we met with our first disaster, in about five days we regained the road, and anchored safe in our former station. On our return we found the bark restored to her old dimensions, and the parts brought together, and in good forwardness to be completed; for the few remaining people, despairing of the return of the ship, had determined to follow her to her destined port. We now laboured indefatigably to get in our water, in order to sail, in which service two of our men, employed in the well, unfortunately perished; for the sides of the well being loose earth, by the carelessness of those above, in not properly attending the filling, the bank gave way by the weight of a heavy cask, and both that and the bank fell in upon them together. Some other misfortunes happened through haste in rafting the casks to the ship, which yet, notwithstanding, were such as are generally accounted trifling on board a man of war. Our watering went on so successfully, that by the 20th of October it was completed; and on that day leave was given for a man from each mess to go on shore and gather as many oranges, lemons, cocoa-nuts, and other fruits of the island as should be sufficient for us all, while at sea. This being accomplished, and the Spanish bark set on fire, the men returned on board, and the boats were hoisted in. On the 21st we set sail, and the wind being fair, and the weather moderate, nothing remarkable happened till we arrived on the coast of China, except that while we were passing by the rocks of Vale Rete, near the south end of the Island Formosa, we were alarmed by a cry of fire on the fore-castle, which brought the whole crew together in the utmost confusion, so that it was difficult for some time to reduce them to order; but, as soon as discipline took place, and a proper examination could be made, it was found to proceed from the furnace, where the bricks, being over-heated, had begun to communicate the fire to the wood-work, which, had it not been timely discovered, might have been of the most dreadful conse-

1742 quence; but, as it fell out, it was extinguiſhed with the greateſt facility, and the brick-work ſo ſecured, that no accident of the like kind could happen again.

From the iſland of Formoſa we directed our courſe ſo as to fall in with the coaſt of China, to the eaſtward of Pedro Blanco; as that rock is generally eſteemed the beſt directions for ſhips bound to Mocao; and, on the 6th of November we fell in with it, and were preſently ſurrounded by an incredible number of fiſhing boats, which covered the ſurface of the ſea as far as the eye could reach. Nor was this ſwarm of fiſhing veſſels peculiar to that place, for, as we ran on to the weſtward, we found them as abundant on every other part of the coaſt. From among theſe we had no ſort of doubt of procuring a pilot to Mocao; but, when we thought ourſelves near it, though we tempted them with ſhewing them bags of Spaniſh dollars, for which, it is ſaid, a Chineſe would ſell his father, yet not one of them would venture to come on board us, nor give us the leaſt intelligence; neither did our ſhip, the like of which ſo armed and filled, probably, had never before appeared upon their coaſts, ſeem to excite in them any curioſity. They continued their fiſhing with the ſame apparent indifference as if any trading ſhip had been paſſing by; and, when we made them ſignals, they diſregarded them as much, though they certainly underſtood them, as if we had been in ſport. The next day, however, about two in the afternoon, as we were ſtanding to the weſtward, within two leagues of the ſhore, ſtill ſurrounded as before, we obſerved that a boat a-head of us waved a red flag and blew a horn. This we apprehended was a ſignal for us, and accordingly hoiſted out our cutter, and ſent to know the meaning of it; when we preſently diſcovered the miſtake, and that it was only the uſual notice to leave off fiſhing, which the whole fleet inſtantly obeyed. Being thus diſappointed, we kept on our cruiſe till we came to a groupe of iſlands, round the weſternmoſt of which we were directed to paſs, and then to haul up. While we were thus employed, a Chineſe pilot came on board, and, in broken Portugueſe, undertook to pilot us into harbour for 30 dollars; and on the 12th of November, anchored us ſafe in Mocao road, where the firſt thing we did was to ſalute the fort, and to ſend to the Portugueſe governor, to adviſe with his exceſſency in what manner to behave, to avoid giving offence to the Chineſe. The difficulty the commodore principally apprehended, related to the port charges uſually paid by the ſhips in the river Canton, from which charges men of war are exempted in every port of Europe, and which the commodore was determined not to be forced to pay in this.

In the evening the boat returned with two officers, who delivered it as the governor's opinion, that, if the Centurion ventured into the river of Canton, the duty would moſt certainly be expected; and, therefore, if the commodore approved of it, he would ſend a pilot to conduct the ſhip into another harbour, called the Typa, where it was probable the port charges would never be demanded. To this propoſal our commander agreed; the pilot was ſent and the ſhip ſafely moored.

Next day the commodore paid a viſit, in perſon, to the governor, to ſolicit a ſupply of proviſions, and of naval ſtores to refit the ſhip. The governor very frankly acquainted Mr. Anſon, that he durſt not openly furniſh either the one or the other: for that he himſelf never received proviſions for his garriſon but from day to day, by permiſſion from the Chineſe government, nor any thing elſe but what his preſent neceſſaries required. However, he aſſured the commodore in a friendly manner, that he would give him all the aſſiſtance in his power. On this declaration, the commander reſolved to go to Canton himſelf, to procure a licence from the viceroy to purchaſe a ſupply, and his attendants to carry them into port. But juſt as they were ready to embark, the Hoppo refuſed to grant them a permit; nor would he, for all the intereſt the commodore could make, withdraw the prohibition, till he was threatened to be compelled to it by force. This operated when fair means had failed; the next day a permit was ſent on board; and the commodore proceeded to the Engliſh factory, to conſult with the principal officers there, about the precautions that were to be uſed, leſt the factory there ſhould ſuffer by violent meaſures, which he was ſolicitous to avoid. They adviſed him to tranſact the matter with the Chineſe merchants, who, at firſt, undertook to accompliſh it; but after trifling with him for more than a month, they declared they durſt not interfere in it. They then undertook to procure him proviſions clandeſtinely, but that would not ſuffice. On his return, he found the ſhip ſo much out of repair that ſhe could not proceed without being hove down. The next day, therefore, he wrote a letter to the viceroy, acquainting him, that he was commodore of a ſquadron of his Britannic Majeſty's ſhips of war, that had been cruiſing in the South Seas againſt the Spaniards, who were at war with his nation; that his ſhip was leaky; that his people were in want of proviſions; that he had put into Mocao, a friendly port for a ſupply; but that, being a ſtranger to the cuſtoms of the country, he had been unable to ſucceed; and therefore he requeſted he might be permitted to employ workmen to repair his ſhips, and that he might be ſupplied with proviſions at the accuſtomed rates at which the articles which he ſtood in need of were generally ſold.

Another difficulty was now ſtarted as to the delivery of this letter, the Hoppo at firſt refuſing to intermeddle with it; but on the commodore's expreſſing ſome reſentment, and threatening to convey it to Canton, by his own meſſengers, he at length undertook not only to deliver it, but to procure an anſwer; accordingly, though the letter was only dated on the 17th of December, on the 19th a mandarine of the firſt rank, together with two others of an inferior claſs, and their attendants, having in their retinue 18 half galleys, decorated with ſtreamers, and furniſhed with bands of muſic, came to a grapple a-head of the Centurion, whence the mandarine ſent in to acquaint the commodore, that he came by order of the viceroy to examine the condition of the ſhip, and to report the ſame as it ſhould appear to him upon a juſt ſurvey. On this meſſage, preparations were inſtantly made to receive him; in particular, a hundred of the moſt ſightly men on board, uniformly dreſt in the regimentals of the marines, were drawn up under arms on the main deck, againſt his arrival. When he entered the ſhip, he was ſaluted by the drums and military muſic, and conducted by ſome of the principal officers to the quarter-deck, where he was received in ſtate by the commodore, and then introduced to the great cabin; then he explained his commiſſion, and deputed the perſons he had brought with him to take the ſurvey. The mandarine appeared to be a perſon of ſuperior abilities, and endowed with a frankneſs and honeſty not uſually to be met with among the ordinary ranks of Chineſe officers, and being an eye-witneſs, of the dangerous ſtate of the leaks, and of the neceſſity there was for a thorough repair, he expreſſed his entire acquieſcence in the report that had been given, and promiſed to lay the ſame immediately before the council upon his return. He was exceedingly curious in inſpecting the ſhip, in examining her guns, and poiſing her great ſhot. He expreſt his aſtoniſhment at her ſtrength and magnitude; and the commodore, to increaſe his wonder, and ſhew his own power, let him know how eaſy it would be for him to deſtroy the whole navigable force of China, and lay the city of Canton in ruins; but, nevertheleſs, he aſſured him, that not the leaſt violence ſhould be offered, provided his wants were ſupplied upon reaſonable terms.

At the ſame time the commodore complained of the behaviour of the officer at Mocao, who had prohibited the country people from ſelling proviſions to his company, though they had paid for what they purchaſed

in ſterling ſilver. The mandarine heard the complaint without emotion, but ſaid it ſhould be remedied for the future. After the buſineſs was over, dinner was ordered, and the commodore apologiſed for the meanneſs of the fare, from the difficulty he had to procure better; but the two inferior mandarines, who were the only perſons of the retinue permitted to ſit at table with them, ſhewed no diſlike to any thing ſet before them, except the beef, to which they have the ſame averſion as the Jews have to pork, from a prejudice derived from their anceſtors; of which the commodore was not apprized, nor were they offended at its being ſet before them. They were indeed, very aukward in the uſe of knives and forks, and it was found neceſſary to introduce their own ſervants to carve for them before they could make an end of their dinner. But if they were deficient in their manner of eating, they were no novices in putting about the glaſs; for, there was not an officer at table that durſt engage with them. Seeing they were fond of Frontiniac, and that they preſently emptied four or five bottles without any effect, the commodore ordered a bottle of citron water to be brought up, which on taſting, they liked, and, hethen excuſing himſelf, on account of an illneſs from which he had not yet recovered, they clapped a ruddy faced officer on the ſhoulder, and deſired him to pledge them, ſaying, by their interpreter, they were ſure he could not plead illneſs for declining his glaſs. When the bottle was out, they all roſe from the table, without appearing to be in the leaſt diſordered; and after the uſual ceremonies, departed very well pleaſed with their entertainment.

The commodore now eagerly expected the licence which he had requeſted; but it was ſeveral days before it paſſed the neceſſary forms, chiefly owing to the intrigues of a Frenchman, who having the advantage of ſpeaking the language fluently, was at no loſs in traverſing the meaſures of the friendly mandarine; yet a repetition of the threats already referred to, produced the deſired effect.

The licence was received on the 6th of January, and the carpenters ſet to work, and the prohibition being previouſly taken off, proviſions were every day brought to the ſhip in plenty. However, it was the beginning of April before the repairs could be completed; and the Chineſe began to be very uneaſy at the commodore's long ſtay. They had frequently ſent meſſengers to him to haſten his departure; not knowing or believing that he was no leſs in earneſt to be gone than they were deſirous to be freed from his long ſtay. At laſt, on the third of April, two mandarines came on board from Mocao, with a peremptory command, addreſſed to the commodore, requiring him to depart; to which he made anſwer in a determined tone, That he ſhould go when he thought proper, and not when they preſumed to command him. After this rebuke, however, all communication was forbidden, and no more proviſions were ſuffered to go on board; and ſo ſtrictly were thoſe injunctions carried into execution, that, from thenceforward, nothing could be purchaſed at any rate whatſoever.

On the 6th the Centurion weighed, and warped to the ſouthward, and by the 15th ſhe was ſafe in Mocao road. Long before this, ſome time in the month of November, Captain Saunders, commander of the Trial prize, had taken paſſage on board a Swediſh ſhip, with diſpatches from the commodore for government. And about the middle of December, Captain Mitchell, Col. Crockerode, Mr. Taſwel, with his nephew, Mr. Charles Herriot, and the Rev. Mr. Walter, embarked on board the company's ſhips, on their return home. About this time we received the firſt news of the arrival at Rio Janeiro of the Severn and Pearl, the two ſhips of our ſquadron, that parted from us at Cape Horne. The former had been remarkable for the extraordinary ſickneſs which had been more fatal on board her than any other veſſel in the whole ſquadron; inſomuch that though her hands were twice recruited from the Centurion, during her voyage to the ſtreights of Le Maire, yet when ſhe parted company ſhe wanted hands to navigate her in a ſtorm, which was the reaſon of her return. It was from the knowledge of this uncommon mortality that prevailed among the crew, that the commodore concluded the Severn to be loſt. The news, therefore, of hers and the Pearl's ſafety was received with the greater pleaſure, as we had long entertained an opinion that both of them had periſhed. But, to proceed.—From the 1ſt to the 15th of April, we had ſtormy weather, with heavy rains, and ſuch amazing and terrifying claps of thunder and flaſhes of lightening, as nothing of the kind I had ever ſeen, bore any proportion to. This was upon the breaking up of the eaſterly monſoon, when ſuch ſtorms are uſual in the country, and ſometimes are accompanied with dreadful guſts of wind, which they call tuffoons, of the effects of which the Chineſe relate wonderful ſtories. 1742

While we were warping out of the harbour, the commodore went on ſhore to Mocao, to take leave of the Portugueſe governor, who, had behaved in a very friendly manner to us; at his coming from the fort he was ſaluted with 15 guns.

During our ſtay, we had entered about 20 freſh hands, being chiefly Laſcars, Perſians, and Dutchmen, ſo that our whole complement, when we ſailed, amounted to 224 men and boys, among whom were ſome of almoſt all nations, languages, and religions.

Being now at ſea, we were for ſome time in a ſtate of uncertainty what courſe the commodore intended to ſteer. He gave out at Mocao, that he was bound for Batavia, and from thence to England; but his real deſign was very different. The project which the commodore had reſolved upon in his mind was to cruiſe for the annual ſhip from Acapulco to Manilla; and, not diſcouraged by his former diſaſters, he reſolved again to riſque the dangers of the Pacific Ocean, and to take his ſtation off Cape Spirito Santo, on the iſland of Jamal, being the firſt land the Acapulco ſhips make in approaching the Philippines. When we were thus got out to ſea, it was no longer neceſſary to conceal his project, he therefore ſummoned all his people on the quarter-deck, and in a ſhort, but ſpirited ſpeech, informed them of his deſign, which was received by them with ſigns of higheſt approbation. Such a confidence of ſucceſs had diffuſed itſelf through all the ſhip's company, that the commodore, who had taken ſome Chineſe ſheep to ſea with him for his own proviſion, enquiring one day of his butcher, Why he had lately ſeen no mutton at his table? the man replied, That there were but two ſheep left, and theſe, with his honour's leave, he would reſerve for the entertainment of the general of the galleons.

When the Centurion left the port of Mocao, ſhe ſtood ſome days to the weſtward, and on the firſt of May, paſſed the Iſland of Formoſa. Steering to the ſouthward, on the 4th in the evening they came in ſight of the Baſhee Iſlands, which they ſuſpected to be wrong laid down by Dampier, and, from obſervation found them 25 leagues too far to the weſtward. On the 20th of May they came in ſight of Spirito Santo.

As it was known that there were centinels placed upon the cape to make ſignals to the Acapulco ſhips,* the commodore tacked, and ordered the top-gallant-ſails to be taken in, to prevent a diſcovery; and this being the ſtation in which he propoſed to cruiſe, he fixed the limits between the latitude of 12° 50′ north, and 13° 5′ the Cape itſelf lying in 12° 4° north, and four degrees eaſt longitude from Pſotel Tobago Xima. It was now the ſhip from Manilla was every hour expected; for ſhe ſeldom fails of making land in the month of June, and ſometimes ſooner, and it was the laſt day of May New Style, when the commodore took his ſtation.

* There were two expected, becauſe none had been permitted to ſail the preceding year.

[After

1742 [After a month of tedious expectation in which hopes and fears alternately reigned in the breasts of our adventurers, on the 20th of June, Mr. Charles Proby a midshipman, discovered a sail from the mast-head; on which it was immediately concluded that this must be one of the galleons, and accordingly they stood towards her. They could see her from the deck at half an hour past seven in the morning, when she fired a gun to leeward, which the English thought had been a signal to her consort, but which they afterwards found was intended as a signal for her own people to prepare for engaging.]

They meet with the Acapulco ship.

The commodore was surprised to see the vessel steadily pursue her course, and was now in no fear of losing her, as, at noon, he could fetch her wake. Her consort not appearing, it was concluded that they had parted company, and it now became visible that the Spaniard did not intend to fly, but to fight. Every preparation had been previously made on board the Centurion, and all hands properly instructed; so that every man on board repaired to his post with as much regularity and unconcern as if preparing for a review. Thirty of the best marksmen lined the tops; two men placed themselves at each gun, to load it, and gangs of ten men each, were appointed to go from gun to gun, to run them out, and fire them as soon as they were loaded. Thus a constant running fire was kept up, and no interval allowed for the enemy to stand to their guns in safety, as is common when whole broad-sides are discharged at once.

At one in the afternoon, the galleon hauled up her fore-sail, and brought to, under top-sails, with her head to the northward, hoisting Spanish colours, and having the standard of Spain flying at her top-gallant mast-head. About the same time the Centurion hoisted her broad pendant and colours; and seeing the enemy clearing the decks of their cattle and lumber, gave orders to fire the chace guns, to disturb them in their employment. The galleon returned the fire with her stern chace guns, one of which carried away one of our fore-shrouds, which could not have been done by an ordinary ball. The English setting their sprit-sail fore and aft for boarding, the Spaniards, out of a bravado did the same. Soon after the Centurion shot abreast of the enemy, within pistol shot; and now the engagement became hot and fierce. For the first half hour, the Centurion over-reached the galleon, and lay on her bow, while by the wideness of her ports, she could traverse almost all her guns upon the enemy, but, in return, the galleon could only bring a part of her's to bear.

[In the midst of the action, the mats with which the galleon had stuffed her netting, took fire, blazing up nearly as high as the mizzen-top. This accident threw the Spaniards into the utmost terror, and also alarmed the commodore, he fearing lest the galleon should be burnt, and that he himself might suffer by being closely grappled by her. Happily, however, both these dangers were averted, and the fire was extinguished by cutting away the netting, and letting the whole tumble into the sea.]

All this time the commodore kept his first advantageous position, firing with great regularity and briskness; while, at the same time the galleon's decks lay open to our top-men, who having, with their first volley, driven the Spaniards from their tops, made prodigious havock with their small arms, &c. killing or wounding every officer but one that appeared upon the quarter-deck, and wounding in particular the general of the galleon himself. Thus the action continued for more than half an hour: after which the Centurion lost the superiority of her situation, and came close along-side of the galleon, when the enemy continued their fire with great activity for near an hour longer: yet, even in this situation, the commodore's grape-shot swept their decks so effectually, and the number of the dead and wounded became so considerable, that they began to fall into great confusion, especially as the general, who was the life of the action, was no longer able to exert himself. The disorder was so great, that their officers were seen running about to prevent the desertion of the men from their posts; but all their endeavours were in vain; for, after having, as a last effort, fired five or six guns with more judgment than usual, they yielded up the contest; and, the galleon's colours being singed off the ensign-staff at the beginning of the engagement, she struck the standard at the main-top-gallant-mast-head; but even this office would have been at the peril of the man's life, had not the commodore, observing what he was about, given express orders to leave off firing.

The commodore, when the action was ended, resolved to make the best of his way with his prize to the river Canton, being, in the mean time, fully employed in securing his prisoners, and in removing the treasure from on board the galleon into the Centurion. His first business was to commission the ship, and put her under the command of proper officers: Lieutenant Saumarez was appointed Captain, and was immediately ordered on board to take possession of his charge.

But, just as the galleon had struck, the officer who commanded between decks came up, seemingly to congratulate the commodore on his conquest; but at the same time privately whispered to him, that the Centurion was dangerously on fire near the powder-room. It seems one of the lads, called powder monkeys, being heedless, a cartridge that he was carrying blew up in his hands; this fired another, and that three of the lower-deck guns on the off side of the ship, which being happily loaded and laid down for service, and the ports hauled up to vent the smoke, they did not occasion the least mischief; however, the cartridges and guns together raised such a smother, that it was at first doubtful whether it proceeded from the explosion, or from a part of the ship being on fire; in fact, upon examination, it was found to proceed from both: for part of a cartridge having fallen between the planks of the cieling, close aft by the scuttle of the chaplain's cabin, not only a considerable smoke issued out, but a very sensible heat, and, had it not been immediately extinguished, the consequence would have been dreadful: to be brief, a few pails of water seasonably applied, did more than all the water of the ocean could have effected after an hour's delay.

This alarm being thus happily subsided, we drafted out 50 of our people (of whom myself was one) to board and man the prize. I heard we killed them 60 men, and wounded as many more, and expected to have seen the horrid spectacles of mangled limbs, dead carcases, and decks covered with blood: but no such spectacles appeared, a party having been properly stationed, during the time of action, to wash away the blood, and to throw the dead over-board. We found, however, many desperately wounded, and among them the general, who had received a musket ball in his breast, and was, or pretended to be so ill, that it was judged unsafe to remove him from his cabin: but all the other officers, together with the passengers of note, were sent on board the Centurion. Among the latter was an old gentleman, governor of Guam, who was going to Manilla to renew his commission, and who had scarcely mounted the Centurion's side before he was received with open arms by Mr. Crooden, captain of marines, who, 36 years before, at the battle of Almanza, had been his prisoner, and honourably used by him. These two renewed their old acquaintance, and Captain Crooden had a long-wished for opportunity of returning the favour he had formerly received, and which he gratefully remembered.

The ship, which upon examination, was found to contain to the value of more than a million and a half of dollars, was called the Nuestra Signora de Cabadonga, Don Jeronimo de Montero, commander, by nation a Portuguese, and accounted the most intrepid officer employed in the Spanish mercantile service: and, indeed, in my opinion, he was more brave than prudent; for, surely, no wise man, intrusted with such a cargo,

six leagues to the windward of a man of war, purposely stationed to intercept him, would have borne down upon his enemy, and braved him to his teeth, when, with the advantage of the wind, he might have got safe to port, from whence he was not more than 10 or 12 leagues distant, and where he might then have set his pursuer at defiance.

His galleon was indeed larger than the man of war, was pierced for 64 guns, but had only 36 mounted, most of them 12 pounders and 17 of them brass: she had, besides, 28 patararoes in her gunwale, quarters, and tops, carying each a 4lb. ball; and, before the engagement, she mustered 640 men capable of bearing arms, officers and passengers included: she was, besides, well furnished with small arms, and was particularly provided against boarding, both by her close quarters, and by a strong net-work of two-inch rope laced over her waste, and fortified with half-pikes placed in the manner of chevaux de frize; but, notwithstanding all her defences, she had 64 men killed, and 84 wounded, whilst the Centurion had only two men killed, and a lieutenant and 16 men wounded, all of whom recovered, one man only excepted.

And now the commodore learned from some of the prisoners, that the other ship, which had been kept in the port of Acapulco the year before, instead of returning in company with this, as was expected, had sailed earlier in the season than usual, and was probably got into Manilla before the Centurion set sail from Mocao; so that, notwithstanding our present success, we had reason to regret the loss of time occasioned by the delays of the Chinese, which prevented our taking two rich prizes instead of one, though to say the truth, it would not have been an easy task to dispose of the prisoners, which, even as it fell out, was a matter that gave the commodore no small disquietude; for they were above double the number of our people; and some of them observed, when they were brought abroad, how slenderly we were manned; and the general himself could not help expressing his indignation to be thus beaten by a handful of boys. It was therefore necessary for our own preservation to prevent their rising; and that could not be securely effected without exercising a degree of severity which in any other circumstances could not have been justified on the principles of humanity; for there was no method practicable but that of stowing the men in the holds of the two ships; and as for the officers, 17 in number, they were confined in the first lieutenant's cabin, under a guard of six men, first depriving them of their arms, and then keeping a strict watch on all their motions. Indeed, the sufferings of the common men, such of them, in particular, who were not employed in navigating the ship, were much to be pitied; for, the weather being extremely hot, the stench of the hold was loathsome beyond conception, and their allowance of water but just sufficient to keep them alive, being only a pint a day, for each man. It was next to a miracle that not a man of them died, during their confinement, except five of the wounded, who expired the very night they were brought aboard the Centurion. Thus circumstanced, the motives of humanity, as well as interest, strongly urged the commodore to hasten his return to China; and the prize being much damaged, both in her hull and rigging, it was found necessary to take her in tow for a quicker dispatch.

On the 21st of June it blew a storm, which continued till the 25th when the sea ran mountains high; in this storm the Centurion lost her long-boat, and the prize a launch.

On the 2d of July we passed between the Bashee Islands, though the rippling of the sea seemed to indicate breakers or rocky ground; but, the wind bearing so far to the northward as to render it difficult to weather them, we risqued the danger to shorten the voyage. On the 8th of July we made the coast of China, and on the 11th came to an anchor off the city Mocao; from thence we proceeded to the river of Canton, where we met with the usual obstructions from the custom-house officers, and where the commodore was again obliged, as it were, resolutely to force his way to his intended station. The officers who came to take the dimensions of his ships, in the usual manner, seemed astonished when he talked of being exempted from the accustomed rates, and gave him to understand, that the emperor's duty must be paid by every ship that came into his ports; and the pilot had private instructions not to carry the ships through the Bocca Tygris, or narrow pass that forms the entrance into the river Canton, till security was given for the accustomed charges. 1742

And here it may be necessary just to mention that this pass, not more than a quarter of a mile in breadth is defended by two forts on the opposite sides; but these the commodore disregarding, and being determined to enter the river without delay, as the stormy season was approaching, caused the pilot to be brought before him, and, in a determined tone, threatened to hang him to the yard arm, if he did not instantly take charge of the ship, and carry her safe, without striking ground, through the Bocca Tygris into the open river. The poor pilot performed his office, but did not escape punishment for what he could not help. He was instantly seized, on being released from the Centurion, committed to prison, and rigorously disciplined with the bamboo. However, he found means to get access to the commodore afterwards, to supplicate a recompence, who, ever ready to reward the sufferers in his service, gave him such a sum as more than contented him for his whipping. Nor was the poor pilot the only sufferer, for the governors of the forts, were both displaced for not preventing what it was in vain for them to attempt to oppose, and for not doing what all the council must know was impossible to be done.

On the 16th the commodore sent his second lieutenant to Canton, with a letter to the viceroy, assigning his reason for putting into that port, demanding a licence for purchasing provisions and stores, and intimating an intention of waiting upon his excellency in person to make his acknowledgements. The lieutenant was civilly received, and promised an answer the next day. In the mean time, the principal officers of the prize desired permission to go to Canton on their parole, which was readily granted; these no sooner arrived, than they were called before a magistracy and examined; when they generously and frankly acknowledged, that they fell into the hands of the commodore by the chance of war, and though they were prisoners, they were notwithstanding at liberty to treat for their release; they said farther, that tho' it was not the custom among European nations to put prisoners to death; yet that the laws of war authorised much severer treatment than they had hitherto met with from their conquerors. This confession from an enemy had great weight with the Chinese, who, till then, though they had reviewed the commodore's naval force, had yet suspected his morals, and had considered him rather as a lawless free-booter, than as one commissioned by the state for the revenge of public injuries.

On the 20th of July, three mandarines with their retinue came on board, and brought the viceroy's permit for a daily supply of provisions, and for pilots to carry the ship up the river as high as the second bar; and, at the same time, they delivered a message from the viceroy, in answer to that part of the commodore's letter which related to visiting his excellency, the substance of which message was, That the viceroy wished the commodore to defer his visit till the hot season was over; but that in September, when the weather would be more temperate, he should be glad to receive him. This the commodore looked upon as a finesse, knowing an express was sent up to the emperor's court at Pekin; whence the real motive for putting off the visit seemed to be to gain time to receive the emperor's instructions concerning the ceremony to be observed at his reception. The mandarines, having dispatched this part of their commission, next entered upon the

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business of the port charges; whereupon the commodore at once cut them short, by telling them that as he did not come to trade, he was not to be treated upon the same footing with trading ships; that his Britannic Majesty's ships never paid customs in the ports of Europe, nor ever would be subject to pecuniary imposts in any other port whatever. Finding nothing to be gained on this head, they told the commodore, that they had still another matter in charge, and that was the release of the prisoners taken on board the galleon, for that the emperor would never permit the subjects of princes with whom he was in alliance, to be held in bondage in his dominions, nor could the viceroy answer it to his sovereign, if he suffered it; and that therefore his excellency hoped that the commodore would give immediate orders for their release. Though nothing could be more agreeable to the commodore, who wanted much to be rid of the incumbrance, than this requisition, yet to inhance the favour, he at first raised difficulties, but at length suffered himself to be prevailed upon by their intreaties, and concluded, by assuring them, that, to shew his readiness to oblige, he would deliver up the prisoners whenever the viceroy would order boats to fetch them. Matters being thus adjusted, the mandarines departed; and, in a few days, two Chinese junks were sent from Canton to carry them to Mocao, under the direction of one Captain Fial, commander of a Spanish merchant-man, to whose ship we gave chace in our passage from the Bashee Islands to Mocao, but lost sight of her in the night.

The commodore refuses to pay customs.

To this gentleman the general of the galleon, and all his officers, except one who accompanied us to England, were delivered up. And now I have occasion to mention the general, I cannot help relating an affair which gave us on board the prize a great deal of concern, and sufficiently shewed the meanness of his spirit, and his beggarly craft. I have already taken notice of his being wounded in the engagement, and of his being indulged with the use of his own cabin till he was fit to be removed. The commodore, over and above this indulgence, sent him a surgeon from his own ship, upon a complaint that the Spanish surgeon on board the galleon was quite ignorant in his profession; but at the same time he sent an officer to demand his commission. Pretending to this officer that he was unable to move, he referred him to a small box in the locker of his private cabin, in which, he said, it was, and likewise a sword-belt set with diamonds of great value, his own property: but, upon search, neither the commission nor belt could be found, and, as some of our people had been rummaging both that and the other parts of the ship, he protested, that, if they could not be there found, they must have been taken away and concealed. Under colour of this concealment, though he never produced his commission, he all along received the most humane and gentlemanlike treatment, that the most worthy officer could desire or expect, and such was continued till his departure, when neither his chests, of which he had two very large ones, nor any of his trunks or cases were suffered to be searched, but every thing that he claimed as his personal effects were delivered to him with the greatest care and punctuality; though, as I was afterwards informed, he had many valuable ventures concealed, which ought to have been delivered up as prize to the captors; but, that was never examined into, he carried them off with the rest, and, it was supposed, was not the least among the gainers by the capture of his ship. He persisted, however, to the last, in the loss of his commission and belt, and, though there were none on board on whom he could charge the theft, yet the commodore sufficiently expressed his displeasure against the whole crew, by the prohibition he laid upon us, as soon as the prize came to an anchor in the river, by which all communication was cut off between us and the country people, and no boat suffered to come near us but our own, by which severe order we were entirely debarred from purchasing our own provisions and necessaries from the Chinese, which the people in the Centurion were at full liberty to do, neither could we employ the Chinese tradesmen to supply us with apparel, of which we stood greatly in need, though in that too the Centurion's people were indulged; and all this for no other reason, ever assigned than that the commodore was determined the secreter should have no opportunity of disposing of them without being discovered. Had this precaution been taken as it ought, for the satisfaction of those suffering under the severity of the censure; and had the effects of the Spanish general been properly inspected, the secreter would have been publicly exposed; for when we afterwards fell down to Mocao with the ships, where we sold the prize, I was myself told by an Irish priest that the general had both his commission and his belt, that he made no secret of the matter at Mocao, and that he had offered the jewels (made up only by way of blind) among the merchants for sale.

During our stay in the river Canton, our people were employed in repairing the Centurion, overhauling her sails and rigging; also in ventilating her decks and quarters below, and in paying and decorating her hull; insomuch that when she came to sail, she had more the appearance of a ship newly fitted out, than of one that had been a three years voyage round the globe. While these things were doing in the Centurion, we on board the prize were busied in rummaging for treasure, till about the latter end of August, when we made a full end of our search, and found, upon account of the captors, 1,278,546 dollars in specie, and 1,324 of wrought plate and virgin silver. The jewels found were not then valued. While the inferior officers and seamen were thus employed, the commodore had a still more important business in hand. He knew it was impossible for us to proceed to Europe, without an ample supply of provisions and other sea stores; and though we were furnished with a daily allowance, yet no order had been obtained for victualling us for our intended voyage. Application had indeed been made, and terms agreed upon with the contractors to furnish whatever was necessary; and they had the viceroy's permission for the delivery; but when, about the middle of September the proper officer was sent to inquire in what forwardness these things were, he found that the baker had not begun to bake the bread, nor the butcher to kill the oxen; nor was the least step taken to comply with any one article of the agreement. We could no otherwise account for this faithless procedure of the Chinese, than by supposing they meant to starve us into a compliance with their accustomed demands for port charges, with which the commodore was determined never to acquiesce. Indeed it was suspected that the contractors themselves had some interest in promoting the delay, though it was not easy to penetrate the views by which they were influenced, as it may with truth be asserted, that in artifice, falsehood, and attachment to all kinds of lucre, the Chinese, as a nation, are not to be parallelled by any other people under the sun. It were endless to recount all the artifices, extortions, and frauds, which were practised on the commodore and his people by this interested race. The method of buying provisions in China being by weight, the tricks made use of to make them heavy, were almost incredible. At one time a number of fowls and ducks being brought for the ship's store, the greatest part of them presently died, which spread a general alarm on board, for fear they should have died of poison; but, on examination, it was discovered that they had crammed them with small stones and gravel, to increase their weight. The hogs too bought of the Chinese ready killed were found to have water injected into the carcases for the same purpose, and when, to avoid this cheat, the hogs were bought alive, it was found that salt had been given them to increase their thirst, and methods used to suppress their urine, and that the tortured animals had been sold in that inflated state.—Mr. Walter adds, That as the Chinese never

never ſcruple to eat theſe animals that die of themſelves, they contrived by their ſecret practices when the commodore put to ſea, that part of his live ſtock ſhould die in a ſhort time after it was put on board. In order, therefore to make a ſecond profit of the dead carcaſes, which they expected would be thrown overboard, they followed in boats, to pick up the carrion; and accordingly two thirds of the hogs dying, before the ſhip was out of ſight, their labour could not be in vain.

The treachery of the contractors being now diſcovered, the commodore determined to renew his former requiſition for an audience with the viceroy. With this view, he notified his intentions to the proper mandarine, and deſired he would fix the time with the viceroy when he would be pleaſed to receive him; at the ſame time giving him to underſtand that, on the firſt of October he intended to proceed in his boat to Canton. The mandarine returned for anſwer, That he would make the viceroy acquainted with his intentions.

As it was apprehended that the payment of the cuſtomary duties would be demanded at this interview, the commodore took the neceſſary precautions to prevent the Chineſe from facilitating the ſucceſs of their pretenſions by having him in their power at Canton, and therefore gave the command of the Centurion to his firſt lieuteuant, Mr. Brett, (now Sir Piercy) with orders if he ſhould be detained, to lie at the mouth of the river, and to ſuffer no boat or ſhip to paſs or repaſs till he was releaſed. This being known to the Chineſe, they were now more embarraſſed than ever in their deliberations. On the morning of the firſt of October the boat's crew, to the number of 18, whom the commodore intended to take with him, appeared in their uniform, conſiſting of ſcarlet jackets and blue ſilk waiſtcoats, the whole trimmed with ſilver, having alſo ſilver badges on their jackets and caps. Juſt at this time Mr. Anſon's linguiſt came to him from the mandarine, to tell him that a letter had been received from the viceroy, deſiring the commodore to defer his intended purpoſe for two or three days, the men were ordered to be undreſſed, and the preparations were all laid aſide. But, in the afternoon of the ſame day, another linguiſt came on board, ſeemingly in a great panic, to inform him that the viceroy had expected him up that day; that the council had been aſſembled, and the troops put under arms to receive him; and alſo that the viceroy, highly incenſed at the diſappointment, had ſent the commodore's linguiſt to priſon, ſuppoſing him to be the ſole cauſe of this contempt. This plauſible tale gave the commodore great uneaſineſs, at that time, not ſuſpecting any oppoſition: and though it afterwards appeared to be all a farce, yet the falſehood was ſo well ſupported by the artifices of the Chineſe merchants, that the commodore read a letter three days afterwards ſigned by all the ſupercargoes of the Engliſh ſhips then at the place, expreſſing their anxiety about what had happened, and intimating their fears that ſome inſult would be offered to his boat, if he attempted to come to Canton before the viceroy was fully ſatisfied of the miſtake. To this letter the commodore replied, That he did not believe there had been a miſtake, but was perſuaded it was a forgery of the Chineſe, to prevent his viſiting the viceroy, and that therefore he would certainly come up to Canton on the 13th of October, confident that the Chineſe would not dare to offer him any inſult, as well knowing he ſhould neither want the power nor inclination to make them a proper return. Accordingly, on the day appointed, the commodore continuing firm to his reſolutions, all the ſupercargoes of the Engliſh, Daniſh, and Swediſh ſhips came on board the Centurion, to accompany him to Canton, for which place he ſet out in his barge the ſame day, attended by his own boats, and by thoſe of the trading veſſels, which, on this occaſion, were ſent to augment his retinue. As he paſſed by Wampo, where the European veſſels lay, he was ſaluted by all of them except the French; and in the evening he arrived ſafe at Canton. The Chineſe merchants, who affected to appear very much pleaſed that he met with no oppoſition in his way, pretended that the viceroy was then fully employed in preparing his diſpatches for Pekin, that there was no getting admittance to him, but that they had engaged one of the officers of his court, as ſoon as he was at leiſure, to notify the commodore's arrival, and endeavour to fix the time of audience. Though Mr. Anſon knew this to be a falſehood, yet he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded by the European ſupercargoes not to appear to doubt it, provided the Chineſe merchants would undertake that his bread ſhould be baked, and all his ſtores in readineſs within forty days; after which time if the leaſt article was forgotten, he would force his way to the viceroy, and prefer his complaint. 1742

During the interval; while the contractors were endeavouring in earneſt to fulfil the terms of the agreement on their part, (which however they inſiſted ſhould be paid for in advance on his) a fire broke out in the ſuburbs of Canton, which, on the firſt alarm being ſpread, might eaſily have been extinguiſhed by pulling down ſome of the adjoining ſheds; which the commodore with his officers and crew obſerving, were about inſtantly to carry into execution; but they were told that whatever they pulled down they muſt build up again at their own expence, and that none but a mandarine muſt preſume to direct upon ſuch occaſions. On receiving this admonition, the commodore diſpatched his people to the Engliſh factory, to aſſiſt his countrymen there in ſecuring their effects, as it was eaſy to conclude no diſtance was ſafe from fire where the common people contented themſelves with gazing at it, and now and then holding up an idol by way of extinguiſhing it. At length a mandarine came out of the city with four or five hundred firemen, who made ſome feeble efforts to pull down the neighbouring houſes, but by this time the fire extended itſelf, and had ſpread among the merchants warehouſes, where the Chineſe firemen had neither ſpirit nor ſkill to encounter it; ſo that it was feared the whole city would have been laid in aſhes. In this emergency the viceroy vouchſafed to make his appearance; and a meſſage was ſent to the commodore requeſting his aſſiſtance. Accordingly he haſtened a ſecond time with about forty of his men to the place where the fire raged with the greateſt violence; and they, in the ſight of the whole city, performed ſuch daring, and to the people who beheld them ſuch aſtoniſhing feats, that they looked upon their gueſts as ſalamanders, and cried out that they could live in the fire. In reality, it was no uncommon thing to ſee ſome of the boldeſt and moſt active among the Engliſh, tumble on the roofs, amidſt the ruins of the houſes which their own efforts had brought down under them. And thus, by their agility, the fire was very ſoon ſubdued, to the aſtoniſhment of the Chineſe, who were ſpectators of the wonders which they performed. The Swediſh was the only factory that ſuffered on this occaſion, though an account widely different was afterwards given in the Paris Gazette. A fire at Canton extinguiſhed by the Engliſh.

This ſignal aſſiſtance gained the Engliſh commander much reſpect. He was the next day waited on by the principal inhabitants with preſents, and thanks; and, ſoon after, a meſſage came from the viceroy, appointing the 30th of November for the day of audience. Being highly pleaſed with this laſt intimation, Mr. Anſon, inſtantly gave orders for the neceſſary preparations, and engaged Mr. Flint, a gentleman belonging to the Engliſh factory, for his interpreter, who having been trained up from his infancy among the Chineſe, ſpoke their language fluently, and who was not afraid to deliver with boldneſs what the commodore gave him in charge, a part which the Chineſe interpreters would not have dared to perform with equal fidelity.

On the day appointed, the commodore and his retinue ſet out; and, as he entered the outer gates of the city he was met by a guard of 200 ſoldiers, that conducted him to the great parade before the emperor's palace,

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palace, in which the viceroy then reſided, where a body of troops to the number of 10,000 were drawn up under arms, who made a fine appearance, being all new cloathed for this ceremony. Through the middle of theſe the commodore marched with his retinue to the hall of audience, where he found the viceroy ſeated under a canopy, in the emperor's chair of ſtate, with all his council of mandarines attending. He was ſeated the third in order from the viceroy, the chiefs of the law and treaſury being the only perſons placed above. Mr. Anſon then addreſſing the viceroy, by his interpreter, complained of the delays which he had met with, enumerating the inſincerity of thoſe whom he had employed, the various impoſitions of the officers of the cuſtoms; the grievances of the Britiſh ſubjects; and, finally, mentioned the loſs ſuſtained by the Hallingfield Indiaman, which had arrived there diſmaſted but a few days before the fire happened, by which the crew had been great ſufferers, and the captain in particular, who had loſt a cheſt of treaſure, of the value of 4500 tahel. To the latter article, the commodore received for anſwer, That in ſettling the emperor's cuſtoms with that ſhip, the Captain ſhould be conſidered. To the other complaints the commodore received no anſwer. Having now gone through the ſeveral articles which he had in charge from the company, he next entered upon his own affairs, and particularly concerning the licence to ſhip off his proviſions and ſtores, which he ſaid were all ready, and the ſeaſon for ſailing now ſet in. The viceroy replied to this, That the licence ſhould be immediately iſſued, and that every thing ſhould be ordered on board the following day. The buſineſs being now at an end the viceroy continued the converſation for ſome time on difference and curioſity; and, after obſerving that the Centurion had been long on the coaſt, he concluded with acknowledgments for the ſervices which the commodore had rendered the Chineſe, by the activity of his people at the late fire, and with wiſhing him a good voyage to Great Britain.

The commodore has an audience of the viceroy.

Thus happily concluded this long expected audience; and, in purſuance of the viceroy's promiſes, the proviſions were begun to be ſhipped the very next day. And now all the preparations for putting to ſea were purſued with ſo much expedition, that by the 5th, the Centurion and the prize were ready to unmoor; on the 10th, they paſſed through the Bocca Tygris into the open road, and, on the 12th anchored before the town of Mocao. While they lay there, the Portugueſe merchants entered into treaty with the commodore for the purchaſe of the prize, for which they would give no more than 6000 dollars, though worth double that ſum: but the impatience of Mr. Anſon to be gone, that he might himſelf be the meſſenger of his own good fortune, and thereby prevent the enterpriſes of the enemy to intercept him, prevailed upon him to conclude the bargain; and ſhe being delivered on the 15th of December, and the money received in the afternoon of the ſame day, he hoiſted ſail, and took his departure for his native country.

On the 3d of January he came to an anchor at Prince's Iſland, in the ſtreights of Sunda, and, on the 8th weighed, and continued his courſe. From this time till the 23d, we had foul and ſtormy weather; and the wind blowing againſt us, we were driven pretty near the coaſt of New Holland; and had it continued blowing in the ſame direction for 48 hours longer, we ſhould have found it difficult to have cleared the coaſt; but on the 21ſt the wind abated, and the weather became moderate. On the 24th the trade-wind ſet in, and then we proceeded on our paſſage with the greateſt alacrity. On the 24th of February, at half after four in the morning, I diſcovered a comet to the eaſtward, near the horizon, being, as I judged, lately emerged from the ſun's rays. Its tail was at this time about ten degrees in length; but in leſs than a fortnight, it increaſed, and extended itſelf to near 40 degrees. Its head appeared very large and bright; and, on a nice inſpection, I have perceived it when the ſun has been about half its diameter above the horizon. The next time I obſerved its diſtance from the planet Venus, to be 26° 50′ following the order of the planets; but not having inſtruments fit for taking altitudes without a very obvious ſenſible horizon, I was prevented from making more ſatisfactory obſervations. From this time till the 6th of March, we had pleaſant weather, with few exceptions, but on that and the three following days, being near the Cape of Good Hope, we had ſome boiſterous ſtorms; yet, when we arrived at Table-Bay, on the 11th, the Dutch knew not that any ſuch had happened. We found riding here two Engliſh Eaſt-Indiamen, the Saliſbury and Warwick, each of which ſaluted us with thirteen guns, and we returned eleven. We alſo found five Dutch ſhips, one of which as admiral, having a flag at his main top-maſt head, ſaluted us with nine guns, and we returned ſeven. At eleven at night we parted our beſt bower cable and hawſer, both of which were very rotten, and the next day moored again with others purchaſed from the Dutch. Here the commodore continued till the beginning of April, highly delighted with the place, and during his ſtay entered 40 new men. Having completed the taking in of our water and proviſions on the third of May, we weighed anchor. On the 19th we paſſed within ſight of St. Helena, which however, we did not viſit; and, on the 26th we caught on board a ſnake that meaſured ſix feet two inches in length, which our ſurgeon on examination, pronounced to be perfectly harmleſs; this ſerpent was ſuppoſed to have been brought on board with our wood, at Prince's Iſland, in the ſtreights of Sunda. Being before the wind on the 30th, with a fine breeze and a gentle rain, a violent and ſudden ſquall took us a-head, which threw all the ſails a-back, carried away our fore top-ſail yard, ſplit the fore-ſail, fore top-ſail, and fore top-gallant ſail, as alſo the mizzen and mizzen top-ſail. During this ſquall, the ſhip lay down very much, and we were in the utmoſt danger of our maſts coming by the board; but, providentially, we eſcaped without farther damage.

On the 9th of June, it being a thick fog, on a ſudden, we ſaw a ſhip cloſe by us, fired a ſhot and brought her to. She proved to be an Engliſh ſhip from Amſterdam, bound for North America, with Palatine emigrants; after having given us the firſt notice of a war, ſhe proceeded on her voyage.

We came into ſoundings on the 10th, and on the 11th, at half paſt eleven in the morning, diſcovered three ſail, one of which we ſpoke with, at one in the afternoon, which proved to be a Dutch veſſel from Dublin: at the ſame time, the ſecond being pretty near us, ſhewed Dutch colours. The third, which had been in chace of theſe two the whole day, perceiving that we deſigned to ſpeak with her, ſtood from us with all the ſail ſhe could crowd. We gave her chace for about three hours, when, finding we did not gain upon her, we reſumed our former courſe. On the 12th, in the morning, the fog clearing up, we perceived the Lizard Point; but that the ſignal perils which had ſo often threatened us, and from whence we had more than once been providentially delivered, might be diſcoverable to the laſt, as we were afterwards told, there was a French fleet of conſiderable force cruiſing in the chops of the channel, through the middle of which we had ſailed this night unperceived. On the 13th, between Portland and the Iſle of Wight we ſaw a ſhip towing another which was diſabled in her maſts. The former proved to be the Salamander privateer, the latter, a French prize, which ſhe had taken. We anchored on the 14th, at eleven in the morning, at the back of the Iſle of Wight, and in the evening weighed, and again anchored at Spithead, after having been three years and nine months abſent from England.

Thus ended Mr. Anſon's voyage, the chief ſucceſs of which was the taking of the Manilla ſhip, and which, however well conducted by the commodore, by no means anſwered the ends for which it was at firſt propoſed.

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With regard to the Wager ſloop, which we have already mentioned as having been ſeparated from the ſquadron, we have the following account: Captain Cheap, who commanded the veſſel, knowing the importance of the charge which he had in truſt, without which no enterprize of importance on ſhore could be undertaken, was extremely ſolicitous to reach Baldivia, the laſt place of rendezvous and the firſt to be attacked, before the ſquadron ſhould have finiſhed the cruiſe, that no blame might reſt upon him if the attack of the city ſhould be rendered improper to be carried into execution. But while he was exerting himſelf to keep clear of the land, in making the Iſland del Soccoro, he had the misfortune to diſlocate his ſhoulder, and thereby to diſable himſelf from proſecuting with vigour the deſign that he had in view. The ſhip being little better than a wreck; the officers quite exhauſted, the weather cold, and ſtormy, the crew in a miſerable deſponding condition, and the currents bearing ſtrongly in ſhore; all theſe circumſtances concurring, ſo intangled the ſhip with the land, that all the efforts of her feeble crew could not prevent her from running upon a ſunken rock, where ſhe grounded, between two ſmall iſlands not a muſquet ſhot from the ſhore. She continued entire in this ſituation ſo long that all who were on board might have reached the land in ſafety, and ſtored themſelves with proviſions, and every neceſſary for their preſent ſubſiſtence, and future eſcape; but the moment the ſhip ſtruck, all ſubordination ceaſed; one part of the crew got poſſeſſion of the liquors, intoxicated themſelves, and grew frantic in their cups; another part began to furniſh themſelves with arms, and to make themſelves maſters of the money and things of moſt value, on board; while the captain and ſome of the principal officers endeavoured, in vain, to maintain their authority, and to preſerve a proper diſcipline, in order to effect the deliverance of as many as poſſible from the common danger, in which all were involved. But the mutinous diſpoſition that prevailed rendered ineffectual every effort for their preſervation. Thoſe who remained in poſſeſſion of the ſhip and her ſtores pointed the cannon, and fired at thoſe who had gained the land. The latter party, on the other hand, grew riotous for want of proviſions; but what completed the ſcene of confuſion was, that a midſhipman, named Cozens, who had buſied himſelf in oppoſition to all good government, was, by the captain ſhot dead upon the ſpot. [The occaſion of this action is variouſly related; but according to the beſt accounts, the captain conſidering the ſituation of affairs could not be juſtly blamed for his ſeverity.] However that might be, the conſequence of Cozens's death was the abolition of every ſhadow of remaining order. The idea of ſubſerviency ceaſed, and all thought of nothing but ſhifting for themſelves, as opportunity offered, or circumſtances would admit.*] Of about 130 perſons that reached the ſhore, 30 died upon the place. About 80 others, having converted the long boat into a ſchooner, ſailed to the ſouthward attended by the cutter. Theſe being diſtreſſed for proviſions, in doubling Cape Horne, on their return, and having loſt the cutter in a ſtorm, ſuffered innumerable hardſhips in their courſe to the coaſt of Braſil, where only 30 of the crew arrived to give an account of the miſerable fate of their companions, ſeveral of whom had died of hunger, others deſired to be ſet on ſhore, and ſome beginning to be mutinous, they landed and deſerted. Of 19 that were left behind on Wager Iſland, with the Captain, 16 embarked on board the barge and yawl, and attempted to eſcape to the northward; of theſe, one was drowned in the yawl, and four were left on a deſart part of the coaſt, where moſt probably they periſhed. The eleven remaining after a fruitleſs attempt to weather Cape Treſmontes were forced to return to Wager Iſland, from whence they had firſt ſet out; where meeting with a Chiloan Indian, who could ſpeak a little Spaniſh, they agreed with him to pilot them to Chiloe; but after coaſting along for four days, the captain and his officers being on ſhore, five in number, the other ſix perſuaded the Indian to put to ſea without them; by which perfidy the remaining ſix were reduced to the ſad neceſſity of travelling near 600 miles, ſometimes by land, and ſometimes by water; till at length, after a variety of misfortunes and hardſhips, four of them, viz. Captain Cheap, the Hon. Mr. Byron, [who lately went round the world, and whoſe voyage the reader will find related in the following ſheets.] Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Campbell arrived at Chiloe, and were there treated very humanely by the Spaniards. From thence they were ſent firſt to Valparaiſo, and afterwards to St. Iago, the capital of Chiloe, where they remained above a twelvemonth. On advice of a cartel being eſtabliſhed, Captain Cheap, Mr. Byron, and Mr. Hamilton were allowed to return to Europe; and Mr. Campbell, who, in the mean time, had changed his religion, embarked for Spain. However, as he did not there meet with ſuch encouragement as he expected, he returned ſoon after to his native country, where he publiſhed an account of his adventures. 1766

In order to fulfil our other promiſe we ſhall now preſent the reader with an account of what befel the ſquadron of the Spaniſh admiral Piſarro, which ſtood a very good chance of defeating the intention with which Mr. Anſon's was fitted out, but from a number of concurring circumſtances, failed in the attempt, experiencing nothing but a variety of misfortunes and diſappointments. Fate of Admiral Piſarro's ſquadron.

This ſquadron conſiſted of the following ſhips: The Aſia, of 66 guns and 700 men, commanded by Don Joſeph Piſarro, as admiral; the Guipuſcoa, of 64 guns and 700 men; the Hermione, of 54 guns and 500 men; the Eſperanza, of 40 guns and 450 men; the Eſtevan, of 40 guns and 350 men; and a patache of 20 guns and 120 men. And, beſides this complement they had on board an old Spaniſh regiment of foot, intended to reinforce their garriſons in the South Seas, and to counterbalance the land forces which they well knew were intended to be ſent out with commodore Anſon.

The Spaniſh admiral having gained the latitude of Madeira, cruiſed for ſome time to the eaſtward of that iſland, till, ſeeing nothing of the Engliſh fleet, he determined to purſue his inſtructions, and hold on his courſe to the South Seas. Had he cruiſed to the weſtward, the two fleets muſt have met, and had they engaged, it is moſt probable, that which ever way fortune had inclined, the commodore would not have been in a proper condition to proſecute his intended voyage.

But matters fell out otherwiſe and Piſarro, diſappointed in his expectations, ſtood for the Braſilian coaſt, quitting his ſtation off the Madeiras in the beginning of November, and arrived at the river Plata on the 5th of January following, when, coming to an anchor in the bay of Maldando, he immediately ſent for a ſupply to Buenos Ayres. It was here that by means of the Portugueſe governor of St. Catherine's, he received intelligence of the arrival of the commodore at that port, and of the condition he was then in. Piſarro, however, made no other uſe of this information than endeavouring to be beforehand with Mr. Anſon, in doubling the Cape, intending, if he could firſt enter the South Seas, effectually to alarm the coaſt, and ſo far ſtrengthen the forts as to render vain all the projected attacks of the Engliſh in thoſe parts, and entirely to deprive them of the means of procuring what was neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence. His

 preca[u]tions

* It is not a little remarkable that the place where the Wager ſtruck, was ſo near that where the Anne pink found ſhelter, as has been already related, that the Wager's people were even within hearing of the Anne's morning and evening guns, and yet never thought of following the ſound, or examining from what veſſel it proceeded.

1744 precautions, however, proved ineffectual; the commodore, had put to ſea four days before him, and in ſome part of the paſſage round the cape, the fleets were ſo near each other, that the Pearl being ſeparated from the reſt of the Engliſh fleet, by a ſtorm, was near being decoyed by Admiral Piſarro, as has already been related. At that tempeſtuous ſeaſon it was with the utmoſt difficulty, and not without the promiſe of great rewards that the Spaniſh ſailors were prevailed on to attempt their paſſage round Cape Horne. By the latter end of February, however, they had run the length of the cape, and when turning to the weſtward, a ſtorm aroſe wherein the Guipuſcoa, Hermione, and Eſperanza loſt ſight of the admiral; and, on the 6th of March, the Guipuſcoa was ſeparated from the other two. The ſtorm increaſing on the 7th of March, drove the ſquadron, in ſpite of all their efforts, to the eaſtward, and at laſt forced them to Braſil. The Aſia ſheltered herſelf in the river Plata, and was joined by the Eſperanza, and Eſtevan, about the middle of May. As to the Hermione it was ſuppoſed that ſhe had foundered at ſea; and the Guipuſcoa was run on ſhore and ſunk on the Braſilian coaſt. The patache had been condemned before they quitted Braſil the firſt time, and her crew diſtributed among the other ſhips; ſo that only three veſſels now remained of the ſix which had ſet out on this expedition, and theſe three were in a moſt wretched ſituation. For though the Spaniards had not experienced ſuch dreadful effects from the ſcurvy, yet they were reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs by famine, inſomuch that they caught rats for food, which ſold at four dollars apiece.*

About this time a conſpiracy broke out among the ſoldiers on board the Aſia, to murder the admiral and the ſhip's crew for the ſake of getting all the proviſions into their own poſſeſſion. But a dying man confeſſing this matter to his prieſt, the father purſued proper methods to defeat the bloody purpoſes of the conſpirators. However, though they were delivered from this danger their diſtreſſes multiplied. They were perpetually attacked by enemies which it was moſt difficult to vanquiſh: hunger, thirſt, diſeaſe and fatigue, increaſed upon them daily; the ſhips grew more and more leaky, and the men could not ſtand at the pumps. The marks of diſpondency were viſible in every countenance, and nothing was to be heard but complaints from every quarter. In effect the Aſia was near ſinking, when at laſt ſhe arrived at Monte Vedio in a moſt wretched condition, having loſt near half her crew in the courſe of her voyage. When the Eſtevan anchored in the bay of Barragon, ſhe had alſo loſt the like number of her people; and the Eſperanza, which brought 450 ſeamen from Spain, as has been already noticed, had only 58 alive that reached the ſhore, and of the whole regiment of ſoldiers there were only 60 ſurviving.

All kinds of neceſſaries, naval ſtores, maſts, rigging, and money, the grand means of purchaſing every thing, being equally wanted by the Spaniſh admiral, he diſpatched an expreſs over land by an Indian to St. Iago in Chili, from whence it was to be forwarded to the viceroy of Peru. The meſſenger charged with this diſpatch, though it was then the depth of winter when the Cordilleras are generally ſuppoſed to be impaſſable, on account of the ſnow, was only 13 days in travelling from Buenos Ayres to S. Jago, which are 300 Spaniſh leagues diſtant from each other. Admiral Piſarro's requiſition of the viceroy was to ſend him 200,000 dollars; at the ſame time an advice boat was ſent to Rio Janeiro, with a letter of credit to purchaſe what was neceſſary of the Portugueſe. Neither of theſe diſpatches ſucceeded as the admiral wiſhed. Inſtead of 200,000 dollars, he received but half that ſum from the viceroy, and the Portugueſe, inſtead of furniſhing him with maſts and yards, ſent him only ſome pitch, tar, and cordage. And to complete the ſeries of his diſappointments in thoſe parts, a carpenter whom he had intruſted with a conſiderable ſum of money, ſending him to Paraguay to cut maſts, inſtead of obeying his orders, intirely deſerted the ſervice, and married and ſettled in the country. This circumſtance obliged him to ſhift the maſts of the Eſperanza into the Aſia, and to fit up the Eſtevan with what ſpare maſts and yards they could collect, and with theſe two ſhips, as it was now ſummer, once more attempt doubling Cape Horne. But nothing but ill ſucceſs attended all their deſigns. This being accompliſhed, the Eſtevan ran on a ſhoal and beat off her rudder in coming down the river Plata, and the Aſia proceeded alone with moderate weather; but when ſhe came to the height of Cape Horne, and was tacking to change her courſe to the weſtward, by ſome miſmanagement in wearing ſhip, ſhe rolled away her maſts and was forced back a ſecond time to the river Plata, when Piſarro undertook to croſs the continent, which deſign he accompliſhed. In the mean time Don Mindinuetta, commander of the Guipuſcoa, which had been wrecked on the Braſilian coaſt, with thoſe of his crew that had eſcaped, arrived at the place of general rendezvous; and finding the Eſtevan without maſts, made a ſecond application to the Portugueſe, and ſucceeded ſo well as to repair her, and carry her round the Cape. Arriving in the South Seas, he met Piſarro, who claimed the command of the Eſperanza, which Mindinuetta diſputed, and an enmity aroſe between thoſe commanders which the viceroy in vain attempted to reconcile, each being equally obſtinate in aſſerting his claim. They both returned over land in the year 1755 to the coaſt of Braſil, where they found the Aſia in a ſhattered condition. They reſolved, however, to bring this ſhip to Europe, and having fitted her up as well as circumſtances would permit, they manned her partly with Spaniards, partly with Portugueſe; together with ſome Engliſh priſoners and ſome Indians whom they had forced into the ſervice.

Thus equipped, in the beginning of November they put to ſea. But they had not long purſued their courſe, before the Indians, who were eleven in number, formed a conſpiracy againſt the Spaniards, in which they doubted not but the Portugueſe and Indians, who were treated with a degree of inſolence would join them. They had not, however, concerted meaſures properly for their purpoſes, and therefore the weight of the undertaking reſted upon them alone.

About nine o'clock one evening, their chief, whoſe name was Orellana, with all his companions, came upon the quarter-deck, and drew near the great cabin; which the boatſwain obſerving reprimanded them, and ordered them to be gone. On this the Indian who had laid his plan with wiſdom, as far as the inſufficiency of his numbers would allow, ſpoke to his countrymen in his own language, on which four of them drawing off, as if in obedience to the boatſwain, two took poſſeſſion of each gang-way; while their chief and the reſt ſeemed to be quitting the quarter-deck with a ſlow pace; but as ſoon as Orellana ſaw his orders were executed, he placed his hands hollow to his mouth, and ſet up the war cry of his country. Immediately the Indians fell upon the Spaniards, and laid near forty of them at their feet, twenty of whom were killed on the ſpot, and the reſt diſabled.

When this tumult began, many of the officers eſcaped into the great cabin, where they put out the lights, and barricadoed the door; whilſt ſome of the reſt, endeavoured to eſcape along the gang-ways to the fore-caſtle, where the Indians placed for that purpoſe ſtabbed the greater part as they attempted to paſs by: others threw themſelves into the waſte in order to lie concealed among the cattle; but the greater number of the fugitives eſcaped up the main ſhrouds, to ſave themſelves in the tops or the rigging; and though the fore-caſtle watch had not been attacked, yet finding their communication with the quarter-deck cut off they

* It is ſaid that a Spaniſh ſailor concealed his brother's death for ſeveral days and nights lying in the ſame hammock with the corpſe for the ſake of receiving the dead man's allowance.

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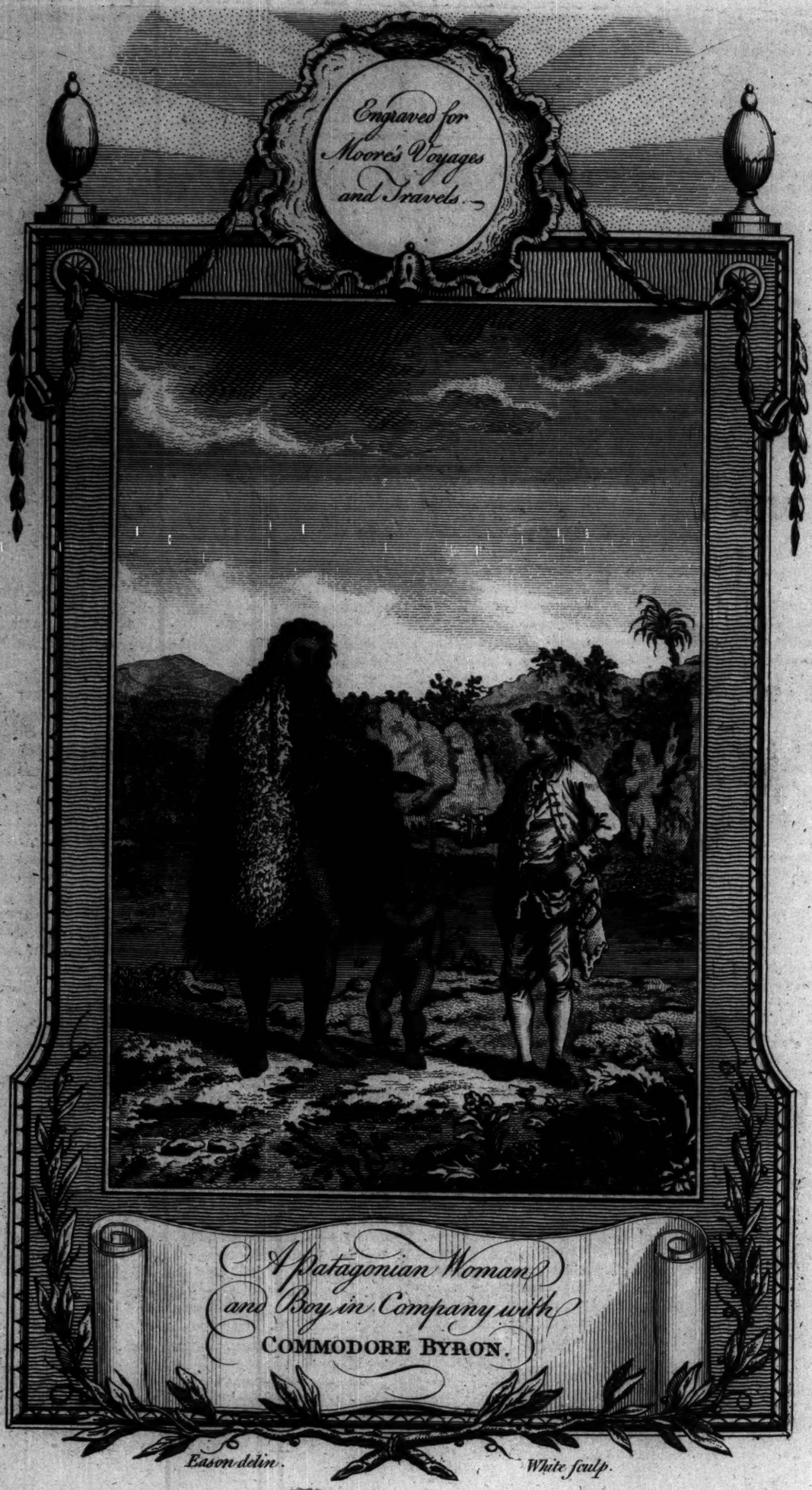

A Patagonian Woman
and Boy in Company with
COMMODORE BYRON.

Eason delin. White sculp.

they had recourſe to the ſame expedient of ſheltering themſelves in the rigging.

Had the Indians been joined by the Engliſh and Portugueſe, as they expected, the command of the Spaniards here would have ended; but as no ſuch event took place, they could not improve the advantage which they had gained by purſuing the enemy any farther. The latter, in conſequence gained time to recover from their confuſion; and Piſarro and his officers half-opened the cabin door. Orellana inſtantly attempted to force it, but being ſhot dead by Mindinuetta, the Indians ſeeing him fall, leaped into the ſea, teſtifying their reſolution by their death, and leaving their enemies to proceed on their voyage, who held on their courſe for Spain, where they arrived in the beginning of the year 1746. 1746

Thus ended an expedition in which Spain loſt about 3000 of her beſt ſailors, and a whole regiment of veteran ſoldiers, four ſhips of war and a patache, the Aſia alone returning to Europe, as the Eſtevan was found unable to redouble Cape Horne.——The Spaniards were entirely unfortunate, and if we except the treaſure taken in the Acapulco ſhip, it will appear that the Engliſh rather diſtreſſed the enemy than really benefited themſelves by Commodore Anſon's enterprize.

THE VOYAGE OF COMMODORE BYRON ROUND THE WORLD.

IN the year 1764, government having formed a deſign of proſecuting the diſcoveries in the South Seas, the Honourable Mr. Byron was pitched upon to conduct an expedition planned for that purpoſe. Two veſſels being fitted out for that purpoſe, this gentleman was nominated to command the Dolphin ſhip of war in quality of commodore, attended by the Tamar frigate, Captain Mouat commander.

Commodore Byron ſails from the Downs.

Theſe veſſels ſailed from the Downs on the firſt of June, 1764. Before they had cleared the channel, the Dolphin ran a-ground, on which account ſhe was brought into Plymouth dock; but on examination, it appearing that ſhe had received no injury, ſhe was in readineſs to purſue her voyage by the 3d of July, when the commodore gave the ſignal for ſailing.

Shaping their courſe for Madeira, they arrived at the iſland, and anchored in the bay of Fonchiale on the 30th, the governor of which ſaluted the Engliſh with 11 guns, and the ſalute was returned by the commodore. From hence they ſet ſail on the 19th; on the 21ſt they came in ſight of Palma, one of the Canary Iſlands* and on the 30th they anchored in the bay of Port Praya. As ſoon as they had taken in water, and ſuch other things as they ſtood in need of, they quitted the port with all poſſible expedition, being apprehenſive that otherwiſe they might encounter the tornadoes and hurricanes which generally rage here from the month of Auguſt till about the middle of the winter ſeaſon. They came to an anchor in the road of Rio de Janeiro on the coaſt of Braſil, when the commodore viſited the governor, who received him in ſtate; putting the guard under arms before the palace; 15 guns were fired in honour of the Britiſh flag, and his excellency afterwards returned the viſit, and was received by the commodore in a ſuitable manner on board the Dolphin. Lodgings were here provided on ſhore for a great many of the Tamar's people who were ſick; as to thoſe on board the Dolphin, the freſh meat and greens which they uſed plentifully, kept them in a more healthy ſituation. However, while the ſhips lay in this harbour, the Portugueſe found means to decoy away nine of the Dolphin's, and five of the Tamar's people, the latter were recovered, but the commodore loſt his men, whom probably they intoxicated with liquor, and afterwards ſent up the country, there to remain till the Engliſh veſſels departed.

On the 16th of October, the commodore weighed anchor, and on the 22d he informed the ſhip's company that they were not bound to the Eaſt-Indies, as at firſt they had ſuppoſed, but on a voyage of diſcovery, their good behaviour in the courſe of which, would be rewarded by order of the lords of the Admiralty, with double pay, and other emoluments. This ſpeech was received with marks of the higheſt ſatisfaction, and the crew promiſed obedience to the commodore, and expreſſed their willingneſs to do all in their power for the ſervice and honour of their country. 1764

A violent ſtorm aroſe on the 29th, in the courſe of which they were obliged to throw four of their guns overboard; it continued all night, but ſubſided on the morning of the 30th, they made ſail, and being arrived at 35° 30′ ſouth lat. found the weather extremely cold, though it was then the latter end of October, which anſwers to our April, in the northern climates, inſomuch that the ſailors were now ſorry that they had parted with their old cloaths †; but as ſufficient precautions had been taken, they were ſoon relieved by being furniſhed with cloathing which had been taken on board by the commodore, in order to accommodate his men in caſe of neceſſity on ſo long a voyage.

On the the 2d of November Mr. Byron delivered the officers their commiſſions after the cuſtomary oath had been taken. The ſhip was now ſurrounded with vaſt flocks of birds, and perceiving the water diſcoloured, they ſtood in for the land on the 11th of this month, and at the depth of 45 fathoms they found ground. The next day they imagined they ſaw land a-head of them, but it proved to be what they call a fog bank and ſuddenly vaniſhed ‡. Theſe deceptions are frequently occaſioned by ridges of clouds, and ſometimes in the higher latitudes by an extraordinary quality of the air, to be accounted for only by the doctrine of refraction, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſay more in the courſe of this work.

It is remarkable that this falſe appearance was ſucceeded on the 13th by a violent hurricane. In the afternoon the ſky grew black to windward, and a noiſe was heard, which reſembled the beating of the ſea upon a ſhallow beach. The birds were obſerved flying from the point whence the ſtorm proceeded, and ſhrieking through the apprehenſion of its approach. It was not poſſible to make the neceſſary preparations before it reached the Dolphin and laid her on her ſide. The firſt lieutenant was ſtruck down by the main ſheet, had ſome of his teeth knocked out, and was otherwiſe bruiſed. The Tamar, though not ſo ſuddenly taken by the ſtorm, as being to leeward had yet her main-ſail ſplit, and conſidering the violence of

* At this time their water having become foul, they purified it by forcing a ſtream of air through it, by means of a ventilating tube, which had the proper effect.

† Several of the ſhip's crew had purchaſed fowls, &c. in exchange for their old ſhirts and jackets. As to fiſh, they found they had little chance of catching any whilſt at ſea, for none of the finny tribe would come near the ſhip becauſe ſhe was ſheathed with copper.

‡ Among other remarkable deceptions, a maſter of a veſſel not many years ago made oath that he had ſeen an iſland with trees growing on it, between Newfoundland and the weſtern coaſt of Ireland: ſome ſhips were ſent in ſearch of it, but it proved to be a deluſion.

1766 of the hurricane, it was wonderful that no more damage was done. The wind continued all night, but abated in the morning when the ſea was found to be covered with a ſmall red fiſh, numbers of which were caught by the ſhip's company.

Steering for Cape Blanco, they got ſight of it on the 17th and were two days endeavouring to gain Port Deſire. They ſtood into a bay to the ſouthward of the cape, but could find no port. On the 20th they ſaw Penguin Iſland, and as they underſtood Port Deſire, to be a few leagues to the north-weſt of it, they ſent their boat in ſearch of it, which ſucceeded to their wiſh, and they entered the harbour on the 21ſt, the commodore in his boat, attended by two other boats proceeded to ſound the bay. In theſe ſeas there were thouſands of ſeals and penguins obſerved near the ſhip.

The country appeared to Mr. Byron on his landing, like one continued down, without either ſhrub or tree to adorn it. They ſaw here four beaſts near 13 hands high, in ſhape like a deer, anſwering the deſcription of the animals called Guanicoes. Proceeding higher up the harbour, they went to an iſland abounding with ſeals, above 50 of which they killed, and found ſome of them nearly as large as our Engliſh oxen. Among a variety of birds that they killed, there was one that had a head reſembling that of an eagle with a large comb on it, and a white ruff like a tippet round its neck. The feathers on its back were of a ſhining black, its legs were large and ſtrong, with talons like thoſe of an eagle; the wings being extended meaſured twelve feet from one extremity to the other. The Tamar ſailed into the harbour on the 21ſt with the riſing of the tide; but the Dolphin, waiting for a wind ran a-ground. She remained in that ſituation all night and the next day in ſtormy weather. They ſaw the track of a tyger, and ſeveral other beaſts on the 23d. On the 24th both ſhips were at length moored in the harbour where at ſpring tides the water riſes no leſs than 27 feet. The ſame day the commodore went on ſhore, and ſhot a hare, weighing 26 pounds, and ſaw ſeveral others which appeared to be as large as fawns. Landing again on the 25th, he found the barrel of an old muſquet with the king's broad arrow on it, and an oar of a ſingular form. The former of theſe crumbled to duſt on being touched. They had probably been left there by Sir John Narborough, when he was in thoſe parts. Here they ſaw ſome remains of fires, but diſcovered no inhabitants. They ſhot ſeveral wild ducks, and a hare which ran two miles before it dropped, with the ball in its body, the fleſh of which creature was of an excellent flavour, and as white as ſnow. Another party killed a fawn and two guanicoes, and found ſome of the latter animals in theſe parts to weigh full 300 weight. Here were found the ſkull and bones of a man which were brought on board the veſſel. They alſo caught a young guanicoe, which was very beautiful, and grew tame on board, but died in a ſhort time afterwards.

They diſcovered two ſprings of tolerable water on 27th, and a ton of it was brought on board the next day. When the commodore next went on ſhore he ſaw ſuch a number of birds take flight, as darkened the ſky, nor could the men walk without treading on eggs, a great many of which they choſe to eat, though there were frequently young birds in them. Some of the crew being ſent on ſhore for water, on the 30th, two of them diſcovered a tyger lying on the ground; the animal taking no notice of them, they threw ſtones at him, but could by no means provoke him. He remained on the ſpot till their companions, who were a little behind them came up, and then he walked away at his leiſure. They found the country near this bay to abound with geeſe, ducks, widgeon, and ſea pies, beſides ſeveral other birds, the names of which were unknown to them.

The ſhips got under ſail on the 5th of November, with fair and pleaſant weather, and a favourable gale. Thus they held on their courſe for Pepy's Iſland, which is laid down in 47° of ſouth lat. The weather being clear, the ſhips ſpread themſelves in ſuch a manner that they could command a proſpect of 20 leagues between them; but after ſearching for this iſland in vain, till the 11th, the commodore concluded that there was no ſuch place, and ſtood in for the main, in order to take in wood and water. Having thus changed his courſe, large whales were obſerved to ſwim frequently about the ſhip, and birds in great numbers flew round them. A great hurricane ſucceeded on the 15th before which the veſſels might have ran more ſafely than beat up againſt it, but their want of water and wood made them chuſe the latter, and endeavour to weather it, which they did till eight o'clock the next morning, when it abated.

They ſaw land on the 18th, which, like that near Port Deſire, was of the downy kind without trees. Here they obſerved white porpoiſes, with black ſpots, purſuing the fiſh in the ſea, which appeared in great numbers in theſe latitudes.

On the 20th they ran cloſe in ſhore to Cape Virgin, and having obſerved a ſmoke on the ſhore, and a great many guanicoes feeding in the valley, they came to an anchor. The next day they ſailed again, and, at length, anchored about two miles from the ſhore, near the place where they had ſeen the ſmoke the preceding day. Here the commodore obſerved a number of men on horſeback, riding to and fro, oppoſite the ſhip, and waving ſomething white, which he conceived to be intended as an invitation for him to land; and as he was anxious to know what people theſe were, he went in one boat with a party of men well armed; the firſt lieutenant following with a ſeparate party in another. When they came near the ſhore, they ſaw a great number of people, horſe and foot, to the number as was ſuppoſed of 500, who were drawn up on a ſtony point of land which ran far into the ſea. Though the commodore did not obſerve that they had any weapons, yet he made ſigns that they ſhould retreat a little, which they very readily did, and kept ſhouting very loudly while the crew were landing; which was no ſooner effected than they were muſtered on the beach, with their officers at their head. Mr. Byron then advanced alone; but the Indians retreated; on which he made ſigns that one of them ſhould come forward. This was complied with, and the perſon who advanced, appeared to be a chief, and was very near ſeven feet in height. Round one of his eyes was a circle of black paint, and one of white round the other: the reſt of his face was painted with various colours, and he had the ſkin of a beaſt with the hair turned inwards, thrown over his ſhoulders. The commodore and the Indian having paid their compliments to each other in language mutually unintelligible to the perſon to whom it was addreſſed, they walked together towards the main body of the natives, few of whom were ſhorter than the abovementioned ſtandard, and the women large in proportion. Mr. Byron made ſigns for them to ſit on the ground, which they did, chaunting in a moſt ſerious and melancholy tone. The eyes of any one face were never painted with the ſame colours, ſome being white and red, ſome black and red, and ſome black and white; their teeth were white and even. They were all dreſſed much alike, except that ſome wore a kind of boots, with a ſpur of peaked wood faſtened to each heel. The commodore having prevailed on ſome of them that were ſtill gallopping about to alight, and ſit down with the reſt, diſtributed ſome white and yellow beads among them, which they very gladly accepted. He then took a piece of ribband, and putting the end of it into the hands of the firſt Indian, he continued it to the next, and ſo on, as they ſat, to the end of the ribband. He then cut with a pair of ſciſſars between every two of them, tying each man's ſhare round his head, which they did not attempt to remove. It was remarked, that though the preſents were inſufficient to ſupply them all, not one paſſed forward from the ſtation aſſigned him, nor ſeemed to envy the ſuperior good fortune of his neighbour.

Among these gigantic people, one woman who was of the largest size, and most disagreeably painted, had her hair adorned with beads of blue glass, hanging, in two divisions, down before her shoulders, and she had bracelets of pale gold, or brass on her arms; but there was no learning how she obtained this finery. One of the men shewed Mr. Byron the bowl of a tobacco pipe, made of red earth, and made signs that he wanted some tobacco, none of which they had among them.

On this the commodore beckoned to the seamen, who still remained drawn up on the beach, three or four of them instantly running forward, the Indians were alarmed, and rising up in an instant, were preparing to retire, as it was supposed, to fetch their arms. Mr. Byron, therefore, ran and stopped the sailors, directing one of them only to come forward, when he had got all the tobacco he could muster among them. This restored peace, and all the Indians resumed their places except an old man, who sang a long song to Mr. Byron, at nearly the conclusion of which Mr. Cumming, the first lieutenant, brought the tobacco. This gentleman, though six feet two inches high, was himself astonished at the diminutive figure he cut among the strangers, who were broad and muscular, in proportion to their height. The commodore having distributed the tobacco, they made signs to him to ride to their huts; but he intimated that he must return to the ship; on which they sat down again, apparently much concerned. Their horses, though not large, were active and much under command, their saddles were like an English pad, and the bridle was formed of a thong of leather, with the bit made of wood; they had no stirrups, and both men and women rode astride. When the commodore left them, they kept their seats, not one offering to follow him.

On the 21st of December, they began sailing up the streight of Maghellan, with a view to take in a proper stock of wood and water, as the finding Falkland's Island was yet a matter of uncertainty. They remarked a single Indian on this shore, who waved his hand to them till he lost sight of the ship; they likewise saw several guanicoes on the hills. On the evening of the 22d, six Indians came on the beach hallooing, and making signs that they wished an acquaintance with the crew; but, as the seamen were fatigued, the commodore would not send off a boat to them. On the 25th they saw a point of land near St. George's Island, to which they gave the name of *Porpoise Point*.

Having anchored at ten at night, the commodore went the next morning in quest of wood and water, plenty of which they found on the point above-mentioned. A fine level country lies over the point, the soil of which appeared to be very luxuriant, producing innumerable flowers of several kinds, the smell of which was extremely fragrant; there was also a plenty of good grass, among which grew pease that were then in blossom. They saw hundreds of painted geese, (so called from their beauty) which were feeding among this variety of sweets; they likewise found an abundance of plants, and wild celery in great quantities. Many Indian wigwams were seen situated in the woods near streams of water; these had been lately occupied, as the fires appeared but just burnt out. In a walk of twelve miles they saw no place proper for a boat to land, the sea breaking high on the shore. Mr. Byron returned in the evening, and found that some of the men had been shooting geese, teal, and snipes, while others had employed themselves, with equal success in fishing; these employments, indeed, became necessary, as the men could have eaten thrice their allowance, owing to the keen air of the country. On the 26th they steered for Port Famine, and came to an anchor, close to the shore, the next day at noon. In this place they found drift-wood enough to have supplied a thousand vessels. The commodore went four miles up the river, but could proceed no farther, the trees which had fallen across the stream impeding the boat's way; one of the stumps of them having made a hole in her bottom, she was immediately filled with water: but they made shift to get her on shore, and stopped the leak, so as to return in her to the mouth of the river. The banks of this stream were furnished with the noblest trees, sufficient in number to supply masts for the whole navy of Great Britain. Some of these were so large, that four men joined hand in hand could not enclose them; and among the rest, the pepper tree was found. These woods abounded in parrots, and other beautiful birds. The quantity of fish that was daily taken was equal to the supply of both the crews, and the commodore shot as many geese and ducks as furnished several tables besides his own. 1765

While the ships lay at anchor here, Mr. Byron and a party went on shore; but, being caught in a violent rain, they stopped where some Indians had left a fire, the wood of which was yet warm and kindling a fire to dry their cloaths another fire was instantly made on Terra del Fuego, the opposite shore, which they imagined to be a signal, on a supposition that they were Indians. The hills were craggy, of an amazing height, and wholly covered with snow; but the plains were adorned with flowers equal in fragrance and beauty to those in the gardens in England.

The commodore having ordered a tent to be erected on the borders of a wood and joining to a rivulet, three of the sailors were there stationed to wash linen, and they lay in the tent. One evening, soon after they had retired to rest, they were awakened by the deep and hollow roarings of some wild beasts, which came nearer them every moment. Terrified with apprehension, they made and kept up a blazing fire, round which the beasts walked at a small distance till the dawn of the morning, when they retired.

Near where the ships rode at anchor was a hill cleared of wood, which they imagined to have been a Spanish settlement. Both ships having taken in sufficient wood and water by the 4th of January, 1765, they sailed at four o'clock in the morning, in quest of Falkland's Islands; but the wind dying away, they were obliged to come to an anchor the day following.

On Sunday the 6th, they again made sail, and the commodore, who had been 24 hours on deck, retired to rest; but he was soon awakened by the vessel's beating on a bank. Happily at this instant, it was a perfect calm, so that the rising of the tide soon carried the ship safe off again. On the 8th the officer of the watch discovered that the head of the mast was sprung, which they supposed to have happened in a violent gale some time before; but effectual methods were immediately taken to repair the damage.

They saw land on the 12th, which was taken for De Wert's Islands, and at the same time other land to the south, which was judged to be what is called New Islands in the charts. This land consists chiefly of mountainous and barren rocks, on which was a great number of birds. Seals abound here, and large whales were seen sporting round the ship. On the 14th they saw a flat island, covered with tufts of grass as large as bushes; and on the following day the commodore sent a boat from each ship, to examine an opening that had the appearance of an harbour; which being discovered, they stood in for it in the afternoon, and found it excellent beyond their most sanguine hopes. Soon after this they entered another harbour to which Mr. Byron gave the name of Port Egmont, from the title of the nobleman at that time, the first lord of the Admiralty. This harbour is represented to be one of the finest in the world, and large enough to contain the whole navy of England, in full security: there is plenty of fresh water in every part of it, and geese, ducks, snipes, and other edible birds abound in such numbers, that the sailors were tired with eating them. The geese were generally knocked down with stones, so that it was no unusual thing to bring off 60 or 70 of these birds, without the necessity of shooting a single one; seals and penguins abound here; sea lions of a prodigious size were found Port Egmont.

1765 on the coaſt: and there are plenty of muſcles, clams, and limpets. The woods produce ſorrel and wild celery in great abundance.

The commodore was once unexpectedly attacked by a ſea-lion, and extricated himſelf from the impending danger with great difficulty. They had many battles with this animal, the killing of one of which was frequently an hour's work for ſix men; one of them almoſt tore to pieces Mr. Byron's maſtiff dog, by a ſingle bite. The maſter having been ſent to ſound the coaſt, four very fierce animals ran after the boat's crew, till they were up to their bellies in water, ſo that they were obliged to put off from the ſhore, as they had no fire-arms in the boat. The next day, on the oppoſite ſhore, Mr. Byron and his company ſaw a ſea-lion of an enormous ſize, and the crew, being well armed, inſtantly engaged him. While they were thus employed, one of the other animals poſted towards them, but a ball being lodged in his body, he was inſtantly diſpatched. Five of theſe beaſts were killed this day, in their attempts to ſeize the men, whom they always purſued the moment they got ſight of them. They were of a mixed ſhape, between a wolf and a fox, moſt like the latter, but of the ſize of the former: they burrowed in the ground like a fox, feeding on ſeals and penguins, and are very numerous on the coaſt. The ſailors, in order to be rid of ſuch diſagreeable companions, ſet fire to the graſs, which burnt ſo rapidly, that the country was all in a blaze for ſome days, and theſe animals were ſeen running to ſeek ſhelter from its fury.

While they lay in this harbour the crew breakfaſted on portable ſoup and wild celery, thickened with oatmeal, which made a very nutritive meſs. The ſoil of the land was a light clay, under a black mould. The commodore thought this was the ſame place which, in Cowley's voyage, is called Pepy's Iſland; but he took poſſeſſion of the harbour, and all the adjacent iſlands, by the name of *Falkland's Iſlands*, for George the IIId. King of Great Britain. To the honour of the ſurgeon of the Tamar frigate, during his ſtay there, he made a fence of turf near the watering place, round a tract of land, which he planted with vegetables, for the uſe of thoſe who might hereafter touch at this port.

On Sunday, July the 27th, they left Port Egmont, and the ſame day they ſaw a remarkable head-land, which was named *Cape Tamar*; ſoon after which they paſſed a rock, which Mr. Byron called the *Eddiſtone*, and then ſailed between that and a head-land, to which he gave the name of *Cape Dolphin*. The diſtance from Cape Tamar to Cape Dolphin, is about eight leagues, and, from its appearance, was called *Carliſle Sound*, though it is ſince known to be the northern entrance of the ſtreight between the two principal iſlands. The land ſeen during this day was all downs, having neither trees nor buſhes, but large tufts of graſs in various places.

Having anchored during the night, they ſailed again the next day, when the commodore gave the name of *Berkeley's Sound* to a deep ſound between the iſlands. About four miles to the ſouthward of the ſouth point of this ſound the ſea breaks very high, on ſome rocks that appear above water. The coaſt now wore a dangerous aſpect, rocks and breakers being at a conſiderable diſtance from the ſhore, and in all directions; and the country appeared barren and deſolate. The ſea riſing high, the commodore ſailed to the northward, to prevent being driven on the lee ſhore. He imagined the whole circumference of Falkland's Iſlands to be little leſs than 700 miles.

At eight in the evening they ſtood to the weſtward, and held their courſe till the 6th of February, when they ſaw, and ſtood in for, Port Deſire, at the mouth of which they came to an anchor, and had the pleaſure of ſeeing the Florida, a ſtore-ſhip which they expected from England. On Thurſday the maſter of the ſtore-ſhip went on board the Dolphin, and informed the commodore of the extreme bad condition of his ſhip, on which it was reſolved to attempt unloading her in the harbour, though a place very ill calculated for the purpoſe. They therefore entered the harbour, but the night proving very tempeſtuous, the Tamar and the Florida both made ſignals of diſtreſs, having been driven from their moorings up the harbour. On this and the following night they were both near driving on ſhore; and as the ſtore-ſhip was in conſtant danger of being loſt, Mr. Byron ſent hands on board to aſſiſt in repairing her, and reſolved to take her into the Streights of Maghellan before he unloaded her. In this harbour the rudder of the Dolphin was likewiſe repaired, there being no timber proper for making her a new one.

On the 13th, the Florida put to ſea, with orders to ſteer directly for Port Famine; and the next day ſhe was followed by the Dolphin and Tamar. The three following days they ſaw a ſtrange veſſel following them, which ſhaped her courſe, and ſailed faſt or ſlow, exactly as they did, a circumſtance that cauſed much ſpeculation. The commodore being obliged to wait for the Florida, which was far a-ſtern, imagined the ſtranger would ſpeak with him, and therefore made the neceſſary diſpoſition to give her a proper reception. When he came to an anchor the ſtranger did the ſame, four miles to windward of him; but in the morning ſhe was ſeen three leagues to the leeward. She now got under way, and approached the Dolphin: on which the commodore got out eight guns, which were all that could be come at to one ſide of the ſhip, as ſhe lay at anchor. Neither party hoiſted any colours; but about this time the ſtore-ſhip running a-ground, the ſtrange veſſel hoiſted French colours, and ſent two boats with an anchor, to aſſiſt her. The commodore now ſent a boat from each of his ſhips to the aſſiſtance of the Florida, with poſitive orders not to let the French boats board her, but to acknowledge, in a proper manner, the offer of aſſiſtance. Theſe orders were obeyed, and the ſtore-ſhip was got off.

They weighed anchor at ſix in the evening, and anchored again at eleven: at which time the French veſſel did the ſame, but in a ſituation that ſhewed her ignorance of the channel they were in.

On the 19th they again ſailed; and as the French veſſel ſteered after them, Mr. Byron thought they came from Falkland's Iſlands, where there was then a French ſettlement, to take in wood, or that they were on a ſurvey of the Streights of Maghellan, in which they were now ſailing. On the 20th they reached Port Famine, when the Dolphin and Tamar having taken as much proviſion out of the ſtore-ſhip as they could find room for, the maſter received orders to ſail for England as ſoon as poſſible; it being determined to navigate the other ſhips through the ſtreight.

On the 28th they paſſed the French ſhip, which was in a ſmall cove, and near her a large quantity of wood; which the commodore had no doubt was intended for their new ſettlement. On Mr. Byron's return to England this appeared to be the fact; and that the ſhip was commanded by Monſ. Bougainville, and called the Eagle.

That part of the account of their paſſage through the Steights of Maghellan, which conſiſts chiefly of the names of places, and deſcriptions of ſoundings, bearings and diſtances, we have purpoſely omitted, but have preſerved all that can contribute to the entertainment or improvement of the reader.

The mountains on both ſides of the ſtreight are covered with ſnow from top to bottom, are ſteep and craggy, and of a moſt deſolate appearance. On the firſt of March two or three canoes of Indians followed the ſhip, one of which went on board. This canoe was of bark, and wretchedly made: it contained ſome men, women, and a boy, who had a bow and arrows, which they exchanged for beads and other trinkets, the bow-ſtring was made of the gut of ſome beaſt dried, and the arrows were formed of a reed, pointed with a green ſtone. Theſe people had no other garment than a ſeal-ſkin thrown over their ſhoulders, and they made on the whole, a moſt wretched appearance. When the ſhip came to an anchor, ſeveral

ral of the Indians went on board, and gladly accepted ſome ribbands, beads, and other trifling matters, with which the commodore preſented them. Theſe people ſubſiſt chiefly on muſcles and berries, ſome of the latter of which they gave Mr. Byron, when he returned their viſit on ſhore.

Having eſcaped the dreadful effects of a ſtorm on the 3d of March, boats were repeatedly ſent out till the 6th, in ſearch of a proper place to anchor in; and at length the Dolphin was moored in a little bay oppoſite Cape Quod; and the Tamar, which could not work up ſo far, about ſix miles to the eaſtward of it. This part of the ſtreight being only four miles over, its appearance is dreary and deſolate beyond imagination, owing to the prodigious mountains on each ſide of it, which riſe above the clouds, and are covered with perpetual ſnow. On the 8th they met with a large number of ſhell fiſh; and on this day the commodore went up a deep lagune under a rock, at the head of which was a fine fall of water, and on the eaſt ſide of it were ſeveral ſmall coves, calculated for the ſecure reception of ſhips of the greateſt burden.

On the 12th an officer was ſent in a boat, in ſearch of an harbour; and in two days he returned with an account that there were five bays between the ſhip and Cape Upright, in any one of which they might anchor ſecurely. While this officer was abſent, he met with ſome Indians, who made him a preſent of a dog, and one of the women having a ſucking child, offered to give it him. At this time winter commenced with all its ſeverity, and the hills were ſoon covered with ſnow. The cold became ſo intenſe, that the ſeamen, whoſe clothes were continually wet, ſuffered ſeverely: to fortify them againſt this inclemency of weather, the commodore gave a warm jacket of the woollen ſtuff, called fear-nought, to the crews of both ſhips, officers included.

On the 16th, perceiving they loſt ground on every tack, they came to an anchor; but finding the ground to be rocky, they weighed again, and every man on board was on deck the reſt of the day, and the whole night, during which time the rain poured down on them in unremitting torrents. Notwithſtanding this inceſſant labour, they found, in the morning, that they had been only loſing way, owing to the rapidity of the current. They were now glad to anchor in the very bay they had left two days before. As it continued to rain and blow violently for ten days longer, the commodore ſent a boat to ſound the bay on the north ſhore; but no anchorage could be found. On the 20th, the veſſel was driven from her moorings; but by heaving up the bower anchor, and carrying out another they ſoon reſtored her to her ſituation: After labouring all day on the 21ſt, they had gained only two miles on the current, when they came to an anchor, but the ſea running high, they ſailed the day following; and the current now running to the weſtward, they made great way, and in the evening, anchored in a commodious bay, where the Tamar had arrived before them. It was remarkable that notwithſtanding the late ſeverity of the weather, added to their inceſſant labour, the crew retained both health and ſpirits.

On the 23d they again ſet ſail, and in a few hours had ſight of the South ſea, which rolled a prodigious ſwell on them. On the 25th two boats which had been ſent in ſearch of anchoring places, returned with an account that they had found two, but neither of them very eligible; they, however, made ſail the next morning, and at four in the afternoon found themſelves within a mile of the ſouth ſhore, which the thickneſs of the weather prevented their ſeeing ſooner; but as there was no place to anchor in, they ſtood for the oppoſite ſhore. Between ſix and ſeven the Tamar was ordered under the ſtern of the Dolphin, and then directed to keep a-head of her during the night to ſhew lights, and as often as ſhe varied her tack to fire a gun. At ſeven in the evening the weather cleared for a minute, ſo that they had ſight of the north-ſhore, bearing weſt by north, on which they inſtantly tacked about. The wind now blew a perfect hurricane; the rain deſcended in torrents, and ſome of the ſails were torn in pieces. During this tempeſtuous night, in which the ſea was continually breaking over them; the ſhips parted company, and were encompaſſed with rocks and breakers over them, however, they happily weathered the ſtorm, and at ſeven in the morning both ſhips came to an anchor. They had now been twice within four leagues of Tueſday's Bay, at the weſtern mouth of the ſtreight, and twice driven ten or twelve leagues back again by ſtorms; ſo dangerous is the navigation of this ſtreight at an improper ſeaſon of the year. On the 28th the Tamar narrowly eſcaped being daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks, by the parting of the cable of her beſt bower anchor. The Dolphin weighed anchor the next morning, and got under ſail, which ſhe had no ſooner done than ſignals of diſtreſs were made on board the Tamar, the anchor of which could not be purchaſed. The Dolphin, therefore ſtood again into the bay, and ſent her aſſiſtance, after which they both anchored for the night; a night the moſt dreadful they had ever yet known. The winds were ſo violent as to raiſe up the ſea, and carry it higher than the heads of the maſts! a dreadful ſea rolled over them and broke againſt the ſhore; with a noiſe as loud as thunder. Happily they did not part their cables, or they muſt have been daſhed in pieces againſt the rocks. On the following day, April the firſt, it was almoſt a perfect calm; but in the evening it rained much, and the wind blew violently; they therefore remained in their ſtation till the 4th, when the cutter, which had been ſent in ſearch of a proper anchoring-place, returned with an account of having found one to the weſtward of the north ſhore. The officer who commanded the cutter had met with a party of Indians, whoſe canoe was of a conſtruction not before obſerved, being compoſed of planks ſewed together. Theſe Indians had no covering but a piece of ſeal-ſkin thrown over their ſhoulders. Their food, which was of the moſt indelicate kind, was eaten raw: One of them tore a piece of ſtinking whale's blubber with his teeth, and then gave it his companions, who followed his example. One of theſe Indians obſerving a ſailor aſleep, cut of a part of his jacket with a ſharp flint.

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The ſhips coming to an anchor in the bay which had been diſcovered, propoſing to take in wood and water; while they remained here, ſeveral of the natives made a fire oppoſite the ſhip in which ſignals were made for them to come on board; but they would not. The commodore went on ſhore and gave them ſome trifles that pleaſed them highly: he likewiſe divided ſome biſcuit amongſt them, and was ſurpriſed to remark, that if a bit of it fell to the ground not one of them would ſtoop to pick it up without his permiſſion. Some of the ſailors being at this time cutting graſs for a few ſheep which the commodore had on board, the Indians inſtantly ran to their aſſiſtance, and tearing up the graſs in large quantities, ſoon filled the boat. On Mr. Byron's return, they followed in their canoe till they came near the ſhip, at which they gazed with the moſt profound aſtoniſhment. Four of them were at length prevailed on to go on board; and the commodore, with a view to their diverſion, directed one of the midſhipmen to play on the violin, while ſome of the ſeamen danced. The poor Indians were extravagantly delighted; and one of them, to teſtify his gratitude, took his canoe, and fetching ſome red paint, rubbed it all over the face of the muſician, nor could the commodore, but with the utmoſt difficulty, eſcape the like compliment. When they had been diverted for ſome hours, it was hinted to them, that they ſhould go on ſhore, which they at length did, though with evident reluctance.

On the 7th the commodore ſailed from the bay, and on the 8th again encountered very bad weather, as it rained and ſnowed, while the wind blew a hurricane. On the 9th they paſſed ſome dangerous rocks, which Narborough called the Judges, and on which the ſurf beats with prodigious violence. This day, contrary

1765 trary to expectation, a ſteady gale at ſouth-weſt, carried them at the rate of nine miles an hour, ſo that by eight in the evening they were 20 leagues from the coaſt on which they encountered ſo many perils.

[Mr. Byron recommends it to future navigators, to be at the eaſtern entrance of the ſtreight of Maghellan in December, in which caſe he thinks even a fleet of ſhips might navigate it ſafely in three weeks. He obſerves that the facility with which wood and water are to be obtained, the vaſt plenty of vegetables on the coaſt, and the abundance of fiſh which may be almoſt every where procured are advantages highly in favour of this paſſage. It is remarkable, that in ſeven weeks and two days, the time they were in paſſing it, not a ſingle man was ſick of the ſcurvy, or of any other diſorders.]

On the 26th they ſailed weſtward bearing away for the iſland of Maſafuero, which they were within ſeven leagues of the ſame evening. The next day they bore away for the north of the iſland, and then lay by for the boats, which had been ſent to ſound the eaſtern ſide, but could not land on account of the violence of the ſurf. The boat returning, brought a number of fine fiſh, caught with the hook and line; and the officer reporting, that he had found a bank where they might anchor, oppoſite to which was a plenty of freſh water, they made ſail for it, on which they landed at ſeven on Sunday morning. The boats were now ſent out for wood and water, their crews having put on cork jackets, to aſſiſt them in ſwimming and prevent their being bruiſed againſt the rocks. In theſe ſeas, were a great number of very large ſharks, which were frequently very near the ſwimmers, but they providentially eſcaped them. One of theſe voracious fiſh ſeized a large ſeal cloſe to one of the watering boats, and devoured it in an inſtant, and the commodore ſaw another do the ſame, cloſe to the ſtern of the ſhip. The iſland abounds in goats, many of which were killed and ſent on board, and they were deemed equal in flavour to the fineſt veniſon. One of theſe goats had his right ear ſlit, ſo as to make it evident that ſome perſon had caught him, given him that mark of diſtinction, and let him go again. Various ſorts of excellent fiſh were now ſo plentiful that they could catch ſufficient to ſupply the whole crew two days, in a few hours, with a hook and line only.

The gunner and one of the ſeamen, who were with others, on ſhore for water, were left behind all night, being afraid to venture in the boat, as the ſea ran high. The commodore being informed of this circumſtance, ſent them word, that as blowing weather might be expected, the ſhip might be driven from her moorings, in the night, in which caſe they would infallibly be left behind. This meſſage being delivered, the gunner ſwam to the boat; but the ſailor ſaying, he had rather die a natural death than be drowned, refuſed to make the attempt, and taking a melancholy farewel of his companions, reſolved to abide his fate; when, juſt as the boat was going to put off, a midſhipman took the end of a rope in his hand, and ſwam on ſhore, where he remonſtrated with the poor tar on the fooliſh reſolution he had taken, till having an opportunity of throwing the rope in which was a running knot round his body, he called to the boat's crew, who inſtantly dragged their companion on board; but he had ſwallowed ſo much water that he appeared to be dead. They recovered him, however, by holding up his heels, and on the day following he was perfectly well. The commodore now made a promotion among the officers, he appointed Captain Mouat, commander of the Dolphin, under him, making Mr. Cumming, the firſt lieutenant of the Tamar, and advancing ſome other inferior officers.

They ſailed on the 30th of April, ſteering in various directions till the 10th of May, on which, and the day following, they ſaw ſeveral dolphins and bonettas round the ſhip, and obſerved a few birds which had a ſhort beak; all their bodies being white, except the back and upper part of the wings. They ſaw likewiſe ſeveral grampuſes the next day, and more of the birds juſt mentioned; from whence they concluded, that they were approaching the land.

Two remarkable birds, as large as geeſe, with white bodies and black legs, and which flew very high, were obſerved on the 16th, which confirmed them in their conjecture, that they had paſſed ſome main land, or iſlands. On the 22d they ſaw ſeveral tropical birds, and caught two bonettas; and on the 26th two large birds, the beak and neck of which were white, and all the reſt was black: there flew about the ſhip on the 28th two other birds, one black and white and the other brown and white, and would have ſettled on the yards, but they were intimidated by the working of the ſhip. For ſeveral days after they ſaw a great number of birds, and on the 7th of June diſcovered land.

After this they ſteered for a ſmall iſland, the appearance of which was remarkably pleaſant. It was ſurrounded by a beach of white ſand, and crowned with lofty trees, whoſe ſhade was far extended, and formed moſt beautiful groves, unincumbered with underwood, adorned with a moſt delightful verdure.

It was not long before ſome of the natives made their appearance, armed with long ſpears. Theſe kindled large fires, which were anſwered by other fires that were made on a neighbouring iſland. At this time a boat being ſent to look out for an anchoring place, returned without ſucceſs. It was mortifying in the mean time for the ſailors (ſuch of them as were not confined to their hammocks by the ſcurvy) to view from the decks thoſe delicacies which it was out of their power to reach. Among the reſt, they ſaw cocoa-nuts, tempting them in vain, whoſe milk is reckoned of ſovereign uſe in ſcorbutic caſes; and, beheld the ſhells of turtles ſtrewed along the ſhore. All this while the natives keeping a-breaſt of the ſhip, danced, ſhouted, and ſhook their ſpears, after which they fell backwards as if they were dead, which was interpreted into a threat of deſtruction to ſuch as ſhould venture to land upon their coaſts. Theſe ſavages alſo fixed two ſpears in the ſand, at the top of which ſome things were ſeen waving in the air, before which they kneeled, and appeared to be in prayer to their idols, poſſibly with the idea of thereby averting the dreaded invaſion. In the mean time, the commodore thought proper to ſail round the iſland, and again ſent out boats to ſound. On this, the natives raiſed a terrible outcry, pointing to their ſpears and poiſing large ſtones in their hands. In return for all this the ſailors made all poſſible ſigns of friendſhip, throwing bread and other things on ſhore, none of which the natives choſe to take, but retreated to the woods, dragging their canoes with them. They afterwards ran into the water, with an apparent intention of hauling the boats on ſhore, on which the ſailors, irritated by their behaviour, would have fired on them, but that they were hindered by their officer. The crews of the boats having once more reported, that they could find no landing place, the commodore proceeded to the other iſland and brought to at the diſtance of a quarter of a league from the ſhore, the next morning.

They now ſaw ſeveral other iſlands covered with cocoa-trees, and there again the natives ran to the beach, armed with clubs and ſpears, uſing threatening geſtures. The commodore fired a cannon ſhot over their heads, on which they returned to the woods. The boats having been again ſent out, returned with an account, that no landing place could be found, on which Mr. Byron named this paradiſe in appearance, the Iſland of Diſappointment. The natives were ſhort, and well made, very quick runners, and their complexion that of the deep copper. Having ſailed on the 8th of June, they diſcovered an iſland on the following day which laid low, and were covered with various kinds of trees, among which was the cocoa nut. the iſland was ſurrounded with a rock of red coral. The inhabitants on the coaſt, having made large fires (as was ſuppoſed to alarm the more inland natives) they ran

Iſland of Diſappointment.

ran along the ſhore in multitudes, armed like thoſe of the Iſland of Diſappointment. The veſſels now brought to, at a ſmall inlet, opening into a lake of ſalt water, which appeared more than two leagues wide. There was a little town, under the ſhade of a grove of cocoa-nut trees. The ſhips advancing to the mouth of the inlet, ſome hundreds of the natives, headed by a kind of an officer, who carried a pole, on which was faſtened a piece of mat, ranged themſelves, up to their waiſts in water, making a hideous noiſe, till they were joined by a number of large canoes, which came down the lake. Two boats were now out in ſearch of ſoundings, and the crews of them making every poſſible ſign of friendſhip, ſome of the canoes drew towards them, not with a peaceable intention, but with a view to haul the boats on ſhore; ſeveral of the natives, leaping from the rocks, ſwam towards the Engliſh and one of them ſprang into the Tamar's boat, ſnatched up a ſeaman's jacket, and inſtantly dived from the boat to the ſhore, another of them laid violent hands on a hat, but loſt his prize through his ignorance, as he pulled it downwards, inſtead of lifting it from the head of the wearer. They now ſailed weſtward, and ſoon diſcovered another iſland, diſtant four leagues. The natives purſued them in two large double canoes, in each of which were about 30 armed men. The boats were a conſiderable way to leeward of the ſhips, and were chaced by the canoes; on which the commodore making a ſignal, the boats turned towards the Indians, who inſtantly pulled down their ſails, and rowed, away with great rapidity; driving through the violent ſurf on the ſhore, and were followed by the boats, when, being apprehenſive of an invaſion of the country, they armed themſelves with ſtones and clubs; on which, the boat's crew fired, and killed two or three of them, one of whom died as he was throwing a ſtone at the Engliſh after three balls had gone through his body. This fellow dropping cloſe to the boat, his body was brought to the ſhip; but the Indians carried off the reſt of their companions. The boats carried the two canoes with them, as the trophies of their victory. Theſe veſſels conſiſted of planks ſewed together, with a ſtrip of tortoiſe-ſhell fixed over each ſeam; they had ſharp bottoms, and were very narrow, and two of them were faſtened along ſide each other by two timbers, which left a ſpace of full ſix feet between the canoes, and had a ſail, made of matting, paſſed from one veſſel to the other, being fixed to a maſt which was hoiſted in each of them. When they ſailed, ſeveral men ſate on the timbers which lay from boat to boat, their cordage appeared to be formed of the outward covering of the cocoa-nut, and was exquiſitely well made.

As no refreſhments could be obtained, owing to the violence of the ſurf, the commodore returned to his former ſtation at the inlet, and again ſent the boats in ſearch of an anchoring place. A number of the Indians were on the ſpot where he had left them, and were preparing ſome large canoes, probably to attack the boats; on which a ſhot was fired over their heads, when they inſtantly ran away and ſecreted themſelves. The boats returned in the evening; with a few cocoa-nuts; and in the morning were ſent out again, with all the invalids, who were able to go on board them. The commodore went on ſhore this day, and ſaw many Indian huts, which were covered with the branches of the cocoa-nut tree; they were mean buildings, but finely ſituated among groves of lofty trees. The men went naked; but ſome women were ſeen, who wore a kind of cloth from the waiſt to their knees. The ſhore abounded with coral and ſhells of large pearl oyſters; and it ſeemed probable a valuable pearl fiſhery might be eſtabliſhed here. There were many dogs in the huts, which kept barking continually till the Engliſh went on board.

The next day the ſeamen found, in one of the huts, the carved head of a rudder; which had evidently belonged to a Dutch long-boat; they likewiſe found a piece of braſs, one of iron, and ſome iron tools; but by whom theſe things were left, was wholly unknown to them. The burial-places of the natives were under high trees, near their houſes: and their tombs conſiſted of flat ſtones laid on perpendicular ſide-ſtones, like thoſe in ſome of our church yards. On the branches which ſhaded theſe repoſitories hung baſkets of reeds, containing the heads and bones of turtle and other fiſh, and ſeveral boxes filled with human bones, were found near the graves. The flies on this iſland were extremely troubleſome, but no venomous creatures were ſeen. Parrots and other birds were very plentiful, and our voyagers ſaw ſome beautiful doves, ſo tame as to follow them into the huts of the Indians. The water here was good, and the ſurface of the ground was almoſt covered with ſcurvy graſs. This part of the iſland is ſituated in 14° 29′ ſouth lat. and 148° 50′ weſt long. On Wedneſday, June the 12th they ſailed to another iſland, and as they coaſted along it, the natives, armed like thoſe of the other iſlands, kept even with the ſhip for ſome leagues. They frequently plunged into the ſea, or fell into the ſand, that the ſurf might break over them, to cool and refreſh themſelves. The boats being near the beach, the crew made ſigns that they were in want of water, on which the natives pointed farther along the ſhore, where, when the boats arrived, they ſaw a number of houſes, whither they were followed by the Indians, many more of whom joined them at this place. The boats having got cloſe in ſhore, and the ſhips lying at a ſmall diſtance, a venerable old man, with a white beard, advanced from the houſes to the beach, attended by a young fellow. Having made a ſignal for the other Indians to retire, he came forward to the edge of the water, preſſing his beard to his breaſt with one hand, and holding a branch of a tree in the other. He made a kind of muſical oration, during which the people in the boat threw ſome trifling preſents, which he would neither take up, nor permit his attendant to touch, till he had finiſhed his harangue, when he walked into the water and throwing the branch to the boat's crew, he retired, and picked up their preſents. Moſt of the natives having complied with a ſign made them to lay down their arms, one of the midſhipmen ſwam on ſhore; on which they flocked round him, admiring his clothes: as his waiſtcoat pleaſed them moſt, he gave it to them, which he had no ſooner done, than one of them untied his cravat and ran away with it. He now thought it time to retreat to his boat, whither ſeveral of the natives ſwam after him: ſome bringing each a cocoa-nut, and others freſh water in the ſhell. The boat's crew had taken with them ſome ſhells of pearl oyſters in order to learn of the natives how to procure to ſome pearls; but they could not poſſibly make them comprehend their meaning. This iſland is ſituated in 14° 41′ ſouth latitude. and 149° 15′ weſt long. and both theſe the commodore called *King George's Iſlands*, in reſpect to his ſovereign. In a lake belonging to the laſt iſland, two or three very large veſſels were ſeen, one of which had two maſts, with proper cordage. The boats having returned on board, they ſailed weſtward the ſame day; and the next afternoon deſcried another iſland, towards which they immediately ſteered, and found that it was well inhabited, and had a fine appearance of verdure; but a violent ſurf broke all along the coaſt. It lay in 15° ſouth lat. and 151° 53′ weſt long. and received the name of the *Prince of Wales's Iſland*.

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King George's Iſlands.

Prince of Wales's Iſland.

They now ſailed northward, and from the vaſt flocks of birds they had repeatedly ſeen, which always winged their way to the ſouth, on the approach of evening; and from the iſlands being ſo well peopled, the commodore concluded that there was a chain of them leading to a continent, the diſcovery of which he would certainly have attempted, but the crews of both ſhips were ſo unhealthy, as to render it impoſſible to ſucceed.

On Monday, June the 17th, the voyagers concluded that land was near, from the multitude of birds which flocked about the ſhip: but they ſaw no land till the 21ſt, when it was diſcovered at eight leagues diſtance, having

1765 ing the appearance of three islands, with rocks between them. They abounded with inhabitants, whose dwellings lined the coast; and the beauty and fertility of the soil, seemed to excell that of any place they had seen: but the rocks and breakers with which it was surrounded, was an insuperable bar to any attempt at landing.

On the night of the 21st all hands were on deck; it rained hard, and the wind blew violently. Soon after nine o'clock the Tamar fired again, and the crew of the Dolphin imagined they saw breakers to leeward, which however proved to be only the reflection of the setting moon on the rising surges.

Duke of York's Island. On the 24th they discovered another island, which was named the *Duke of York's Island*. A terrible sea broke round the coast, but the place itself had a pleasing appearance. The boats landed with some difficulty, and brought off a great quantity of cocoa-nuts, which furnished great relief to the sick. Thousands of sea fowls were found sitting on their nests in high trees, and were so tame as to be easily knocked down, and there were large numbers of land crabs on the ground. This island has a large lake in the middle of it, but they found no inhabitants.

On the 29th the commodore sailed northward, with a view to cross the equinoctial line, and then steered for the Ladrones. On the 2d of July they discovered a low flat island, abounding with the cocoa-nut, and other trees, and affording a most agreeable prospect. A great number of the natives were seen on the beach, many of whom, in above sixty canoes, [or praws] sailed, and formed a circle round the ship, which having surveyed for a considerable time, one of the Indians jumped out of his boat, swam to the vessel, ran up its sides in a moment, sat down on the deck, and began laughing most violently: he then ran about the ship, pilfering whatever he could lay his hands on, all which things were taken from him as fast as stolen. This man having as many antic tricks as a monkey, was dressed in a jacket and trowsers, and afforded exquisite diversion. He devoured some biscuits with great eagerness, and after having played many antics in his new dress, resolved at last to carry it off, which he effected by jumping over the ship's side, and swimming to his companions. After this, several others swam to the ship, and getting up to the gun-room ports, shewed their disposition to theft by seizing on some petty prize, and then making their way through the sea, easily escaped with their booty.

These Indians are described as being of a light copper coloured complexion, well made and tall; their hair which is long and black, being either tied in three knots or hanging in a large bunch behind, as fancy leads the wearer. They had their ears bored, which bore the strongest marks of their having worne heavy ornaments in them, some of them being drawn down almost as low as their shoulders. As to their ornaments in general, they appeared to be shells strung together and worn round the neck, the wrist, and waist: in other respects they were naked. A string of human teeth was the decoration which one of the chiefs chose for his waist; and some of them carried spears that for the length of three feet were stuck with sharks teeth which were as sharp as any pointed instrument of steel. When some cocoa-nuts were shewn them by the English, and signs made that more were wanted, they endeavoured to steal what they saw without giving the necessary directions. To this place the officers gave the name of Byron's Island, in honour of their commander. It is laid down in 1° 18′ of south latitude, and 173° 56′ of east longitude. From hence they sailed on the 3d of July; and on the 21st the crew were again ill of the scurvy, having consumed all the cocoa-nuts which might have remedied this disorder. The extreme heat of the weather also occasioned several of the crew to be visited with the flux, which added to their distresses.

On the 22d the commodore sailed for the island of Tinian, and, within six days, they saw the three islands of Saypan, Tinian, and Aiguignan, between two and three degrees distant from each other. About noon, on the 31st, they anchored at the south-west end of Tinian, where Commodore Anson had before anchored with the Centurion. Though the water was 144 feet deep here, yet they found it so clear that they could see the ground at the bottom.

Mr. Byron going on shore, saw many huts which had been left there by the Spaniards the year before; and, having pitched upon a proper spot whereon to erect tents for the sick, he and his company went in search of those beautiful lawns and meads of which the reader has had so luxuriant a description in the voyage of Commodore Anson. In this attempt they worked their way through thick woods, and underwent much difficulty for which they were ill rewarded when they came to the place where they expected to view these inchanting scenes. They found the lawns covered with reeds, in which their legs, being often intangled, were cut as with whip-cord. In some places these reeds grew higher than a man's head, and in none less than half the height. They were covered with flies which, when they opened their mouths, frequently got down their throats. Having killed a bull, which was all their atchievement in this fruitless expedition, they then retired much dissatisfied to the tents, which had been set up while they were absent, and a party was sent afterwards to fetch away their prize. The preceding day the invalids had been brought on shore, and on the first of August they began to clear the well, which Mr. Byron supposes to be the same where Mr. Anson's people had watered, but he says the water is brackish and full of worms. At one time while they lay here, so violent a west wind arose that the vessels were forced to put to sea, for fear of being driven on the rocks and dashed to pieces.

They had brought on shore the armourer's forge to repair the iron-work of the ships; and the commodore remained in his tent having been violently attacked by the scurvy. Though the crew in general recovered from this disorder, yet many fell sick of fevers, two of whom died, being the first they had lost since they had left England. The rains were continual and violent, and the heat excessive. They were constantly tormented with insects;* flies by day, and muskittos by night, were their constant, troublesome companions. Scorpions, the reptile called Centipieds and black ants were also found here in abundance. Some of the crew were sent out to kill cattle. When they had been absent two days and nights killing a bullock, they had near eight miles to drag it to the beach, and when it arrived it was generally fly-blown and stunk. In the mean time this toil contributed to add to the number of those afflicted with fevers, and so continued to heighten the inconveniences they suffered in this part of the world. The wild hogs furnished their chief supply of fresh provisions; they killed some of these that weighed near 200 pounds. Their greatest convenience arose from a method found out by a negro for ensnaring these creatures, by which means they had fresh meat in the vessels as well as on shore, a number of them being sent on board alive. As to poultry, the ship's company could kill a sufficiency of them, but, in less than an hour after they had killed them, their flesh turned green, and swarmed with maggots: However, at length finding a spot where there was plenty of cattle, and contriving to bake bread every day for the sick, they got a tolerable supply of provisions to relieve them.

Island of Saypan. The island of Saypan is described as larger and more pleasant than that of Tinian. It is generally covered with trees, and abounds with the animals called Guanicoes. There was reason to believe that the Spaniards carried on a pearl fishery there at certain periods; large heaps of the pearl oyster shells were seen, as well as other marks of some Europeans having lately been in those parts.

* It is related that the thermometer generally stood at 36 being only 9 degrees less than the heat of the blood at the human heart.

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The ſick being tolerably well recovered, the commodore weighed anchor and ſailed from Tinian on the 30th of September, ſteering to the northward. On the 18th of the next month ſeveral land birds that ſeemed much fatigued flew near the veſſel, and one of them reſted on the bows, about as large as a gooſe, its beak, which was of an extraordinary length and thickneſs, was black, as alſo were its legs; the other parts of the body were white.

Timoan. They came to an anchor off the iſland of Timoan, on the 5th of November, where Mr. Byron landed the next day. The inhabitants proved to be Malays, many of whom when they ſaw the boat approaching the ſhore, came down to the beach, having each a ſpear in one hand and a long knife in the other, and a dagger by his ſide. However, the boat's crew landed and exchanged a few handkerchiefs for a dozen of fowls a kid and a goat. Theſe Malays were well made but ſmall of ſtature, and of a copper complexion. On their heads they wore turbans, and had pieces of cloth faſtened with ſilver claſps round their waiſts; only one old man among them was habited nearly in the manner of the Perſians. As to their houſes they are built according to the cuſtom which we have already noticed on poſts about eight feet from the ground, are compoſed of ſlit bamboo and very neatly contrived. The cocoa-nut and cabbage trees are to be found here in abundance, and there are alſo ſome free grounds upon the iſland. An animal was brought on board alive, while the ſhips lay here at anchor, that had legs like thoſe of a deer, with a body like a hare, which proved to be very fine eating. The crews catched large quantities of fiſh in the harbour, from whence they ſailed on the 7th of the month. Mr. Byron having anchored in the harbour of Pulo Toupoa, nothing happened worth notice till the 14th, when he ſaw a ſloop at anchor in the ſame harbour. The veſſel hoiſted Dutch colours, and he ſent an officer on board her, who was received with great politeneſs, tea being immediately ordered for him and his attendants, but he could not make them underſtand him, the crew conſiſting entirely of Malays. This veſſel, was made of ſlit bamboo, which had on each quarter a piece of timber that ſerved to ſteer her inſtead of a rudder.

The commodore ſailed the following day, and held his courſe till the 19th when he ſpoke with an Engliſh ſnow, bound from Bencoolen to Malacca and Bengal, in the Eaſt-India Company's ſervice. At this time their biſcuit was filled with worms and rotten, and their beef and pork were ſtinking. The maſter of the ſnow being appriſed of this circumſtance, ſent Mr. Byron two gallons of arrack, a turtle, twelve fowls, and a ſheep, which is ſuppoſed to have been half his ſtock, and for which he refuſed to accept the ſlighteſt return. They dropped their anchor this day in the road of Sumatra; and on the 27th came to an anchor in that of Batavia. Having anchored nearer the town on the following day, they fired eleven guns, which were returned; and an Engliſh ſhip from Bombay fired thirteen guns in honour of the commodore. The Dutch commodore ſent his boat on board the Dolphin, under the command of his cockſwain, who made but a ſhabby appearance; he put ſeveral queſtions to Mr. Byron reſpecting his voyage and deſtination, and took a book from his pocket to write down his anſwers, which Mr. Byron conſidering as an indignity, deſired him inſtantly to leave the ſhip, and thus ended his viſit. 1766

Mr. Byron viſiting the Dutch commodore at his country houſe was received with great politeneſs, and told that he might take a houſe in any part of the city, or be lodged at the hotel. Any inhabitant of Batavia permitting a ſtranger to ſleep, though but for a ſingle night in his houſe, incurs a penalty of 500 dollars, the hotel being the only licenſed lodging houſe, the governor appoints the keeper of it, who at this time was a Frenchman. This hotel is the moſt ſuperb building in the city, having more of the air of a palace than an inn. All the ſtreets of Batavia which are well diſpoſed, have canals running through them, and reſemble the cities of Holland.

The inhabitants are a motley herd of Dutch, Portugueſe, Chineſe, Perſians, Moors, Malays, Javaneſe, &c. and their numbers are amazingly great, the Chineſe live in a kind of ſeparate towns, without the city walls, and deal very largely, having annually ten or twelve veſſels laden from China. The roads, for ſeveral miles round the city, are very wide, and have a canal, ſhaded with trees, running by them; which is broad enough for the navigators of large veſſels. Adjoining to this canal are the country houſes and gardens of the citizens. The ſhips remained in this harbour till the 10th of December, when they ſailed, being ſaluted with eleven guns from the fort, and thirteen by the Dutch commodore, during their run from hence to Prince's Iſland, in the ſtreight of Sunda, they were ſo abundantly ſupplied with turtle, by boats from Java ſhore, that the common ſailors ſubſiſted wholly on that fiſh.

At Prince's Iſland they ſtaid till the 19th, when they ſailed for the cape of Good Hope. On the 10th of February, they ſaw a great ſmoke ariſing from a ſandy beach, which they ſuppoſed to have been made by the Hottentots. On the 13th they came to anchor, and the next morning the governor ſent his coach and ſix for the commodore, and received him with great politeneſs, offering him the accommodations of the company's houſe in the garden, and the uſe of his coach. The cape is a fine country, ſituated in a healthy climate, and abounding with various kinds of refreſhments. In a paddock, adjoining the Company's garden, which is extremely elegant, oſtriches, and other curious birds and animals are conſtantly kept. The commodore frequently gave his men permiſſion to go on ſhore, and they as conſtantly returned intoxicated with the Cape wine. They ſailed on the 7th of March, and on the 25th croſſed the equinoctial line.

At this time an accident happening to the rudder of the Tamar, and it being impoſſible to make a perfect repair of it at ſea, the captain was ordered to bear for Antigua, in conſequence of which, they parted company on the firſt of April; and the Dolphin, without meeting with any other material occurrence, came to an anchor in the Downs, on the 9th of May, 1766, after having circumnavigated the globe in about 22 months.

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN WALLIS, ROUND THE WORLD.

THE command of his Majeſty's ſhip the Dolphin, being given to Samuel Wallis, Eſq; which veſſel was deſtined for a voyage round the world, he fell down the river on the 26th of July, and on the 16th of Auguſt came to an anchor off Plymouth ſound. Three days afterwards he received ſailing orders, with directions to take alſo the Prince Frederic and the Swallow under his command. On the 22d, the veſſels ſailed, and on the 7th of September came to an anchor in the road of Madeira.

They ſailed from thence on the 12th, after having taken in beef, wine, and onions, as ſea ſtores. On the 16th as they were ſailing off the Iſland of Palma, at the rate of eight miles an hour, the wind ſuddenly died

1766 died away, ſo that the veſſel lay quite ſtill. On the 20th they catched ſeveral bonettas, out of a great number which ſurrounded the ſhip; and this day they ſaw ſome herons flying to the eaſtward. The ſwallow, which was a bad ſailor, parted from the other veſſels, in the night between the 21ſt and 22d; but ſhe joined company again on the 24th at the diſtance of about ſix leagues from the iſle of May. On the ſame day three veſſels came to an anchor at Port Praya, in that iſland. The next morning they got leave from the commanding officer at the fort to get water and other neceſſaries. As this was the ſickly ſeaſon, and the ſmall-pox was very fatal in thoſe parts, every man who had not had that diſtemper was detained on board by the captain. Great quantities of fiſh were caught here, and ſome wild purſlain was found, which proved very refreſhing.

Having procured cattle and water, they ſailed from hence on the 28th, and in the night ſaw the burning mountain of Terra del Fuego. Captain Wallis now ordered every man to be furniſhed with a hook and line, in order that he might ſupply himſelf with fiſh, and likewiſe to prevent infection, he ordered that no fiſh ſhould be kept above 24 hours. The butter and cheeſe being all expended, they began to ſerve the crew on the 20th with oil, and orders were given for the remainder of the voyage, that once a fortnight they ſhould be ſerved with muſtard and vinegar. On the 22d they judged that they were not at a great diſtance from land, from the ſight of a great number of birds. Two days after this, orders were given for ſerving the men with brandy and the wine was reſerved for ſuch as were ſick among them.

The Prince Frederic ſprang a leak on the 27th, and at the ſame time her crew were ſo ſickly, through the fatigue of pumping and the badneſs of their proviſions, that Lieutenant Brine, her commander, was apprehenſive he could not keep company much longer unleſs he could have ſome aſſiſtance given him. The carpenter and ſix ſailors were ſent on board, but the captain was unable to ſupply her with better proviſions; and as the carpenter found he could do little towards ſtopping the leak in the ſtore-ſhip, the Dolphin and Swallow completed their proviſions from her, and put empty oil jars, ſtaves, and iron hoops on board her.

Arriving at the 30th degree of ſouth latitude on the 12th of November, though it is then the ſummer ſeaſon in theſe climates, the men found the weather ſo cold that they were obliged to put on their thick jackets. A meteor was obſerved on the 18th of this month about nine at night, which flew from the north-eaſt to the ſouth-weſt, leaving ſuch a train of light as equalled the brightneſs of mid-day. Three or four days afterwards they ſaw, beſides whales, ſeals, ſnipes, plovers, and other birds, the tokens of land, which they diſcovered on the 8th of December, and on the 9th a ſort of red ſhrimps ſurrounded the ſhip, which diſcoloured the ſea about them.

Being near Cape Virgin on the 16th, they ſaw ſeveral men riding on the ſhore, by whoſe ſigns it was underſtood that they wiſhed them to land. When the veſſels came to an anchor, it was obſerved that the natives ſhouted aloud, and keeping up large fires, remained oppoſite the ſhip all night. The captain, with a boat's crew from each ſhip, went on ſhore in the morning, and having made ſigns to the Indians to ſit down, diſtributed among them, combs, buttons, knives, and various toys, and pleaſed the women much by giving them ſome ribbands. Afterwards he took ſome pains to make them underſtand that he would give them ſome bill-hooks and hatchets, which he ſhewed them, in exchange for guanicoes and oſtriches, but they were either ignorant of his meaning, or did not chuſe to underſtand him.

With regard to the ſize of theſe people, according to the moſt exact account, the talleſt among them were about ſix feet ſeven inches in height, ſeveral others were an inch or two ſhorter; but from five feet ten inches, to ſix feet and upwards ſeemed to be the ſtandard, which by the moſt moderate calculation is three inches at leaſt above that of our country; and as to a man of ſix feet ſeven, the reader need not be told that he is looked on as a giant amongſt us. Theſe people were muſcular and well made, but their hands and feet were remarked to be ſmall in proportion to their bodies. Their dreſs was the ſkin of the guanicoe, with the hairy ſide turned inwards; and ſome of them wore a ſort of ſquare piece of cloth wove from the hair of that animal, a hole being cut to admit the head; and the garment thus made, reached to the knees. They had beſides a ſort of buſkin that reached from the middle of the leg to the inſtep, and was alſo conveyed under the heel; but the reſt of the foot was bare. Their hair, which was very long and coarſe, was tied back with a piece of cotton, and their complexion was of the dark copper colour. Their horſes, on which both men and women rode aſtride, were about 14 hands high, and their dogs appeared to be of the Spaniſh kind. Some of the men had wooden ſpurs, and ſeveral of them had their arms painted; the faces of others were variouſly marked, and ſome were ſeen that had their eyes incloſed with a painted circle. Two round ſtones incloſed with leather, formed their arms, one being held in the hand, the other was ſwung round the head for ſome time, and then diſcharged from a ſtring of eight feet in length, with great violence as from a ſling. By this cord they alſo caught guanicoes and oſtriches, throwing it in ſuch a manner as to hamper the legs of their prey*. The people were found here to be great talkers, and frequently uſing the word *Ca-pi-ta-ne*, they were ſpoken to in Portugueſe, Spaniſh, French and Dutch, of neither of which languages they appeared to have any idea: But it was remarked that they learned to pronounce Engliſh words readily enough, and particularly uſed the ſentence, "Engliſhmen come on ſhore," with great facility.

As they ſeemed deſirous of going on board, the captain took eight of them into the boats, on which they inſtantly began ſinging for joy; but when they came into the ſhip, they expreſſed no kind of ſurpriſe at the novelties they beheld, till a looking glaſs being ſhewn them, they acted many antic geſtures before it, occaſionally walking to and from it, talking earneſtly and laughing immoderately. They would drink nothing but water, but they eagerly ate every article of the ſhip's proviſions. They were highly pleaſed with the turkies, guinea-hens, hogs, and ſheep on board; and one of them making ſigns that he ſhould be glad of ſome clothes, the captain gave him a pair of ſhoes and buckles, and preſented each of the reſt with a little bag, in which were new ſixpences and half-pence, with a ribband paſſed through a hole in them, to hang round their necks; there were alſo in it a looking-glaſs, a comb, ſome beads, a knife, a pair of ſciſſars, ſome twine, and a few ſlips of cloth: ſome tobacco being offered them, they ſmoked a few minutes, but did not ſeem to like it. On the marines being exerciſed before them, they were terrified at the firing of the muſkets, and one of them falling down ſhut his eyes, and lay without motion, which was ſuppoſed to intimate that he knew the deſtructive nature of thoſe weapons. It was with difficulty that they were at length prevailed on to go on ſhore; one of them in particular would not leave the ſhip till he had ſung a long kind of prayer, and petitioned to ſtay till evening, by pointing to the ſun, and then moving his hand round to the weſtward. They began to ſing as ſoon as they were in the boat, and did not ceaſe till they had reached the ſhore; where many of their companions preſſed eagerly to be taken on board, and were highly affronted at being refuſed that favour.

They turned into the Streights of Maghellan this day with the tide of flood, and the ſame day ſaw many people on horſeback hunting the guanicoes, which

* Captain Wallis's people obſerved ſome of the natives devouring the paunch of an oſtrich raw, after having turned the inſide outwards, and ſhaken off ſome of the filth.

ran up the country with prodigious ſwiftneſs. The natives lighted fires oppoſite the ſhips, and in the morning about 400 of them were obſerved in a valley with their horſes feeding near them. This being the ſpot where Mr. Byron ſaw the Patagonians, ſome officers were ſent towards the ſhore, but with orders not to land, as the ſhips were too far off to give them aſſiſtance. As they drew near the ſhore, many of the natives flocked towards them, among whom were women and children, and ſome of the ſame men they had ſeen the preceding day: thoſe waded towards the boat, frequently calling out, "Engliſhmen come on ſhore;" and were with difficulty kept from coming on board, when they found the crews would not land. Some bread, tobacco, and toys, were diſtributed, but no proviſions could be obtained in exchange for theſe articles. The tide was ſo violent on the 23d, that the ſhips were driven three ſeveral ways; but in the evening they were ſafely anchored. On Chriſtmas-day they procured a quantity of celery from Elizabeth's Iſland, which being boiled with portable-ſoup and wheat, the crews breakfaſted on it for ſeveral days. Upon this iſland were found many huts, and two dogs were ſeen; but the Indians had quitted their abodes for the preſent. They obſerved many mountains, which, though it was then the midſt of ſummer, were in a great degree covered with ſnow.

They anchored in the bay of Port Famine on the 26th, and the ſick were ſent on ſhore, where a tent was erected for their reception, as was another for the accommodation of the ſail-makers, and thoſe who landed to get wood; the empty water-caſks were landed on the 28th, and on the ſame day great quantities of fiſh were caught, among which were ſmelts. On their arrival here, many of the people were very ill of the ſcurvy; but by the plentiful uſe of vegetables, and bathing in the ſea, in a ſhort time they recovered. And now all hands were employed in repairing and ſtoring the ſhips, and thouſands of young trees were carefully taken up with the mould about them, to be carried to Falkland's Iſlands, which produce no timber. The maſter of the Dolphin, who had been in ſearch of anchoring places, returned on the 17th of January with an account, that he found ſuch as were proper for the purpoſe, and the Prince Frederick ſailed for Falkland's Iſlands the ſame day.

They came to an anchor on the 17th, half a mile from the ſhore, oppoſite a current of freſh water, that falls rapidly from the mountains. But having diſcovered a more convenient anchoring place, and at the ſame time better adapted for procuring wood and water, they ſailed again the next day, and came to an anchor in the bay of Cape Gallant on the 23d. Here they caught wild ducks in ſuch numbers as to afford them very ſeaſonable relief. The maſter of the Swallow climbed one of the high mountains, with the hope of getting a view of the South Sea; but being diſappointed in his expectations, he erected a pyramid, and having written the ſhip's name, and the date of the year, he left the ſame, with a ſhilling within the ſtructure.

They ſaw an animal on the 24th, that was as ſwift as a deer, and had a cloven foot; but in other reſpects was like an aſs. The country here has a moſt forbidding aſpect. The lower part of the vaſt mountains on both ſides the ſtreight are covered with trees, a ſpace of which is occupied by withered ſhrubs; higher up are fragments of broken rocks and heaps of ſnow, and the tops are intirely naked and deſolate. On the 28th they ſaw a great ſmoke on the ſouthern ſhore, and another on Prince Rupert's Iſland; ſome people being ſent on ſhore the next morning for water, they had no ſooner landed, than ſeveral of the natives came off in three canoes, and having advanced towards the ſailors, made ſigns of friendſhip, which being anſwered to their wiſh, they ſhouted aloud, and the Engliſh ſhouted in return. When the Indians came up, they were eating the fleſh of ſeals raw, and were covered with the ſkins, which ſtunk intolerably. They had bows, arrows, and javelins, the two laſt of which were pointed with flint. The talleſt of theſe people did not meaſure more than five feet ſix inches, and they were of a deep copper complexion. 1767

Three of the natives who were taken on board the Dolphin, ate whatever food was given them, but, like the Patagonians, would drink only water, they were likewiſe highly diverted with a looking-glaſs, in which they at firſt looked with great ſurpriſe, till, having become more familiar with it, they ſmiled at the novelty, and when they obſerved the figure in the glaſs ſmiled alſo, they burſt into moſt immoderate fits of laughter at its effects. The captain going on ſhore with them, preſented ſome trinkets to their wives and children, and received ſome of their arms, and pieces of mundic, of the kind found in the Corniſh tin mines, in return. Theſe Indians went off in canoes that had ſeal-ſkin ſails.

On the 3d of February the ſhips ſailed, and came to an anchor in York Road on the ſame day. Capt. Wallis went on ſhore the next morning with a party, near Bachelor's river, where he ſaw ſome Indian huts, and ſeveral dogs which ran away the moment they were obſerved; they likewiſe ſaw oſtriches, and collected various kinds of fiſh and ſome vegetables of the country. There is a cataract near this river, the noiſe of which is tremendous, the water falling more than 400 yards, partly over a very ſteep deſcent, and partly in a perpendicular line. Having ſailed on the 14th, they came to an anchor again the ſame day in York Road, after having loſt ground by the contrary winds, and were driven with ſuch violence the next morning by the current, as to be in continual expectation of being daſhed againſt the rocks, from which they were frequently not half the length of the ſhip; but they were providentially preſerved, and came to an anchor in Butler's Bay, which was ſo called from the name of one of the mates, by whom it was firſt diſcovered. Butler's Bay.

Keeping their ſtation here till the 20th, they were then encountered by a moſt violent ſtorm, attended with hail and rain, which increaſed till the evening, the ſea breaking over the fore-caſtle upon the quarter-deck: yet, as the cables did not part, they were again wonderfully preſerved. Here they remained eight days, taking in wood and water, and repairing the little damage the ſhip had ſuſtained in the ſtorm. In the mean time they caught fiſh, among which were muſcles near ſix inches long, and procured plenty of vegetables. The mountains in this neighbourhood had the moſt rugged and deſolate appearance. Their heads ſeemed to be loſt in the clouds; and ſome of them on the ſouthern ſhore, produced not a ſingle blade of graſs, while the valleys, equally barren, and almoſt covered with ſnow, had a very melancholy appearance. They ſet ſail again on the firſt of March, and anchored on the ſame day in a bay which was called *Lion's Cove*, from whence they ſailed on Monday. The five following days they had ſuch tempeſtuous weather, that they had no proſpect before them, but that of immediate deſtruction: and the crew on board the Dolphin were ſo prepoſſeſſed that the Swallow could not ride out the ſtorm, that they fancied they ſaw ſome of her hands coming towards them over the rocks. During a fortnight that they remained at this place, they were at two-thirds allowance, brandy excepted, which was found highly uſeful to keep up their ſpirits. Both the veſſels were ſafely anchored in a place called Swallow Harbour, on the 15th, from whence they ſailed the next morning; and on the following day the Swallow, being driven among breakers, made a ſignal of diſtreſs; but a breeze from the ſhore happily releaſed her.

The waves ran high that day, and there was ſo thick a fog, that they narrowly eſcaped ſhip-wreck among a number of ſmall iſlands: the weather however clearing up a little in the afternoon, they came to an anchor in a bay under Cape Upright. Two canoes having on board ſeveral Indians, on the 19th came along-ſide the Dolphin, who had with them a great quanty of ſeal's fleſh, blubber, and penguins, which they ate without any kind of dreſſing. A

1767 ſailor having caught a fiſh bigger than a herring, gave it to one of them, who killed it by a bite near the gills, and inſtantly devoured it. They would not drink any liquor but water, they eagerly ate proviſions of any kind, boiled, roaſted, raw, ſalt or freſh. Though the weather was very cold, theſe ſavages had no covering but a ſeal-ſkin, and even that they did not wear when they were rowing. They had all ſore eyes, probably occaſioned by the ſmoke of their fires, and they live in ſuch a naſty way that they ſmell quite rank. They had a kind of javelin pointed with bone, which they uſe in ſtriking fiſh. The captain gave them a few baubles, with which they departed extremely well pleaſed. One night 22 of the ſailors ſtaying on an iſland, 30 of the natives hurried to their boats, and began to make free with its contents. The ſailors had juſt time to hinder their intended depredations, at which the ſavages appeared to be much inraged, and betook themſelves to their poles and javelins; but ſome ſmall preſents made them by the men, pacified them on this occaſion. It proving a fine day on the 30th, the crew employed themſelves in drying the ſails. The next day ſome Indians coming on board, proved to be the ſame people whom they had ſeen on ſhore before.

Some of the natives, on the firſt of April, ſold them ſeveral of the birds called race-horſes, and the day following eight of the Indians brought ſix of their children on board, to whom the Captain gave necklaces and bracelets. The Indians here appeared to be remarkably tender of their children, and delicate in regard to their women. A boat having been ordered on ſhore in order to procure wood and water, ſome of the natives had come on board, and others were in canoes along-ſide of the ſhip. The latter kept their eyes fixed upon the boat, and when ſhe put off, called loudly to their companions, who directly handed down the children, and jumped into the canoes which had followed the boat with the greateſt expedition, all the time crying out as if they were in the utmoſt diſtreſs. When the boat came near the land, ſome women appeared among the rocks to whom the Indians called in like manner, on which they all ran away. The crew, however, remarking their jealous fear, lay on their oars in order to convince them, that they intended no injury. The Indians, however, drew their canoes on ſhore, and haſtily followed the women.

The men now began to be troubled with fluxes, on which account, at the requeſt of the ſurgeon, it was ordered, that no more muſcles (which had hitherto been found in plenty) ſhould be brought on board. The two veſſels ſailed in company on the 10th of this month, and, on the 11th they loſt ſight of each other, nor did they meet again during the whole courſe of the voyage. The Dolphin cleared the ſtreights this day, after having encountered innumerable difficulties and dangers on her paſſage through them, for the ſpace of three calendar months and 25 days. *

Among the obſervations of our author, he takes particular notice of the Spaniſh town built with a view to command the Maghellanic Streights. As the reader has had an account already of the wretched fate of the colony left there in 1581, we ſhall only take notice that moſt of them were ſtarved to death, and this uncomfortable place received the appellation of Port Famine, which it retains to this day. Cape Holland Bay, and the adjacent country where fiſh were caught in great plenty, produced alſo cranberries and wild celery; but no birds were to be found thereon. At Cape Gallant Bay they found wood, water, vegetables, and fiſh as well as at Elizabeth's Bay, and York Road. At Butler's Bay were procured rock-fiſh, muſcles, wild fowl, &c. Lion Cove, and Goodluck Bay, were found to produce nothing but wood and water. At Swallow harbour, where the mountains were the moſt deſolate that ever could be imagined they procured muſcles and rock fiſh, and wild fowl and fiſh were taken, while they were at anchor in Upright Bay.

Holding a weſtward courſe on Sunday the 12th of April, a number of gannets, pintadoes, and other birds were ſeen flying about the ſhip; the upper works of which being open, and the clothes and bedding always wet, in a few days the ſailors were attacked with colds and fevers. The ſick were brought on deck, on the 27th of this month, which proved a fine day; and they were nouriſhed with ſalop and portable ſoup in which wheat was boiled; but the violent winds ſoon viſiting them again, the bedding was wet through as before; and the ſhip being in danger of loſing her maſts, it was thought neceſſary to alter their courſe. From this time till the 14th of May, nothing material happened. On that day ſomething like high land appeared, and a number of brown birds were ſeen, but ſteering for the quarter where they expected to fall in with it, they found themſelves diſappointed; though the ſigns were ſometimes renewed. In ſhort, it was not till the 6th of June that land was really diſcovered to the W. N. W. This proved to be a low iſland, at five or ſix leagues diſtance, which was at length diſcovered from the deck, to the great joy of the ſhip's company.

When they came within five miles of this iſland another was diſcovered. To the firſt of theſe iſlands a boat was ſent, under the command of the ſecond lieutenant, the crew being properly provided with arms. On their approaching the ſhore, two canoes were ſeen to put off to the other iſland. The crews however landed, gathered ſome cocoa-nuts and a quantity of ſcurvy-graſs, and then returned to the ſhips, bringing with them ſome fiſh-hooks made of oyſter ſhells, that had belonged to the natives. In this excurſion they ſaw three huts, ſupported on poſts, and open all round, but thatched with cocoa and palm leaves, ingeniouſly wrought together. As no anchorage was to be found, and the whole iſland was encompaſſed with rocks and breakers, the captain reſolved to ſteer for the other iſland, giving the name of Whitſun Iſland to this, becauſe it was diſcovered on the eve of Whitſunday. Having approached the other iſland, about 50 of the natives, armed with pikes, and ſome having fire-brands in their hands, were obſerved running on the coaſt. Two boats were ſent out manned and armed, and the lieutenant was inſtructed to ſteer to that part of the ſhore where the people had been ſeen; to avoid offending them, and to endeavour to procure water and fruit in exchange for ſuch commodities as he took with him. When the boat came near the ſhore, the natives put themſelves in a poſition as if they would defend it with their pikes; but the crew making ſigns of friendſhip, and expoſing their trinkets, ſome of the Indians walked into the water; to whom it was hinted, that ſome cocoa-nuts and water would be acceptable; which was no ſooner done, than they fetched a ſmall quantity of each, which they ventured to bring to the boats, and received ſome nails and other trifles in exchange. While they were dealing, one of the Indians ſtole a ſilk handkerchief with its contents, but the thief could by no means be diſcovered. The boats were again diſpatched the next morning, with orders to land, if they could do it without offence to the natives. As they approached the ſhore, they obſerved ſeven large canoes, each with two maſts, lying ready for the Indians to embark in them; theſe having made ſigns to the crew to proceed farther, and this being done, the Indians embarked and ſailed weſtward, being joined by two canoes, at another part of the iſland. Theſe latter, two of which were laſhed together, appeared to be 30 feet in length, four in breadth, and three in depth. The people had long black hair hanging over their ſhoulders, were of a dark complexion, and of a middle ſize, and dreſſed in a kind of matting

Whitſun Iſland.

* It is to be obſerved here, as in the former voyage, that we have not ſo exactly copied the writer's account of all the bearings, diſtances, &c. in the courſe of the veſſels through theſe ſtreights, but have only ſelected what we thought might be moſt entertaining or inſtructive to the reader.

matting made faſt round the middle; and it was remarked that the women were beautiful, and the men juſtly proportioned.

The lieutenant being again ſent on ſhore, the captain commanded him to take poſſeſſion of the iſland in the king's name, and to call it *Queen Charlotte's Iſland*. The boats returned loaded with cocoa-nuts and ſcurvy-graſs after having found two wells of excellent water. Proviſions for a week were now alloted for a mate and twenty men, who were left on ſhore to fill water; the ſick were landed for the benefit of the air; and a number of hands were appointed to climb the cocoa-trees and gather the nuts, which, in their ſituation, were very deſireable. The water was brought on board on the 10th, but the cocoa-nuts, and vegetables, which the cutter was bringing off, were loſt by the rolling of the waves, that almoſt filled her with water. Afterwards they made an iſland where were found ſeveral tools, reſembling adzes, awls, and chiſſels, which were formed of ſhells and ſtones. The dead bodies were not buried, but left under a kind of canopy, to decay above ground.

Queen Charlotte's Iſland.

The ſhip ſailed again this day, after taking poſſeſſion of the iſlands for the king; in teſtimony of which they left a flag flying, and carved his majeſty's name on a piece of wood, and on the bark of ſeveral trees. They left ſhillings, ſixpences, halfpence, bottles, nails, hatchets, and other things for the uſe of the natives. It was remarkable, that on this iſland they found the very people who had fled from Queen Charlotte's Iſland, with ſeveral others, in the whole near 100. It lies in 19° 20′ ſouth lat. and 138° 30′ weſt long. and received the name of *Egmont Iſland*.

Egmont Iſland.

On the 11th they obſerved about ſixteen perſons on an iſland which was called *Glouceſter Iſland*; but as it was ſurrounded with rocks and breakers, they did not attempt to land. This day they likewiſe diſcovered another, which was called *Cumberland Iſland*; and, on the day following, a third, which received the name of Prince *William Henry's Iſland*.

Glouceſter Iſland.

Cumberland Iſland.

Prince William Henry's Iſland

On the 17th they again diſcovered land, and at ten at night ſaw a light, which convinced them that it was inhabited, and remarked, that there was a plenty of cocoa-trees, a certain proof that there was no want of water. An officer was ſent on ſhore the day following, with inſtructions to exchange ſome toys for ſuch things as the iſland produced. He ſaw a great number of the people, but could find no place where the ſhip might anchor. Some of the natives, who had white ſticks in their hands, appeared to have an authority over the reſt. While the lieutenant was trafficking with them, an Indian diving into the water, ſeized the grappling of the boat, while his companions on ſhore laid hold of the rope by which ſhe was faſtened, and attempted to draw her into the ſurf, but their endeavours were fruſtrated by the firing of a muſquet, on which they all let go their hold. Theſe Indians were dreſſed in a kind of cloth, a piece of which was brought to the ſhip. It was concluded from the number of the people ſeen, and their having ſome large double canoes on the ſhore, that there were larger iſlands at no great diſtance: the captain, therefore, having named this place Oſnabrugh Iſland, made ſail and ſoon diſcovering high-land, came to an anchor, becauſe the weather was very foggy.

Oſnabrugh Iſland.

The next morning early they ſaw land, diſtant four or five leagues; but, after having ſailed towards it ſome time, thought it prudent again to anchor, on account of the thickneſs of the fog; but it no ſooner cleared away, than they found the ſhip encompaſſed by a number of canoes, in which were many hundreds of people. Having approached the ſhip, they beheld it with wonder, and talked with great earneſtneſs. Some baubles were now ſhewn them, and ſigns were made for them to come on board, on which they rowed the canoes towards each other, and a general conſultation took place; at the concluſion of which they all ſurrounded the ſhip with an appearance of friendſhip, and one of them delivered an oration, at the concluſion of which he threw into the ſea the branch of a plantain-tree, which he had held in his hand. This being done, a young Indian, of more apparent courage than the reſt, ventured on board the ſhip. The captain would have given him ſome baubles, but he refuſed the acceptance of them till thoſe in the canoes came along-ſide, and, having held a conſultation, threw on board ſeveral branches of the plantain-tree. Others now ventured on board; but it was remarked, that they all got into the ſhip at ſome improper part, not one of them, even by accident, finding the right place of aſcent. 1767

A goat belonging to the ſhip, having run his horns againſt the back of one of the Indians, he looked round with ſurprize, and ſeeing the animal ready to renew the attack he ſprang over the ſhip's ſide, and was inſtantly followed by all his countrymen. Their terror, however, ſoon ſubſided, and they returned to the ſhip; and the ſheep, hogs, and poultry being ſhewn them, they intimated that they poſſeſſed the two latter ſpecies.

The captain then gave them nails and other trifles and made ſigns that he wanted hogs, fowls, and fruit; but they could not comprehend him. They were detected in ſeveral attempts to take away any thing they could lay hold of; but one of them, at length jumped overboard with a laced hat which he had ſnatched from one of the officers.

The inner parts of the iſland abounds in hills, cloathed with timber trees, above them are high peaks, from which large rivers deſcend to the ſea; the houſes, when ſeen at a diſtance, reſemble barns, having no ſhelter but a roof; the land towards the ſea is level, and produces the cocoa-nut, with a variety of other fruits, and the face of the whole country is pictureſque beyond deſcription. They now ſailed along the ſhore, while the canoes, which could not keep pace with them, made towards the land. In the afternoon the ſhip brought to, and the boats being ſent to ſound a bay that promiſed good anchorage, the Indian canoes flocked round them. The captain, apprehenſive that their deſigns were hoſtile, made a ſignal for the boats to return to the ſhip, and fired a gun over the heads of the Indians. Though they were frightened at the report, they attempted to prevent the return of the cutter; but ſhe eaſily out-ſailed them. This being obſerved by ſome canoes in a different ſtation, they intercepted her, and wounded ſome of her people with ſtones, which occaſioned the firing a muſquet, and ſome ſhot were lodged in the ſhoulder of the man who began the attack; which the Indians obſerving, they all made off with the utmoſt precipitation. The boats having reached the ſhip preparations were made for ſailing, but a large canoe making towards her at a great rate, it was reſolved to wait the event of her arrival; on which an Indian, making a ſpeech, threw a plantain branch on board, and the captain returned the compliment of peace, by giving them a branch, which had been left on board by the other Indians; ſome toys being likewiſe given them, they departed very well ſatisfied. They now ſailed, and the next morning were off a peak of land which was almoſt covered with the natives and their houſes. On the 21ſt the ſhip anchored, and ſeveral canoes came along-ſide of her, bringing a large quantity of fruit, with fowls and hogs, for which they received nails and toys in exchange.

The boats having been ſent to ſound along the coaſt, were followed by large double canoes, three of which ran at the cutter, ſtaved in her quarter, and otherwiſe damaged her, the Indians at the ſame time, armed with clubs, endeavouring to board her; the crew now fired, and wounded one man dangerouſly, and killing another, they both fell into the ſea, whither their companions dived after them, and got them into the canoe. They now tried if they could ſtand or ſit, but as one was quite dead, they laid him at the bottom of the canoe, and the wounded man was ſupported in a ſitting poſture. The ſhips boats now kept on their way, while ſome of the canoes went on ſhore, and others returned to the ſhip to renew

1767 their merchandiſe. While the boats continued out in ſeveral ſoundings, the natives ſwam off to them with water and fruit. The women were particularly urgent for the ſailors to land, and, putting off all their cloaths, gave hints, of the moſt indelicate nature, how acceptable their company would be. The boats being ſent on ſhore with ſome ſmall caſks to get water, the Indians filled two of them, and kept all the reſt for their trouble. When the boats came off the ſhore was crowded with thouſands of men, women, and children.

During this time, ſeveral canoes remained alongſide the ſhip, but the captain would not permit a ſingle Indian to go on board, as there was no guarding againſt their artful diſpoſitions.

On the 22d, the natives brought hogs, poultry and fruit to the ſhip, which they bartered for knives and other things, ſo that the whole crew was ſupplied with meat for two days, by means of this traffic. The boats having been this day ſent for water, every inducement was uſed by the inhabitants to perſuade them to land, and the behaviour of the women was ſtill more laſcivious than before. Having procured a ſmall quantity of water, the boats put off: on which the women ſhouted aloud, pelted them with apples and bananas, and ſhewed every mark of contempt and deteſtation.

They made ſail the following day, with intention to anchor off the watering-place, but, the man at the maſt-head diſcovering a bay a few miles to the leeward, they immediately ſtood for it. The boats, which were a-head, making a ſignal for an anchorage, they prepared to bring to; but when the ſhip had almoſt reached the place, ſhe ſuddenly ſtruck, and her head remained immoveable, fixed on a coral rock; in which ſituation ſhe remained near an hour, when ſhe was happily relieved by a breeze from the ſhore. During the whole time that ſhe was in danger of being wrecked, ſhe was encompaſſed by hundreds of Indians in their canoes; but not one of them attempted to board her.

The veſſel was now piloted round a reef, into an harbour, where ſhe moored. The maſter was then ſent to ſound the bay, and found ſafe anchorage in every part of it. In the mean time ſome ſmall canoes brought proviſions on board; but as the ſhore was crowded with large canoes, filled with men, the captain loaded and primed his guns, ſupplied his boats with muſqueteers, and kept a number of men under arms.

The ſhip ſailed up the harbour on the 24th and many canoes followed them, bringing proviſions, which were exchanged for nails, knives, &c. A number of very large canoes advanced in the evening, laden with ſtores, on which the captain ordered the ſtricteſt watch to be kept. At length ſome canoes came off; which had on board a number of women, who being brought almoſt under the ſhip, began to practiſe thoſe arts of indelicacy already mentioned. During this ſingular exhibition the large canoes came round the ſhip, ſome of the Indians playing on a kind of a flute, others ſinging, and the reſt blowing a ſort of ſhells. Soon after a large canoe advanced, in which was an awning; and on the top of it ſat one of the natives, holding ſome yellow and red feathers in his hands. The captain having conſented to his coming alongſide, he delivered the feathers, and while a preſent was preparing for him, he put back from the ſhip, and threw the branch of a cocoa-tree in the air. This was, doubtleſs, the ſignal for an onſet, for there was an inſtant ſhout from all the canoes, which, approaching the ſhip, poured volleys of ſtones into every part of her. On this two guns, loaded with ſmall ſhot, were fired, and the people on guard diſcharged their muſquets. The number of Indians round the ſhip were full 2000, and though they were at firſt diſconcerted, they ſoon recovered their ſpirits, and renewed the attack. Thouſands of the Indians were now obſerved on ſhore, embarking as faſt as the canoes could bring them off; orders were therefore given for firing the cannon, ſome of which were brought to bear upon the ſhore. This firing put a ſtop to all hoſtilities, on the part of the Indians, for a ſmall time; but the ſcattered canoes ſoon got together again; and, having hoiſted white ſtreamers, advanced, and threw ſtones of two pounds weight from ſlings, by which a number of the ſeamen were wounded. At this time ſeveral canoes approached the bow of the ſhip, from whence no ſhot had been yet diſcharged. In one of theſe was an Indian, who appeared to have an authority over the reſt, a gun was therefore levelled at his canoe, the ſhot of which ſplit it in two pieces. This put an end to the conteſt, the canoes rowed off with the utmoſt ſpeed, and the people on ſhore ran and concealed themſelves behind the hills.

After this, the captain ſailed for his intended anchoring place, and moored his ſhip within a little diſtance of a fine river. Some of his people who had been ſent to ſurvey the ſhore, returned the next morning with an account that they had found good freſh water (produced from the river abovementioned) but that there was not a canoe to be ſeen. A lieutenant was ſent the ſame day with all the boats, well manned and armed, and a number of marines, having orders to land his men under cover of the ſhip and boats. This being accordingly effected, he turned a piece of turf, and having hoiſted a broad pendant upon a ſtaff, took poſſeſſion of the iſle for his Britannic majeſty, naming it *King George the Third's Iſland*. Some rum being then mixed with the river-water, the king's health was drank by every perſon preſent. During the performance of this ceremony, two old men were ſeen on the oppoſite ſide of the river, who put themſelves in a ſupplicating poſture, and appeared to be much terrified. On this, the Engliſh made ſigns to them to croſs the river. One of them obeying the ſignal came over, and crawled on his hands and knees towards the lieutenant, who ſhewed him ſome ſtones that had been thrown at the veſſel, but took pains at the ſame time, to intimate, that no injury ſhould be done to the Indians, if they were not the aggreſſors. He then cauſed ſome hatchets to be produced, giving the Indian to underſtand that his people would be glad to exchange them for various kinds of proviſions. Some trifles were alſo given to this old man, who expreſſed his gratitude by his geſtures, and by dancing round the flag-ſtaff, but when they ſaw the pendant ſhaken by the wind, they ran back, with ſigns of fear and ſurpriſe. When they had recovered themſelves from their fright, they brought two hogs which they laid down, and began dancing round the pendant as before. The hogs were afterwards put into a canoe, which the old Indian rowed towards the ſhip; and when he came along-ſide of her, pronounced a ſerious oration, in the courſe of which he delivered a number of plantain leaves, (one at a time, ſomewhat in the manner of the North Americans cloſing their periods with belts of wampum.) After this he rowed back again, refuſing at that time to accept of any preſents.

King George the Third's Iſland.

The noiſe of drums and other inſtruments was heard this night, and the next morning it was obſerved that the pendant was taken away, and the natives had quitted the coaſt. While the caſks were filling with water, the old Indian already mentioned, croſſed the river, and brought the Engliſh ſome fowls and fruits. At this time the captain was ill, but though he was confined to the veſſel, he had remarked from thence by the help of glaſſes what was doing on ſhore. In the courſe of his obſervations, he perceived many of the natives creeping behind the buſhes towards the watering-place, at the ſame time that vaſt numbers advanced through the woods, and a large party came down the hill in view; all tending to the ſame quarter. Two diviſions of canoes were beſides ſeen making round the oppoſite ſides of the bay. As the lieutenant had likewiſe obſerved the threatened danger, he got his people on board the boats; previous to which he had ſent the old Indian to intimate to his countrymen that the crew wanted nothing but water, and to prevail on them to keep at a proper diſtance,

tance whilſt it was filling; but ſo far was this from having the proper effect, that the iſlanders made a prize of the caſks, and thoſe at ſome diſtance from the watering-place, went forward with all expedition, in order to keep pace with the canoes, which rowed along very ſwiftly. At the ſame time a number of women and children took their ſtation on a hill, which commanded a proſpect of the ſhipping. The canoes drawing near that part of the bay where the veſſel was at anchor, took in many from the ſhore who were laden with bags filled with ſtones. Then they rowed towards the ſhip, on which orders were given to fire on the firſt party that approached in the canoes, which being done, the Indians made off frightened and aſtoniſhed. Captain Wallis being now reſolved that this action ſhould put an end to all diſputes, incenſed at the behaviour of the natives, commanded his people to fire firſt into the wood, and afterwards towards the hill, whither the iſlanders had retreated; when finding at what a diſtance the guns could reach them, they diſperſed and diſappeared.

A ſkirmiſh with the natives of Otaheite.

After this, the boats were ſent out, a ſtrong guard being appointed to attend the carpenters, who, according to orders, deſtroyed all the Indian canoes which could be met with. At length a ſmall party of the natives came to the beach, ſtuck up ſome ſmall branches of trees, as if for tokens, and then retreated to the woods; however they came again, and brought ſome hogs and dogs with their legs tied, which they left on the ſhore, together with a quantity of ſuch cloth as they wore, all which they made ſigns to the ſailors to take away. On this, a boat was diſpatched which conveyed the hogs on board, but left behind the other articles; hatchets and nails were alſo depoſited on the beach in return for theſe preſents, but the Indians would by no means accept them till the cloth was taken away.

A party being employed in filling water on the 27th of this month, the old Indian was ſeen on the oppoſite ſide of the river. After having delivered an oration in his manner, he came over, when the officer referred him to the bags and ſtones which had been brought down, and uſed his endeavours to convince him that the Engliſh in the late action had acted only from motives of ſelf-defence. The old man, however ſeemed to think his countrymen much aggrieved, and with great openneſs intimated his opinion. However at laſt he ſuffered himſelf to be reconciled, ſhook hands with the lieutenant, and accepted ſome preſents from him. It was then hinted to him that it would be beſt for the people of the iſland to appear only in ſmall parties for the future, with which terms, the Indian appeared ſatisfied, and an advantageous traffic was afterwards eſtabliſhed with the natives.

Matters being thus ſettled, the ſick were ſent on ſhore, and were lodged, under the care of the ſurgeon, in tents near the watering place. This gentleman ſhooting a wild duck, it dropped on the oppoſite ſide of the river, in the preſence of ſome Indians, who fled directly; but ſtopping within a ſhort ſpace, one of them was at laſt perſuaded to bring the duck over, which he laid at the ſurgeon's feet, but, at the ſame time, the agitation of his mind was viſible in his countenance. Three ducks were killed by a ſecond ſhot, and the natives were by this time poſſeſſed with ſuch a notion of the effects of fire-arms, as whilſt it raiſed their admiration, was ſuppoſed to contribute in a great meaſure to their good behaviour towards the Engliſh during their ſtay in theſe parts, though there might be another reaſon aſſigned for this before their departure, as will be apparent in the ſequel.

The gunner was now appointed to manage all affairs of trade between the Indians and the ſailors, in order to prevent quarrelling and pilfering. This was a judicious choice; the natives ſometimes ſtole certain trifles, but immediate reſtitution was made on the ſight of a gun. Beſides, the old Indian made himſelf very ſerviceable in recovering any thing that might have been taken away. In particular, an Indian ſwam one day over the river, and pilfered a hatchet, on which the gunner making preparations, as if he meant to go in ſearch of him, the goods were reſtored by the old man's means, and the offender was alſo delivered up to the gunner. Though he had committed other robberies, yet the captain diſcharged him; and all his puniſhment conſiſted in his terrible apprehenſions. Being reſtored to his countrymen, he was conducted to the woods in the midſt of their ſhouts of applauſe. This man had the gratitude to bring a roaſted hog and ſome bread fruit to the gunner next day, as an acknowledgement for the lenity ſhewn him.

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The captain, firſt lieutenant, and purſer, were at this time very ill; ſo that the charge of the veſſel, and the care of the ſick, were committed to the ſecond lieutenant, who diſcharged his duty with zeal and fidelity; and fruit, fowls, and freſh pork, were procured in ſuch plenty that at the end of fourteen days almoſt every man had perfectly recovered his health.

A piece of ſalt-petre, of the ſize of a ſmall egg, was found on the 25th on the ſhore; but whether it was brought from the ſhip, or not, could not be learned, after the moſt diligent enquiry; but however, no other piece was found. On the 2d of July they began to want fruit and freſh meat, owing to the abſence of the old Indian, but they had ſtill a ſufficient ſupply for the ſick. On the 3d, the ſhip's bottom was examined, when its condition was found to be nearly the ſame as when ſhe left England. This day a ſhark was caught, which proved an acceptable preſent to the natives. The old Indian, who had viſited the interior parts of the iſland in queſt of proviſions, returned on the 5th, and brought with him a roaſted hog as a preſent for the captain, who in return, gave him a looking-glaſs, an iron pot, &c. His return was ſoon followed by ſome of the natives, who had never yet viſited the market, and who brought ſome hogs that were larger than any yet purchaſed.

Another ſort of traffic was now eſtabliſhed between the Indian girls and the ſailors. The price of a female's favours was a nail or two; but as the ſeamen could not always get at the nails, they drew them out of ſeveral parts of the ſhip; nor could the offenders be diſcovered by the ſtricteſt enquiry. The damage done to the veſſel might have been eaſily repaired; but a worſe conſequence aroſe from this traffic; for on the gunner's offering ſmall nails for hogs, the Indians produced large ſpikes, demanding ſuch as thoſe. Some of the men made uſe of a particular device to gratify their paſſions; for when they could procure no more nails, they cut lead into the ſhape of them, and paſſed thoſe pieces on their unſuſpecting paramours. When the Indians diſcovered the fraud, they demanded nails for the lead; but this juſt demand could not be granted, becauſe it would have promoted the ſtealing of lead, and likewiſe injured the traffic with iron. In conſequence of their connection with the women, the ſailors became ſo impatient of controul, that the articles of war were read, to awe them into obedience; and a corporal of marines was ſeverely puniſhed, for ſtriking the maſter at arms. The captain's health being nearly reſtored, he went in his boat to ſurvey the iſland, which he found extremely delightful, and every where well peopled.

On the 8th, the wood-cutters were entertained in a friendly manner by certain Indians, who ſeemed to be of a rank above thoſe they had yet ſeen, and ſome of theſe viſiting the captain, he laid before them a thirty-ſix-ſhilling piece, a guinea, a crown-piece, a dollar, ſome ſhillings, ſome new half-pence, and two large nails, intimating that they might take their choice, when they eagerly ſeized the nails, and then took a few half-pence, but left all the other pieces untouched.

The Indians now refuſed to ſupply the market, unleſs they could get large nails in exchange; the captain therefore ordered the ſhip to be ſearched, when it was found that almoſt all the hammock-nails were ſtolen, and great numbers drawn from different places; on which every man was ordered before the captain;

1767 who told them, that not a man should go on shore till the thieves were discovered; but no good consequence arose from his threats, at that time.

Three days after this, the gunner conducted to the ship a lady of an agreeable face, and portly mein, whose age seemed to be upwards of forty. This lady had but lately arrived in that part of the island, and the gunner observing that she seemed to have great authority, presented her with some toys, on which she invited him to her house, and gave him some fine hogs. She was afterwards taken on board, at her own desire. Her whole behaviour shewed her to be a woman of fine sense and superior rank; the captain presented her with a looking-glass and some toys, and gave her a handsome blue mantle, which he tied round her, with ribbands. As she then intimated that she should be glad to see him on shore, he signified his intention of visiting her the next day. Accordingly, on Saturday the 12th, Captain Wallis went on shore, where she met him, attended by a numerous retinue, some of whom she directed to carry the captain, and others who had been ill, over the river, and from thence to her habitation, and the procession was closed by a guard of marines and seamen. As they advanced, a great number of Indians crowded to see them; but, on a slight motion of her hand, they made room for the procession to pass. When they drew near her dwelling, many persons of both sexes advanced to meet her, whom she caused to kiss the captain's hand, while she signified that they were related to her. Her house was 320 feet in length, and about 40 in breadth. The roof, which was covered with the leaves of palm-tree, was supported by a row of pillars on each side, and another in the middle. The highest part of the thatch on the inside, was 30 feet from the ground, and the space between the sides of the building and the edge of the roof, which was about 12 feet, was left open.

Captain Wallis's meeting with the queen.

The captain, lieutenant, and purser, being seated, the lady helped four of her female attendants to pull off the gentlemens coats, shoes, and stockings, which was awkwardly performed; the girls however smoothed down the skin, and rubbed it lightly with their hands for more than half an hour. The surgeon, being heated with walking, having pulled off his wig, one of the Indians screamed out, and the eyes of the whole company were instantly fixed on the wonderful sight, and they remained for some time fixed in surprize. After this, the queen ordered several bales of cloth to be brought out, which were the produce of the country, which were now destined for the dress of the captain and his attendants. It was intended that the Captain should be carried as he had been before, but as he refused the offer, the queen walked arm in arm with him, and lifted him like an infant over such wet and dirty places as they came to in their way. She gave him a sow big with young, and took her leave when she had attended him to the beach. The gunner being dispatched to wait on her the next day with a present of bill-hooks, hatchets, &c. found her busied in entertaining some hundreds of the Indians who were regularly seated round her. She ordered a mess to be provided for the gunner, which he found to be very agreeable, and supposed to be fowls and apples cut small, and mixed with salt water. The provisions which were distributed by the queen, were served in cocoa shells, which her servants brought in a sort of trays. This lady took her seat somewhat above the rest of the company, and when they were supplied, was fed by two women servants, standing on each side of her.

It was observed that she received the captain's presents with an air of great satisfaction, and the supply of provisions brought to market was now greater than ever, but the prices were raised, in a great measure owing to the commerce between the English seamen and the women of the island, of which we have taken notice; for which reason, besides the orders given for restraining the people belonging to the crew from going on shore, it was also thought proper to prohibit any women from passing the river.

On the 14th of this month, the gunner being on shore, discovered a woman on the opposite side of the river, who seemed to be weeping in a most piteous manner. Perceiving that he seemed to take notice of her apparent distress, she sent a youth to him, who having made a long oration, laid a branch of plantain at his feet, after which he went to fetch the woman, and also brought two hogs with him. The youth now made a long speech, and, in the end, the gunner was given to understand that her husband and three of her sons, had been killed when the English fired on the Indians as above related. She fell speechless on the ground after she had told her tale of woe, and two lads that attended her, seemed also to be much affected. The gunner seeing her distressed situation endeavoured to console her, and at last she became a little calmer, offered him her hand, and directed the hogs to be given him, not would she accept any thing in return for her present. A large party rowed round the island in their boats on the 15th, in order to take a view of it, and to purchase provisions. Returning, they brought with them a number of hogs and fowls, and some cocoa-nuts. They found the island to be pleasant, and abounding with the necessaries of life, and saw a great number of canoes, several of which were not quite finished. The natives tools were formed of bones, stones, and shells. No other four-footed beasts but dogs and hogs, were seen. The inhabitants ate all their meat either baked or roasted, as they neither had any vessel wherein water could be boiled, nor seemed to entertain an idea that it could be heated by fire so as to answer any useful purpose. One morning, when the lady we have mentioned was at breakfast, an Indian that attended her having observed the cock of an urn turned, to fill a tea-pot, he also turned the cock, when the scalding water falling upon his hand, he cried out, and jumped about the cabin, while the Indians were equally surprised and terrified at the circumstance. The Captain received another visit from the queen on the 17th, and the same day a great quantity of provisions was purchased of some of the natives, whom the English had never before dealt with. The next day the queen repeated her visit, and made the captain a present of two hogs, and the master attending her home, she cloathed him in the dress of the country, as she had done the captain and his retinue. Their provisions received an increase on the 19th, by the gunner's sending on board a number of hogs and pigs, and abundance of fowls and fruits which he had purchased in the country. At this time an order was made that none of the sailors should be allowed to go on shore, except those that were appointed to procure wood, water, or other necessaries.

On the 21st the queen came again to visit Captain Wallis and presented him with some hogs. She likewise invited the captain to her house who attended her home with some of his officers. She tied wreaths of plaited hair round their hats, and on the captain's she put a tuft of feathers of various colours, by way of distinction. She came back with them as far as the water-side on their return and ordered some presents to be put into the boat at their departure. Captain Wallis having intimated before they put off, that he should leave the island in seven days time, he made signs that she wished him to stay twenty days; but he repeating his resolution, she hurried into a flood of tears.

The vessel was so well stored with hogs and poultry,

* On the 20th one of the sailors was sentenced to run the gauntlet three times round the deck, while the crew whipped him with nettles. This punishment (which however was not very severely inflicted by the men) was ordered on account of his having drawn pails from the ship, and it was thought proper to prevent this practice for the future, by hindering the seamen from going on shore, and thereby removing the temptation.

Engraved for Moore's New & Complete Collection of Voyages & Travels.

CAPTN. WALLIS, *on his arrival at* O'TAHEITE, *in conversation with* OBEREA *the* QUEEN, *while her attendants are performing a favorite* DANCE *called the* TIMRODEE.

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try, that the decks were covered with them, and as the men were more inclined to eat fruit than meat, they were killed faster than had been intended.* The captain presented his friend the old Indian with some cloth and other articles, and sent a number of things to the queen, among which were a cat with kitten, turkies, geese, hens, and several sorts of garden seeds. This compliment was returned by a present of fruit and hogs. Pease and other European seeds were sowed here, and the captain staid long enough to see them come up, and to observe that they were likely to thrive in the country.

A party was sent on shore on the 25th in order to examine the country, and a tent was erected for the purpose of observing an eclipse of the sun. When it was ended, the captain took his telescope to the queen, who shewed a surprise scarcely to be expressed, on discovering several objects with which she was well acquainted, but which were too distant to be seen without the help of a glass. He afterwards invited her and her retinue to come on board the ship, where an elegant dinner was prepared, of which all but the queen ate heartily; but she would neither eat nor drink. On the return of the party from their excursion, the queen was landed with her train. The captain still keeping in the same mind as to the time of his departure, she wept again on being informed of his resolution.

The party sent out this day, reported, That on their first landing they called on the old Indian, and took him into their company, walking some on one side of the river, and some on the other, till the ground rising almost perpendicular, they were all obliged to walk on one side. On the borders of the valley through which the river flowed, the soil was black and there were several houses with walled gardens, and plenty of fowls and hogs. In many places channels were cut to conduct the water from the hills to the plantations. No underwood was found beneath the trees, but there was good grass; the bread-fruit and apple-trees were set in rows upon the hills, and the cocoa-nut grew upon the level ground. The streams now meandered through various windings, and the crags of mountains hung over the travellers heads. When they had walked about four miles they rested, and began their breakfast under an apple tree. At this time they were alarmed by a loud shout from a number of natives. On this they were going to betake themselves to their arms, but the old Indian made signs that they should sit still. He then went to his countrymen, and it was presently observed that they became silent and withdrew. They afterwards returned, bringing with them some refreshments, in exchange for which they received buttons and other trifles from the lieutenant. The party then proceeded, looking every where for metals and ores, but found nothing of that sort worth attending to. And now the old Indian being tired, gave his English companions to understand that he was desirous of returning; but he did not leave them till he had given directions to the Indians to clear the way over a mountain. After his departure his countrymen cut branches from the trees, and laid them in a ceremonious manner at the feet of the seamen; they then painted themselves red with the berries of a tree, and stained their garments yellow with the bark of another. By the assistance of these people, the most difficult parts of the mountains were climbed, and they again refreshed themselves at its summit, when they saw other mountains so much above them, that they seemed as in a valley.

Towards the sea the prospect was inexpressibly beautiful, the sides of the hills being covered with trees, and the vallies with grass, while the whole country was interspersed with villages. They saw but few houses on the mountains above them, but as smoke was observed in many places, it was conjectured, that the highest were inhabited. Many springs gushed from the sides of the mountains, all of which were covered with wood on the sides and with fern on the summit. The soil even on the high land was rich, and the sugar cane grew without cultivation; as did likewise turmeric and ginger. 1767

Having a third time refreshed themselves, they descended towards the ship, occasionally deviating from the direct way, tempted by the pleasant situation of several houses, the inhabitants of which entertained them in the most hospitable manner. They saw parrots, parroquets, green doves, and ducks. The lieutenant planted the stones of cherries, peaches and plumbs, several kinds of garden seeds, and oranges, lemons and limes. In the afternoon they rested on a delightful spot, where the inhabitants dressed them two hogs and several fowls. Here they staid till evening, when they rewarded the diligence of their guides, and repaired to the ship. Captain Wallis prepares to leave Otahite.

On the 26th, the captain was visited by the queen with her usual presents, and this day they discontinued taking in wood and water, and prepared for sailing. A greater number of Indians now came to the sea-shore, than they had ever yet seen; and of these several appeared to be persons of consequence. In the afternoon the queen visited Captain Wallis, and solicited him to remain ten days longer; but being informed that he should certainly sail on the following day, she burst into tears. She now demanded when he would come again, and was told in 50 days; she remained on board till evening, when being informed that the boat waited for her, she wept with more violence than she had yet done. At length this affectionate woman went over the ship's side, as did the old Indian who had been so serviceable to the crew. This man had signified that his son should sail with the captain; but when the time came the youth was not to be found, from whence it was concluded that parental affection had caused the old man to forfeit his word. The next morning early two boats were sent to fill a few casks of water; but the officer, alarmed at finding the shore crowded with the natives, prepared to return. This occasioned the queen to come forward, who ordered the Indians to retire to the other side of the river, after which she made signs for the boats to come on shore. While they were filling the water she ordered some presents to be put into the boat, and earnestly desired to go once more to the ship, but the officer being ordered not to bring off a single native, she ordered her double canoe out, and was followed by many others. When she had been on board for an hour, weeping and lamenting, the English took advantage of a fresh breeze, and got under sail. She now embraced the captain and officers, and left the ship; but as the wind fell, the canoes put back, and reached the ship again, to which the queen's was made fast, and advancing to the bow of it she there renewed her lamentations. Captain Wallis presented her with several articles of use and ornament, all which she received in mournful silence. The breeze springing up again, the queen and her attendants took their final leave, and tears were shed on both sides.

The place where the ship had lain at anchor, was called Port Royal Harbour, and is situate in 17° 30′ of south lat. and 150° of west long.

Customs and manners of the natives.

The following are the particulars of Captain Wallis's farther account of customs, manners, &c. of the people of Otaheite. With regard to their stature he says, the men are from five feet seven to five feet ten inches high, the standard of the women, in general, near three inches shorter, the tallest among them being about five feet seven inches, they were mostly handsome, and some of them are described as being really beautiful. The complexion of such of the men as are much employed on the water is reddish, but their natural colour is what is called tawny. The colour of their hair is not like that of the East Indians and Americans, black, but is diversified like that of the Europeans, having among them black, brown,

* A boat and sow of this kind were sent over and presented to Mr. Stephens, secretary to the Admiralty, the latter of which died in farrowing.

1767 fed and flaxen, moſt of the children being remarked for the latter. When it is left looſe, it has a ſtrong natural curl; but they are accuſtomed to tie it in two bunches, one on each ſide of the head, or in a ſingle one in the middle. They anoint their heads with cocoa-nut oil, mixed with a fragrant ſmelling root.

The females, as has been mentioned, have not the idea of chaſtity's being a virtue, but the beauty of their perſons generally fixes the price of their charms. If a man offered a girl to a ſeaman, he ſhewed a ſtick of the ſize of the nail which was to be given for the gratification of the Engliſhman's deſires.

Two pieces of cloth, which bear ſome reſemblance to China paper, form their apparel; in one of theſe a hole is made for the head to paſs through, and this hangs to the middle of the leg: the whole is wrapped round the body, and forms a drapery which is not inelegant. The cloth is made of the bark of a tree; and their ornaments conſiſt of pearls, ſhells, flowers, and feathers.

The hinder parts of the thighs and loins of both ſexes are marked with black lines in different forms, which is effected by forcing the teeth of an inſtrument through the ſkin, and then rubbing ſoot and and oil into the holes ſo made. There were ſome of the men who ſeemed to be of rank among them, that had their legs marked, but neither boys nor girls under the age of twelve years had this ceremony performed upon them.

One of the queen's attendants who took great pleaſure in imitating the Engliſh, was preſented with a ſuit of the lieutenant's cloaths, in which he looked very well. The officers being carried on ſhore by the Indians, becauſe it was ſhoal-water at the landing place; this man was carried in the ſame manner, reſolving not to be out of the faſhion. It was laughable enough to obſerve his firſt attempts to make uſe of a knife and fork, his hand going to his mouth regularly enough, while the fork retained the meat which he intended to ſwallow.

The people of Otaheite eat dog's fleſh, beſides fiſh and the articles already mentioned. Of the common method of dreſſing their food, we have the following account: Having made a fire by rubbing two dry ſticks together, they dig a pit which they pave with ſtones, and put their fire in it. Theſe ſtones being well heated, they clear away the aſhes, and having laid green leaves of the cocoa-nut at the bottom of the pit, they put in their meat, wrapped up in plantain leaves, and cover it over with the hot aſhes, on which they alſo place a layer of the bread-fruit wrapped up in the ſame manner: theſe again they cover with the embers intermixed with hot ſtones, and cloſe the whole with a covering of earth. In this manner a ſmall hog may be dreſſed whole, but a large one is cut in two. This method of dreſſing, Captain Wallis found perfectly agreeable to his palate, and thought it excelled any that he had ever known before. It appears to be nearly the ſame with that which was ſaid to be uſed by the Iriſh (eſpecially their militia) at an early period of their hiſtory. The ſauces which the Indians uſed were fruit and ſalt water, and they had no other knives but ſuch as were made of ſhells. When they ſaw meat boiled they were amazed, having, as before obſerved, no idea of heating water; the captain, however, gave the queen and her chiefs ſome iron pots, which brought them into uſe, and the old Indian generally boiled his meat. Their only liquor is water.

The Engliſh concluded from the ſcars which they perceived on the bodies of theſe Indians, that they were not without their wars, and it appeared that they were not ignorant of ſurgery.*

Several ſheds were obſerved upon the iſland, on the outſide of which were poſts fixed in the ground, whereon were the reſemblances of human creatures as well as of dogs and hogs. The area incloſed was paved with broad ſtones, the graſs growing between them; the natives entering theſe incloſures with an appearance of ſorrow, they were judged to be the burial-places of their anceſtors. Captain Wallis diſcovered no traces of religious worſhip among theſe iſlanders. The arms of the inhabitants were bows and arrows, clubs, and ſlings for ſtones, as we have already mentioned. With regard to their navigation, they had three kinds of canoes; one made of a ſingle tree, in which they go out to fiſh, another made of planks ſewed together, and large enough to hold 20 or 30 men; in which they ſail round the iſland and come home laden with fruits; and a third ſort not unlike the gondolas of Venice, and which they uſed when they ſailed on parties of pleaſure. They make a proceſſion in theſe two or three times a week, with ſtreamers flying, attended by the ſmaller canoes, their countrymen crowding the ſhores to view them. They are arrayed in their beſt garments on theſe occaſions, and while ſome are under a large awning others ſit upon it. On the prow of each veſſel two men ſit habited in red, but white is the dreſs of the ſteerſman.

The iſland is repreſented by our voyagers as one of the moſt pleaſant in the world. The air is pure, the country abounds in wood and herbage. It harbours no venomous animals. The ſouth-eaſt parts which produced abundance of fruit, were the beſt peopled of any place on the iſland.

From this harbour the Dolphin ſailed on the 27th of July, and paſſed by the *Duke of York's Iſland*, and on the 28th diſcovered land, which they called *Sir Charles Saunders's Iſland*. There were but few inhabitants there, who lived in huts, and the cocoa-nut and other trees grow along the ſhore.

They made land again on the 30th day of the month, which they called *Lord Howe's Iſland*; coming afterwards to ſome very dangerous ſhoals, they gave them the appellation of Scilly Iſlands, from the reſemblance they bore to that rocky part of Britain. Lord Howe's Iſland. Scilly Iſland.

They now ſteered weſtward, and came within ſight of two iſles, one of which they denominated *Keppel's*, and the other *Boſcawen's Iſland*. They diſcovered ſeveral inhabitants on the former, but ſteered towards the latter, as they thought its appearance more promiſing; but ſome breakers at a conſiderable diſtance from the land prevented their attempting to anchor there. The boats being ſent to the iſland brought two fowls beſides cocoa-nuts and other fruit. The officer who was ſent, obſerved that the inhabitants ſomewhat reſembled thoſe of *Otaheite*. Some of them had ventured into the boat, but ſoon jumped out and ſwam back again. Theſe people were dreſſed in a ſort of matting, and were remarkable for having the joints of their little fingers cut off. Finding no convenient watering-place here, and the veſſel having received ſuch damages as rendered it unſafe for her to encounter a rough ſea, Captain Wallis reſolved to ſteer for Tinian, to ſail from thence to Batavia, and ſo return by way of the Cape of Good hope to England. On this account, he paſſed by this iſland, of which we have no farther account than it appeared to be well inhabited, and was of a circular figure. Keppel's and Boſcawen's Iſlands.

Land was again diſcovered on the 16th of Auguſt, to which the officers gave the name of *Wallis's Iſland*. The coaſt of it is very rocky, and the trees grow almoſt to the water edge. The natives wore no covering but a ſort of mat, which each of them had about the waiſt, and they all carried large clubs, two of which the boat's crew purchaſed. Theſe ſavages endeavoured to ſteal the cutter, by hauling her upon the rocks; but a gun being fired cloſe to the face of one of them, they Wallis's Iſland.

* One of the ſailors having run a ſplinter into his foot, his meſſmate tried in vain to extract it with his pen-knife, which one of the natives obſerving, formed an inſtrument out of a ſhell with his teeth with which he preſently extracted it, and the old Indian applied ſome of the gum of the apple-tree to the wound, which in two days was healed.

they retreated with precipitation. Obſerving the boats on their return to the ſhip, to be much hindered by points of rocks, the Indians followed them, but rowed back again, as ſoon as they ſaw them in deep water. Though no ſort of metal was ſeen on any of theſe new-diſcovered iſlands, yet as ſoon as the natives procured a piece of iron, they began endeavouring to ſharpen it, and were not obſerved to do the ſame either to braſs or copper.

From hence they ſailed to the north-weſt, and obſerved a great number of birds flying about the ſhips on the 28th. Having caught one of them, it was obſerved to be web-footed, but in every other particular it reſembled a dove. They ſaw land on the 3d of September, which they ſuppoſed to be two of the Piſcadores. The ſame day an Indian praw approached the veſſel, on which they hoiſted Spaniſh colours, but ſhe ſtopped at two miles diſtance. They ſaw ſeveral birds on the 9th; on the 18th they made the iſland of Saypan, and ſoon after that of Tinian, at which latter they came to an anchor the next day.

The boats were now ſent on ſhore, and returned in due time, laden with cocoa-nuts, oranges, and limes, when the ſick were ſent on ſhore, where tents were provided for their reception. The carpenter's cheſt, and the ſmith's forge were alſo landed, and the captain and firſt lieutenant, who ſtill continued ill, went on ſhore, as did alſo a party of men to hunt for cattle, who preſently caught a young bull of great weight, and found bread-fruit in great plenty, as well as oranges and limes. Theſe hunting expeditions, however, were rendered ſo fatiguing, by going through thickets for many miles, that one party was ordered to relieve another. In the mean time, the ſecond lieutenant being ſent to reſide in the northern quarter of the iſland, where they judged cattle to be moſt plentiful, a boat was ſent every day to bring off what he caught. Thus, at length, they ſupplied themſelves with beef, pork, and poultry, and all ſuch fruits and refreſhments as Commodore Anſon met with when he touched at this place.

They left Tinian on the 15th of October, their ſick being recovered, and directed their courſe to the weſtward. On the 21ſt and 22d they ſaw ſeveral gannets, and on the 23d a violent ſtorm aroſe, while the ſhip made more water than ſhe had ever done before. This bad weather was accompanied by thunder, lightning, rain, and a ſea ſo violent, as to waſh overboard many heavy things, and even to break the iron-work of the gunwale. It did not abate till the 27th, when they once more ſaw the ſun, and the next day the weather grew more moderate. They loſt one man at this time, who, as it was generally ſuppoſed, had taken too much liquor and fallen overboard.

They diſcovered three iſlands on the 3d of November, to which they gave the names of *Sandy Iſland*, *Small Key*, and *Long Iſland*; and the next day they ſaw another, which Captain Wallis called *New Iſland*. All theſe lay, by account, in the 10th deg. of ſouth lat. and 247° of weſt long. They kept on their courſe till the 8th, when it was altered, and the inferior officers and men delivered up the log and journal books of the voyage. On the 13th they ſaw the iſlands of Timoan, Aras, and Peſang. They croſſed the equinoctial line on the 16th, and came again into ſouth latitude.

Sandy Iſland, Small Key and Long Iſland. New Iſland.

The next day they ſaw Pulo Toté, and Pulo Weſte, [Pulo as we have before obſerved, ſignifies an iſland] and had ſight of the ſeven iſlands ſoon after. The following night was extremely tempeſtuous, and ſo dark that, except by the flaſhes of lightning, they could not ſee acroſs the ſhip. One of theſe flaſhes, however, afforded them ſo much light as to perceive a veſſel of conſiderable ſize, which was almoſt aboard them, before ſhe was diſcovered; but as the ſtorm was too loud for them to hear each other, they could not diſcover whence ſhe came, nor to what nation ſhe belonged. This was the firſt ſhip they had ſeen ſince their ſeparation from the Swallow ſloop. Pulo Taya was diſcovered the next morning, near which they came to an anchor in the evening. The ſucceeding morning they ſailed, but the current occaſioning them to loſe way that evening alſo, they anchored again. They loſt an anchor the next day, the cable being cut away by the rocks. 1767

They made the coaſt of Sumatra, on the 22d, and came to anchor in the road of Batavia on the 3d of November. The captain ſaluted the Dutch governor, the next day with 13 guns which compliment was returned with an additional gun; and beef, vegetables, and other neceſſaries were ſoon ſupplied, permiſſion having been obtained for that purpoſe. At this time, however, it was thought proper to threaten with puniſhment any of the crew that ſhould bring liquor on board. None were ſuffered to leave the ſhip but ſuch as were called on ſhore by their duty, and even theſe were not allowed to enter the town, to prevent the ill conſequences which might ariſe from the immoderate uſe of the Batavia arrack.

The Falmouth ſhip of war was now lying in the road in a moſt ſhattered condition. The warrant officers of this ſhip ſent a petition to Captain Wallis, on the 5th of December, wherein they ſet forth, "That the Dutch had cauſed their powder to be thrown into the ſea; that the gunner was dead; that their misfortunes had deprived the boatſwain of his ſenſes, who was then a lunatic in the Dutch hoſpital; that his ſtores were all ſpoiled; that the cook had been wounded, and remained a cripple; and that the carpenter was near death." On theſe accounts, they intreated that the captain would give them a paſſage to England, or at leaſt diſmiſs them from the ſhip. But they received for anſwer that neither of theſe requeſts could be granted, for as they had taken charge of ſtores, they muſt wait for orders from England. In their reply to this they obſerved, "That they had not received a ſingle order ſince their being left in the Batavia road; that they had ten years pay due, and would rather go home ſweepers than remain in that wretched ſituation; that they were never permitted to ſleep on ſhore, and when they were ſick, no perſon had the humanity to attend them; that the Malays frequently robbed them, and that they expected nothing but deſtruction from thoſe people, as they had burned the Siam prize not long before the arrival of the Dolphin." All they could obtain from the captain, in alleviation of theſe diſtreſſes, was that he would make their caſe known in England. Diſtreſs of the Falmouth.

Several neceſſary ſtores being now wanted, Captain Wallis went on ſhore, with a deſign of providing them, but when he attempted to treat with the Dutch, their demands were ſo high that he did not think it prudent to comply with them, but determined to depart, and accordingly ſailed on the 8th of December, without loſing a ſingle man, and having only two ſick on board. But on the 11th the ſhip's company were viſited by the flux, which proved a great affliction. On the 12th they ſaw the coaſt of Java, where there were a number of lights placed, as it was ſuppoſed, in order to decoy the fiſh and bring them near the ſhore. They came to an anchor off Prince's Iſland on the 14th, where they took in wood and water, and purchaſed turtle, poultry, and other refreſhments, and remained till the 20th *. They buried three men here, and beſides the flux, many were ſeized with a putrid fever, the nature of which latter diſorder rendered it dangerous to attend the ſick. The ſhip at this time made four feet water in three hours, and thus they proceeded on their voyage till the 10th of January, when the ſickneſs began to abate. They were attacked by a violent tempeſt on the 24th, which tore their

* While they lay at anchor there, one of the ſailors fell from the main-yard into the barge, which was alongſide the ſhip, and threw down two others, one of whom was ſo much bruiſed, that he expired in four days, the other had only his toe broken. The man that fell was terribly bruiſed, and broke ſeveral of his bones.

1768 their ſails, carried five of their booms overboard, and broke a rudder chain. It was remarkable that ſeveral birds and butterflies were ſeen during the continuance of this ſtorm. They ſaw land on the 30th, and on the 4th of February anchored in Table-Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope.

The captain having ſaluted the governor and the veſſels in the harbour, and the ſalute being returned, freſh meat and vegetables were ſent for, and obtained, to the great refreſhment of the crew. Orders were likewiſe given the ſurgeon to endeavour to procure lodgings on ſhore for the ſick; but the rate demanded was ſo exorbitant at the ſame time that the ſmall pox made great havock, that the captain, with permiſſion of the governor, erected tents on a plain about two miles diſtant from the town, and the ſick were ſoon after ſent on ſhore.

Strict orders were given that no ſtrong liquors ſhould be brought into thoſe tents, but extra proviſions were procured for thoſe that were moſt weakened by ſickneſs, and none were permitted to enter the town. In the mean time all thoſe that were able to labour, were ſet about refitting the ſhip, a neceſſary work, which was almoſt finiſhed by the 10th of February. The orders were now in ſome meaſure relaxed, as, after this time, many of the ſhip's company that had had the ſmall-pox were allowed to viſit the town, and the others made country excurſions, which were likely to contribute to the preſervation of their health. As to the captain, he was ſtill ill, and all the time the ſhip remained here, he reſided at a country houſe ſome miles diſtant from the ſhore. Here thoſe neceſſaries which were ſo dear at Batavia, were purchaſed at moderate prices, and freſh water was procured by diſtillation, to convince the captains of the Indiamen lying in the bay, how eaſily wholeſome water might be procured at ſea.*

All hands being ordered on board, on the 25th, there were only three found not able to do duty, and the ſhip ſailed on the 3d of March, after having taken ſome ſheep on board for their ſea-ſtore.

They anchored at St. Helena on the 17th where they ſent people to gather purſlain, and procure water. The captain going on ſhore, was ſaluted from the fort, where he was invited to take up his reſidence as long as he choſe to remain on the iſland; but the wind proving favourable the next day, he weighed anchor and departed.

They croſſed the equinoctial line on the 28th and proceeding on their voyage towards England, on the 11th of May, they diſcovered the Savage ſloop of war, in full chace of a ſloop, at which ſhe fired ſeveral guns: Captain Wallis, obſerving this, likewiſe fired at the chace, and bringing her to, ſhe was found to be a veſſel laden with tea, brandy, &c. and the captain ſuſpecting ſhe was a ſmuggler, detained her, to bring her to England. He now held on his courſe, without meeting with any thing worth notice, till he came to an anchor in the Downs, on the 20th of May, 1768, having thus accompliſhed the circumnavigation of the globe. The adventures which befel his conſort the Swallow, the reader will find related in the ſubſequent pages.

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN CARTERET,

Round the World, in the Swallow Sloop.

THIS gentleman who had ſailed with Commodore Byron on his expedition, ſoon after his return, was appointed commander of the Swallow ſloop, which was deſtined to accompany the Dolphin and Prince Frederic ſtore-ſhip. Nothing material happened before the ſeparation of the two veſſels, except that while the Swallow lay in the road of Madeira, nine of her beſt ſailors took it into their heads to ſwim on ſhore, taking nothing with them except their money which they tied in their handkerchiefs round their bodies. When the captain was about to write to the conſul, to requeſt his aſſiſtance for the recovering theſe men, he received information that they had been found naked on the ſhore, aſhamed of their ridiculous ſituation, and heartily tired of their frolic. A boat was ſent to fetch them on board, and when they where brought back, all the reaſon they could give for this temporary deſertion was only that they were reſolved to have a ſkinful of liquor, as they were on a long voyage and it was uncertain whether they might live or die. The captain thinking they had contributed ſufficiently to their own puniſhment, paſſed the matter by, to the ſatisfaction of the whole ſhip's company.

The reader will remember that on the 11th of April the Swallow parted from the Dolphin and Prince Frederic. At nine o'clock that day Captain Carteret had intirely loſt ſight of the Dolphin, which he judged to be then clear of the ſtreights mouth, and his own veſſel being under land where ſhe had not any conſiderable breeze, he entertained but little hope of meeting with his conſort again.

They had not been long ſeparated before the Swallow experienced a violent tempeſt, during which tho' they were within half a mile of a mountainous land, it could not be diſcerned. The boat was then gone off, in ſearch of an anchoring place, and when night ſucceeded, the darkneſs was ſuch that they could not ſee half the length of the ſhip. In theſe circumſtances it was judged proper to hoiſt lights, and to fire a gun every half hour, by means of which precautions the boat was enabled to return to them in ſafety. The next morning ſhe was ſent off again upon the ſame errand, and the captain had given over the hopes of her return, when, in the afternoon, he diſcovered her ſounding a bay, on which he immediately ſtood towards her, and came to an anchor in the ſame place.

The veſſel being thus ſecured, Captain Carteret had juſt retired to repoſe himſelf when he was diſturbed by a noiſe on the deck, and he heard numbers running up to join their companions; being alarmed, he quitted the cabin to know the cauſe of this hurry. He had ſcarcely come forward before he heard all the men crying out, The Dolphin! the Dolphin! But this appearance of a ſail ſoon vaniſhed, originating only from water forced up and whirled in the air by a guſt of wind from ſome of the neighbouring hills.—Muſcles are found in this bay, and the borders of it afford wood and water, and abound with wild geeſe.—They ſailed from hence on the 15th of April.

While Captain Carteret was thus proceeding on ſo long a voyage, it was but an uncomfortable reflection that the cloth, linen, cutlery wares, and toys, were on board the Dolphin, ſo that he had no articles fit for Indian commerce. However, he encouraged his men, from the firſt, to proceed, being reſolved to accompliſh what he had undertaken.

Soon after they had left this bay, the wind ſuddenly ſhifting

* This was performed in the following manner: Fifty-ſix gallons of water were put into the ſtill at five in the morning, and thirty-ſix gallons of freſh water were got by about a quarter after ten; thirteen gallons and a half remaining in the ſtill. But the proceſs conſumed ſixty-nine pounds of coals, and ſix pounds of wood.

shifting, they met with another storm, so violent that they were in danger of sinking. They durst not however, take in any sails, for fear of running foul of some rocky islands, which in Narborough's voyage are called the Islands of Directions; nor could they go back into the streight, without the danger of running foul of the lee-shore; yet, notwithstanding their best endeavours, the ship made hastily towards it. They were therefore compelled to stave the water-casks on and between the decks, in order to carry better sail; and by this expedient, escaped ship-wreck, and got into the open sea, after a very seasonable deliverance; for, had the wind shifted again, the ship must have been unavoidably lost.

They now steered a northward course along the coast of Chili; but as the water on board was deemed insufficient for the length of the voyage, the captain proposed touching at the island of Juan Fernandez, or at Massafuero, to take in a proper quantity. On the 15th, the wind which had been hitherto favourable for their sailing northward, and consequently getting into a more temperate climate, suddenly shifted, and continued contrary till the 18th of April, blowing violently all the time, with thunder, lightening, rain and hail, at intervals, adding to the horror of the tempest.

They saw abundance of sea-birds at this time, among which were two sorts; one like a pigeon, which the seamen called the Cape of Good Hope Hen; and the Peterels, which they term, Mother Carey's Chickens, and are reckoned to forebode a storm. They had continual bad weather from the 27th of this month, till the first of May, and on this day a prodigious sea laid the whole ship under water for some time, while it blew a hurricane, and the rain poured down in torrents. The wind now shifted so that the head of the vessel came right against a mountainous sea, which repeatedly broke over the forecastle, as far as the main-mast, so that it was in danger of sinking.

The weather became afterwards something more moderate, and they repaired in some degree the damage the ship had sustained during the storm; but they had not much fine weather afterwards till the 9th of May, when they were in sight of the island of Massafuero: and on the 10th they saw Juan Fernandez, and sailed round to Cumberland Bay on the east side of it. The Spaniards had fortified this island, a circumstance till then unknown to Captain Carteret. A number of men were seen on the shore, and two large boats lying on the beach. A house and four pieces of cannon were observed near the sea-side; and on the brow of a hill, at a small distance, was a fort with Spanish colours flying on it. Many cattle were seen on the hills, and about 20 houses on different parts of the island. The wind blew so strong out of the bay, that it was impossible to get very near it: they therefore sailed westward, and were followed by one of the Spanish boats; but she soon returned, on observing that the wind kept them out of the harbour. On the eastern side of the west bay, they saw a kind of guard-house with two pieces of cannon, on carriages near it. They now returned towards Cumberland Bay, when the boat again put after them; but night coming on they lost sight of her. Captain Carteret did not hoist any colours during all this time, because he had none but English ones on board.

Heartily chagrined at this disappointment, they steered for Massafuero, where they came to an anchor on the 12th, but found it then impossible to land, as the beach was rocky, and the surf ran so violently that the ablest swimmers could not force their way through the breaches. However, the boats landed and filled some water-casks the next morning. They anchored on the east side of the island on the 15th, but were driven from their moorings, and kept out at sea all night. The cutter was sent for water in the morning, and the ship got near the shore, where she took several casks on board, and sent back for more, employing the long-boat likewise on this service, and also to carry provisions to those of the crew that were on the island. The boats being seen running along the shore in the afternoon, the ship followed and took them in; but in such a condition that the whole night was spent by the carpenters in refitting them, and repairing the damage. The cutter was sent again for water on the 17th, and returning, the lieutenant brought information that such torrents of rain and overflowing water had deluged the land, that many of the casks were lost; and the men had enough to do, to save themselves from being drowned. The lieutenant having seen several rivulets produced by the rain that had fallen, proposed to go and fill the remaining casks, but he had not been long gone before there were all the signs of an approaching storm. It thundered and lightened surprisingly, and as it was grown quite dark, those in the ship (which kept near the shore) began to fear their boat was lost; but she came along-side just in time to save her from a squall which, in all human probability, must have sent her to the bottom. It appeared that three of the sailors having swam on shore with the casks, before the storm began, the lieutenant was under a necessity of leaving them behind him, naked and exposed to all the fury of the tempest. 1767

They returned however, the next day, and related what had passed while they were left upon the island.—As long as the day-light continued, they had still some hopes of regaining the boat; but when the darkness came on, finding their situation cold and damp, they began to think it was in vain at that time to expect a deliverance; and therefore began to consider by what means they should best be able to abide the inconveniences of the weather. The only expedient they could hit on, was to lie alternately each between the other two, till day-light. Then they rose and proceeded by the sea-shore towards the tent; but being often interrupted by high points of land, they ventured to swim round them, and that at such a distance, as to avoid the danger of the rocks; but they certainly ran as great a risque from the sharks which abound in those latitudes. They were fortunate enough, however, to surmount all difficulties, and arrived in safety at the watering-place, where their brother sailors chearfully shared with them their cloaths and provisions. When they came on board, they were allowed a whole night's rest, and appeared to be in perfect health the next morning. These were three of the nine men who had swam on shore at Madeira, as has been already related.

Such a quantity of fish was taken this day by the boat's crew with hooks and lines only as proved sufficient for the whole ship's company. On the 20th, the ship which had been standing off and on for some time, came to an anchor again. That night, and all the next day they had bad weather, but as soon as it grew a little calmer, the seamen were sent on shore to kill seals, and make oil of their fat to burn for their lamps. The boats being sent on shore on the 22d, returned with a number of Pintado birds, which they got from the natives, who said that when the wind blew high on the night, these birds flew into the fire in such numbers, that they caught several hundreds of them.

As much water as the weather would admit of being brought off, was shipped on the 23d, but by the violence of the surf several of the casks were lost. This succession of bad weather made the captain impatient to be gone. Accordingly, orders were issued for all those on shore to repair on board with the greatest expedition. The vessel was at the same time driven from her moorings into deep water, dragging the anchor after her. They were obliged to lie to, now under bare poles, waiting for the boats; in the mean time the wind was so violent as to raise the sea above the mast-head. The long-boat was taken on board with ten of the men in the evening; but the cutter with the lieutenant and eighteen more still remained.—About midnight, the weather became somewhat more moderate; on which the ship stood in for the land, and was near the shore the next morning. The cutter was not then in sight, but being discovered about

1767 noon close under the land, her crew were got on board within three hours. The people had made an attempt to come off the preceding evening, but had scarcely quitted the shore when their boat filled with water, and was in danger of going to the bottom. With difficulty they regained the shore, where she remained all night. The crew not having seen the ship in the morning, had given her over for lost, and, having taken the proper means to secure their little vessel, thought of nothing but waiting till the summer, when they might embark in her for Juan Fernandez.

Massafuero. The island of Massafuero, on the coast of which the Swallow was in such danger, is about 22 miles in circumference: it is of a triangular form, and appears like a single rock at a distance. It has many good anchoring places, and there are abundance of goats upon the island: cod, hallibut, and cray-fish are got there in great numbers, and the seals are almost innumerable. There are plenty of birds, among which are some very large hawks; and the mountain cabbage is found in this country.

Having quitted this coast, the captain sailed northward, with a view of catching the south-east trade wind. When he had gone farther north than he at first intended, he searched for the islands of St. Felix, and St. Ambrose, but could not hit upon either of them; he also sought for the supposed continent called Davis's Land, but with no better success. Indeed, as to the latter, he concluded that there was no such land in reality existing. They continued thus wandering over the ocean till the 17th of June, when the weather was cold and dark, with frequent sleet and rain, and thunder and lightning. In the midst of this gloom, which was scarcely ever cheared by sun-shine, being the very sport of the winds, they were obliged to carry as much sail as possible, lest they should perish by famine before the ship could be brought into any port where the crew might be supplied with provisions.

At length, on the 2d of July, they saw an island that was cloathed with verdure, and down the side of which ran a stream of fresh water. This they called after the name of the person that first discovered it, *Pitcairn's Island.*

Pitcairn's Island. The vessel admitted a great quantity of water on the 4th, and was in a shattered condition. The men also began to be visited by the scurvy; but they were well supplied with water by that which fell from the clouds, which they caught on an awning of painted canvas. Captain Carteret discovered an island this day, which he called *Osnabrugh Island*, and on the 12th saw two other isles, where were found birds so tame, that the boat's crew caught them in their hands. The other island was about five leagues distant, but no water nor vegetables could be found on either of them. They were called the *Duke of Gloucester's Islands*. From this time to the 22d of the month, alternate storms and calms perplexed them. They had seen no signs of the southern continent, and they were now by account 5400 miles from the continent of America.

The scurvy now daily increased among the ship's company, and the ship being likewise in so bad a condition, Captain Carteret steered northward, in hopes of having the advantage of the trade wind, whereby he thought he might reach some island, and get the necessary refreshments for his crew.

From the great number of birds, which they saw on the 25th, they supposed that they were near land, but they discovered none. On the 3d of August they saw a number of sea-birds, and the current, which before had set to the northward, now ran strong to the southward*, being in 10° 18′ of south latitude, and 177° 13′ of east longitude.——On the 10th the ship sprang a leak in a place which they could not come at to stop it, which was the source of no small anxiety to the voyagers. However, two days afterwards, they saw land. Captain Carteret discovering seven islands, sailed towards two which lay very near together; and they came to an anchor off the largest of them in the evening, where they saw two of the natives, who were woolly-headed Negroes, and went intirely naked.

Having sent their boat on shore, the officer reported that there was fine fresh water near the coast, but that it could not be procured without difficulty, as the country was covered with thick wood, quite to the beach: The consideration of this difficulty, and the danger that the natives, if they were disposed to commence hostilities, might attack them under cover of these woods, occasioned the captain to dispatch the cutter the next day to seek for some more convenient anchoring place. The master was at the head of the party, and was ordered to steer to the westward. He was particularly injoined to be on his guard against the natives, and had several trinkets on board proper to present them with, in order to secure their favour. They also sent off the long-boat, which brought a lading of water. After this success she was ordered out a second time; but, as the natives were observed to come down in numbers towards the landing-place, a signal was made for her to return immediately. A little while afterwards, three Indians were remarked sitting down on the shore, who for some hours continued stedfastly looking at the ship. On the lieutenant's approaching them in the boat, they moved along the shore, and were presently joined by three others. When their conference was over, the former went on, and the latter came towards the boat with great expedition. The lieutenant having observed by a signal made from the ship, that the captain and his people had watched the motions of those on shore, in consequence of which it was requisite for him to act with caution, he landed, and offered his presents, to engage their attention. But these people, instead of accepting what he offered, discharged a flight of arrows at him and his men, and then betook themselves to flight. None of the English were hurt; they fired however, in return, but it did not appear that their fire did any execution.

The master and his party acting with less caution, and either ignorantly or wantonly provoking the natives, fell to skirmishing with them, after they had penetrated into the country. This officer, who came on board with three arrows sticking in his body, gave the following account of the transaction.

He said, that being arrived at a place which was about five leagues distant from the ship seeing some houses, but only a few of the inhabitants, he resolved to land with four of his crew, well armed. The Indians recovering from the fears they had first conceived on his approach, received what he presented them with marks of satisfaction, and gave him some fish, yams, and cocoa-nuts, in return. He then proceeded to the houses; but, soon after, perceiving a number of people among the trees, and several canoes being descried coming round a point, he made haste to return to the boat; but before he could accomplish his purpose, a general attack was made both on his people and those in the boat. The English, in return, fired among the Indians, and killed and wounded many of them; notwithstanding which the natives continued the fight. Some of them ran into the water as high as their breasts, and when the boat got farther off from the shore, the canoes pursued her, till one of them was sunk, and several people killed and wounded in the others by the fire of the English.

But some of those who were witnesses of the whole transaction, gave a different account of the matter. They asserted, that the Indians had demeaned themselves in an amicable manner, towards their guests, till the master provoked them by felling a cocoa-tree, which they had given him to understand, they wished that he would not meddle with on any account. They added, that as the natives, one man excepted, left the spot, as soon as the tree was cut down, a midship-

man

* From this circumstance the captain concluded that the passage between New Holland to New Zealand opened in this latitude.

man begged that the master would immediately repair on board; but he would by no means attend to this counsel, nor did he retire till the attack was begun. However that might be, the consequence was fatal to him, as he and three of the seamen afterwards died of the wounds received in this skirmish.

Though they were far from being agreeably situated, yet the captain resolved to endeavour repairing the ship. The wind setting into the bay on the 14th she was driven near the shore, at which time the Indians expecting her to run aground, were observed watching her from the covert of the woods. A party was sent on shore the next day, after a gun had been fired into the woods, in order to disperse any who might be lying in ambush there. The cutter was likewise sent, under the command of the lieutenant, in order, by repeated firing, to keep the coast clear for such as were taking in water. But notwithstanding all this caution, a discharge of arrows was made by the Indians, whereby one of the sailors received a dangerous wound. The captain perceiving what passed, made a signal for the return of the boats, and as soon as that was effected, fired his cannon into the woods. Another large party being afterwards observed on a point of the bay, a great gun was fired towards that quarter, and the ball falling among them, they dispersed immediately. A constant firing towards the woods was afterwards kept up, and by the dying groans that were heard, it appeared that the poor wretches were punished (perhaps too severely) for their temerity.

Egmont Island. Swallow Bay. The captain gave this place the name of *Egmont Island*, and the bay *Swallow Bay*. The master now dying of his wounds, and the captain and lieutenant were so ill that it was doubtful; and as there was little likelihood of procuring proper refreshments where the vessel then lay, there was no longer any encouragement for proceeding to the southward. They sailed from this bay on the 27th of August; and on that day discovered an island, to which they gave the name of *Portland Island*, and discovering an harbour at about the distance of four miles, gave it the appellation of *Byron's Harbour*. Three leagues from hence, they came in sight of the bay where the Indians had attacked the cutter's crew, and gave it the denomination of *Bloody Bay*. Here they saw a number of houses not ill built on the shore; and observed one that much exceeded the rest in length, where it seems the master and his party had been entertained before the skirmish, and which seemed to be constructed for a kind of public hall. The sides of the room were covered with matting, and great numbers of arrows were seen hanging in this apartment. Many gardens planted with vegetables, and inclosed with stone walls, were observed in this neighbourhood. They also saw a large town defended by an angular fortification of stone at about three miles distance from this village. A bay was discovered about a league farther on the coast, into which a river emptied itself, which they denominated Granville's River, and called the Point of the Bay, Ferrers's Point. From hence the land forms the bay, near which was a large Indian town that was extremely well built. As the vessel passed by, the natives came out and danced before their houses, moved round in circles, and holding what appeared to be bundles of grass in their hands with which they stroked each other.

Portland Island. Byron's Harbour. Bloody Bay. Indian houses and inclosures. Granville's River. Ferrers's Point.

Proceeding a few miles farther, they saw another point, which they called *Carteret's Point*, where they perceived a large canoe with an awning over it, and saw a town fortified like that which we have just described; and here also the Indians danced as before. Some Indians put off in their canoes, to take a view of the ship, but would not come on board.

Carteret's Point.

Afterwards they came to another small island, to which they gave the appellation of *Trevanian Island*, and the north part of it was called *Cape Trevanian*. Both this isle and the main land abounded with inhabitants. Several canoes advanced to attack the boat that was sent to sound, as soon as the Indians thought she was at a convenient distance from the ship. Having discharged a flight of arrows, the boat's crew firing, in return, killed one man and wounded another. A gun loaded with grape-shot being also fired from the ship, all the canoes made for the shore, except that wherein was the wounded man, which was taken to the ship, and the surgeon employed to examine his wounds. It appeared that one of this man's arms was broke, and a shot had gone thro' his head; and the surgeon being of opinion that the latter wound was mortal, he was placed in his canoe again, and with one hand rowed towards the shore. The canoe was formed only of the hollow trunk of a tree; he was a young fellow, almost as black as the negroes of Guinea; his features were good, his hair was woolly, and he wore no cloathing.

Trevanian Island. Cape Trevanian. 1767

As they sailed along the shore they saw plantains, bananas, and cocoa-nut trees, and great numbers of hogs and poultry; but the captain being yet very ill, and not having officers sufficient to direct on board the ship, he had no opportunity of establishing a friendly traffic with the Indians; and was unable to obtain by force those refreshments which the crew became every hour more and more in want of. It being thus impossible to proceed farther to the south, and in danger of being too late for the monsoon, he gave immediate orders to proceed northwards, in hopes of discovering the country which Dampier has distinguished by the name of Nova Britannia.

Captain Carteret gave these islands the general name of *Queen Charlotte's Islands*, and besides those already mentioned, he saw several which he named as follow, viz. *Lord Howe's Island*, *Keppel's Island*, *Lord Edgecumbe's Island*, *Ourry's Island*, *and Volcano Island*; this last being so denominated from a smoke that issued from its top, which is of an amazing height, and shaped like a sugar loaf.

Lord Howe's, Keppel's, Lord Edgecumbe's, Gurry's, and Volcano Islands.

The canoes of the inhabitants are made of the trunk of a tree hollowed, are large enough to contain ten or twelve people, and are furnished with out-riggers, but have no sails.

The natives of the country which Captain Carteret called Egmont Island, were expert at swimming and diving; and very active and vigorous. Their arrows were so sharp, and discharged with such strength, that one of them wounded a man in the thigh, after passing through the wash-board of the boat. The points of these arrows are flint, and no metal was seen among the natives. There are good harbours on the coasts of these islands, which likewise abound in rivers, and have some valleys; but for the most part they are mountainous, and covered with wood.

On the 19th of August the captain sailed, and keeping a W. N. W. course, on the 20th he discovered a small island, which was called *Gower's Island*, the people of which did not differ in any thing material from the Indians he had seen on the other islands.

Gower's Island

They here procured some cocoa-nuts in exchange for nails, and the inhabitants had intimated, that they would furnish a farther supply the next morning; but it was then found, that the current had carried the ship considerably to the south during the night, and brought them within sight of two other islands, one of which was called *Simpson's Island*, and the other *Carteret's Island*. These islands bore to windward of the ship. Thus situated they sailed again to Gower's Island, which abounds with fine trees, many of which are the cocoa-nut. A boat being sent on shore, the Indians attempted to seize her, and in return the crew made prize of a canoe, in which they found a number of cocoa-nuts. The natives were armed with bows and arrows and spears.

Simpson's Island, Carteret's Island.

The current setting strong to the southward, they now steered a north-westerly course, because the bad condition of the ship, and sickness of the crew, would have rendered it impossible for them ever to have got to sea again, if they had been driven into any gulph or deep bay. On the 22d one of the marines fell overboard and was drowned.

1767

The ſhip fell in with nine iſlands in the night of the 24th, which Captain Carteret ſuppoſes to be the ſame that were diſcovered by Taſman, and are named Ohang Java: eight of theſe are very ſmall, but the other is more extenſive, and they are all inhabited by blacks, whoſe heads are woolly, like thoſe on the coaſt of Africa. On the 25th they ſaw an iſland covered with verdure, which was called *Sir Charles Hardy's Iſland*; and, from the number of fires that were ſeen on it, they ſuppoſed it to be inhabited. This day they had ſight of a large iſland, formed of three high hills, which took the name of *Winchelſea's Iſland*. On the 26th they ſaw another large iſland to the north, which Captain Carteret imagines to be the iſland of St. John, that was diſcovered by Schouten. They were now within ſight of Nova Britannia, and the next morning the current drove the ſhip into a deep bay, which in Dampier's voyages was called St. George's Bay. On the 28th, they gave the name of *Wallis's Iſland* to a ſmall iſland in a bay, off which they came to an anchor, and were now 7500 miles due weſt from the main land of America. The cutter was ſent out to catch fiſh; but not ſucceeding, ſhe returned with a lading of cocoa-nuts. The next day, after great fatigue, they weighed anchor, and ſailed to a place they called *Engliſh Cove*, and began immediately to take in wood and water. They now attempted to catch fiſh with hooks and lines, and alſo with their nets, but did not ſucceed in either attempt: turtle likewiſe were very plentiful, yet they could not take any of them; but, at low water, they procured ſome large cockles and rock oyſters. They procured cocoa-nuts and the cabbage of the cocoa-tree, which is criſp and juicy; this, when eaten raw, taſtes like a cheſnut; but when boiled, has a more agreeable flavour than a parſnip; it was found particularly good when boiled with portable ſoup and oat-meal. They likewiſe gathered ſome plumbs, which taſted like thoſe of the Weſt-Indies which they called Jamaica plumbs; and by this ſupply of vegetables, they ſoon grew more healthy.

Sir Charles Hardy's Iſland.

Winchelſea's Iſland.

Wallis's Iſland.

Engliſh Cove.

This iſland appeared to have been lately inhabited, as ſeveral wretched huts were ſeen, in which there were remains of fires, and the ſhells of fiſh, which did not ſeem to have been long taken: they likewiſe ſaw two animals reſembling dogs. The ſoil here produces palm-trees of various kinds; aloes, canes, bamboos, rattans, betel-nut, and the nutmeg-trees; with a variety of other trees, and many ſhrubs and plants, of which the names were not known. In the woods was a large black-bird, whoſe note was ſomewhat like the barking of a dog; there were likewiſe parrots, rooks, pigeons, and doves; and centipieds, ſerpents, and ſcorpions, were ſeen on the iſland.

They took in wood and water here, repaired the ſhip in the beſt manner that circumſtances would admit, and took poſſeſſion of the country, with all the neighbouring iſlands, for the king of Great Britain. This was done by nailing on a lofty tree a piece of board faced with lead, on which was engraved the name of the veſſel and of the captain, the time of their entering and leaving the harbour, and the repreſentation of the union flag. They left the cove on the 7th of September and anchored on the ſame day almoſt cloſe to a grove of cocoa-nut trees, where they plentifully ſupplied themſelves with fruit, and the cabbage. They called the place, *Carteret's Harbour*, which being formed by the main and two iſlands, one of them was named *Leigh's Iſland*, and the other *Cocoa-nut Iſland*.

Carteret's Harbour.

Leigh's Iſland.

Cocoa-nut Iſland.

The captain now reſolved to ſail for Batavia, while the monſoon continued favourable: on the 9th of September, therefore they weighed anchor, and when they were about four leagues from land, the wind and current being both againſt them, they ſteered round the coaſt into a channel between two iſlands, which channel was divided by another iſland, to which Captain Carteret gave the name of the *Duke of York's Iſland*, and near which are ſeveral ſmaller iſlands. To the ſouth of the largeſt of them are three hills of ſingular form, which were called the *Mother and Daughters*, one of which was ſuppoſed to be a volcano from the large clouds of ſmoke that were ſeen iſſuing from it. A point they called *Cape Palliſer*, lies to the eaſt of theſe hills, and *Cape Stephens* to the weſt; north of which laſt, lies an iſland, which took the name of the Iſle of Man. The country in general is mountainous and woody, and was ſuppoſed to be inhabited, from the numbers of fires ſeen on it in the night. On the Duke of York's Iſland, the houſes were ſituated among groves of cocoa-nut trees, and thus formed a moſt beautiful proſpect. They brought to, for the night, and ſailed again in the morning, when ſome of the Indians put off in canoes towards the ſhip; but the wind being fair and blowing freſh, it was not thought prudent to wait for them. They now ſteered north-weſt by weſt, and loſt ſight of New Britain on the 11th, when it was found that what had been taken for a bay, was a ſtreight, and it was called *St. George's Channel*, whilſt the iſland on the north of it received the name of *New Iſland*. In the evening they diſcovered a large iſland, well clothed with verdure, which was denominated *Sandwich Iſland*: off this iſland the ſhip lay great part of the night, during which time a perpetual noiſe reſembling the ſound of a drum was heard from the ſhore. When they had almoſt cleared the ſtreights, the weather falling calm, a number of canoes approached the ſhip, and tho' their crews could not be prevailed on to go on board, they exchanged ſome trifles with the Engliſh for nails and bits of iron, which they preferred to every thing elſe that was offered them. Though the canoes of theſe people were formed out of ſingle trees, they were between 80 and 100 feet in length. The natives were negroes, and their hair was of the woolly kind; but they had neither thick lips nor flat noſes. They wore ſhell-work on their legs and arms, but were otherwiſe naked. Their hair and beards were powdered with white powder, and a feather was ſtruck into the head of each, above the ear. Their weapons conſiſted of a long ſtick and a ſpear; and it was obſerved, that they had fiſhing-nets and cordage.

Cape Palliſer.

Cape Stephens.

New Iſle of Man.

St. George's Channel.

New Iſland.

Sandwich Iſland.

Sailing from hence weſtward, they came in ſight of the ſouth-weſt point of the iſland, it was called *Cape Byron*; near which is an iſland of conſiderable extent, which received the name of *New Hanover*. The ſtreight they had now paſſed was called *Byron's Streight*; one of the largeſt iſlands they had ſeen, *Byron's Iſland* and the ſouth-weſt point of New Hanover, *Queen Charlotte's Foreland*. On the following day they ſaw ſeveral ſmall iſlands, which received the name of the *D. of Portland's Iſlands*. Having completely navigated St. George's channel, the whole length of which is about 100 leagues, they held on a weſtward courſe, and on the 14th of September diſcovered ſeveral iſlands. The next morning ſome hundreds of the natives came off in canoes towards the ſhip, and were invited on board by every token of friendſhip and good will; notwithſtanding which, when they came within reach, they threw ſeveral lances at the ſeamen on the deck. A great gun and ſeveral muſquets were then fired at them, by which ſome were killed or wounded; on which they rowed towards ſhore; and after they had got to a diſtance, a ſhot was fired, ſo as to fall beyond them, to convince them that they were not out of the reach of the guns. Soon after, ſome other canoes advanced from a diſtant part of the iſland, and one of them coming nearer than the reſt, the people in it were invited on board the ſhip: inſtead of complying, they threw in a number of darts and lances. This aſſault was returned by the firing of ſeveral muſquets, by which one of the Indians was killed; on which his companions jumped over-board, and ſwam to the other canoes, all of whom rowed to the ſhore. The canoe being taken on board, was found to contain turtle, and ſome other fiſh, alſo a fruit of a ſpecies between an apple and a plumb, hitherto unknown to Europeans. Theſe people were moſtly negroes, with woolly hair, which they powdered,

Cape Byron.

New Hanover.

Byron's Streight.

Byron's Iſland.

Queen Charlotte's Foreland.

Duke of Portland's Iſlands.

dered, and went naked, except the ornaments of shells round their arms and legs.

Captain Carteret now coasted along the islands, to which he gave the general name of the *Admiralty Islands*. He describes them as having a beautiful appearance, being covered with woods, groves of cocoa-nut trees and the houses of the natives. The largest is computed to be about 50 miles in length; and he supposes that they produce many valuable articles, particularly spices. They discovered two small verdant islands on the 19th, which were called *Durour's Island*, and *Matty's Island*, the inhabitants of which last ran along the coast with lights during the night. They had sight of other two small islands on the 24th, which were called *Stephen's Islands*, and which abounded with beautiful trees. They saw also three islands on the 25th in the evening, when the natives came off in canoes, and went on board the ship. They bartered cocoa-nuts for some bits of iron, with which metal they did not seem unacquainted, and appeared extravagantly fond of it. They called it *parram*, and hinted that a ship sometimes touched at their islands. These people were of the copper colour, and had fine black hair; but their beards were very small, as they were continually plucking the hair from their faces. Their teeth were even and white, and their countenances very agreeable. They were so extremely active that they ran up to the mast-head quicker than the sailors. Every thing that was given them they ate and drank with freedom, and seemed to have no sort of reserve in their behaviour. A piece of fine matting wrapped round their waists, constituted the whole of their dress, and good-nature appeared to be the only rule of their actions.

Admiralty Islands.

Durour's and Matty's Island.

Stephen's Islands.

The current carrying the ship swiftly along, the captain had not the opportunity of landing; and was therefore obliged to refuse gratifying these friendly people in that particular, though they readily offered that some of their people should remain as hostages for the safe return of any of the officers or ship's company who should chuse to go on shore. Finding that their offer was not accepted, one of the Indians absolutely refused to quit the ship: he was carried in consequence, as far as the island of Celebes, where he died. This man was named Joseph Freewill, and they called the largest of the isles, *Freewill Island*, (by the natives called *Pegan*.) The names of the two other islands were *Onata* and *Onello*.

Pegan, or Freewill Island. Onata and Onello.

An island was discovered from the mast-head as they held on their course, on the 28th in the evening, but they neither landed there nor gave it a name. On the 12th of October they saw a small isle which they named *Current Island*, from the great strength of the southerly current in those parts; and the next day two islands were discovered, to which they gave the name of *St. Andrew's Island*.

Current Island.

The next land appeared to be Mindanao, along the south-east part of which they coasted, seeking for a bay which Dampier had described; but this they could not find. The boat, however, found a little creek at the southern extremity of the isle, near which a town and a fort were seen. The people having descried the boat from the shore, a gun was fired, and several canoes came off after it. The lieutenant therefore retreated towards the ship, which, when the canoes discovered, they retired and made towards the shore.

Captain Carteret arrives at Mindanao.

The captain now stood to the eastward, and on the 2d of November anchored in a bay near the shore, whither the boats were dispatched to take in water. No signs appeared of that part of the island being inhabited; a canoe however came round a point, seemingly with a view of observing them, which rowed back again, after having taken a survey of the vessel.

But, in the night, a great noise was heard on the shore, somewhat like the war-song of the Americans. The captain therefore made proper preparations to defend himself in case hostilities should be commenced on the part of the islanders.

One of the boats was sent on shore for water the next morning, and the other was ordered to hold herself in readiness, in case her assistance should be necessary. The crew had no sooner landed than several armed men came forward from the woods, and one of them held up something white, which being construed as a sign of amity, the Captain having no white flag on board, determined to send the lieutenant with a table cloth in order to answer the token of peace. For the present this had the desired effect. Two Indians, who spoke bad Dutch and Spanish, having at last made themselves understood by the officer in the latter language, made several inquiries which chiefly turned upon desiring to be informed whether the ship belonged to the states of Holland, and whether she was bound to Batavia or elsewhere. He also wanted to know whether she was a ship of war, and what number of guns she carried. Having been resolved as to these particulars, he said they might proceed to the town; some armed Indians were ordered to retreat, and the lieutenant presented a silk handkerchief to the person he conversed with, receiving a neck-cloth in return. 1767

When the captain heard this, he was highly pleased, thinking that all matters were now in a proper train, especially as he had received a supply of water; but while he was enjoying this prospect, he perceived some hundreds of armed Indians on the shore, who held up their targets, and brandished their swords, by way of defiance, and at the same time discharged their lances and arrows towards the vessel. Notwithstanding this hostile appearance, the captain was still willing, if possible, to avoid coming to extremities with the islanders, and for that purpose, sent the lieutenant on shore to display again the former sign of peace. As the boat approached the shore, but without landing her men, one of the natives beckoned them to come where he stood, but the lieutenant did not chuse to obey this summons, lest he should come within reach of the arrows of the islanders. He now concluded that there were Dutchmen or people in the Dutch interest on shore, to whose interference this apparent alteration in the disposition of the natives was owing, and who had irritated the natives against the Swallow's crew, on being informed that she was an English vessel. Captain Carteret however sailed from this place, which he called *Deceitful Bay* with a full intention to visit the town; but soon after the wind blowing violently in shore, he altered his resolution, and steered directly for Batavia, which was probably the best course he could have taken in such a critical situation.

Deceitful dealing of the inhabitants.

Deceitful Bay.

He reached the streight of Macassar, on the 14th of November, which streight lies between the islands of Celebes and Borneo. To a point of the former they at this time gave the name of *Hummock Point*; and to the westward of this point they discovered a great many boats fishing upon the shoals. On the 21st, they were in sight of two very small islands, which were covered with verdure, and Capt. Carteret supposed them to be the Taba Isles, mentioned in the French charts. They crossed the equinoctial line, and came into southern latitude, on the 29th of this month, the tornadoes becoming violent, and the current setting against them. Death had now diminished the crew, and sickness was daily weakening the remainder. They had sight of the Little Pater-Nosters (islands so called) which are situate something more than two degrees to the southward of the equinoctial line, but the winds and currents would not suffer them at that time to land for any refreshment. At this time the whole crew were alike afflicted with the scurvy; and what was very distressing they were attacked soon after in the night by a piratical vessel, which had been seen the evening before. She engaged them with swivel guns and small arms; but though they could not see their enemy, they returned her fire so warmly that they sent her to the bottom, and all her crew perished. As to the Swallow she received some small damage, and had two persons wounded on board. The vessel that she sunk belonged to a pirate who had no less than thirty

Hummock Point.

1767 thirty of them engaged in the business of plunder, which constantly infested these seas.

The diseases of Captain Carteret's men now daily increased. By the 12th of this month he had lost thirteen of his crew, and thirty others were almost on the point of death. The westerly monsoon being set in they could have no hopes of reaching Batavia, and their situation was such that they must perish if they could not speedily make land. On this account, it was resolved to steer for Macassar, a Dutch settlement on the island of Celebes; and happily they accomplished their design, coming to anchor off that island, at the distance of more than a league from Macassar, on the 15th of December.

The arrive at Macassor.

The governor sent a Dutchman on board the Swallow late that night, who seemed much alarmed on finding that she was an English ship of war, and would not trust himself in the cabin. Early the next morning the captain dispatched a letter to the governor requesting leave to buy provisions, and to shelter his ship till the season for sailing westward came on. The boat arriving at the shore, none of the crew were suffered to land; and, the lieutenant having refused to deliver the letter to any but the governor himself, two officers, called the Shebander and the Fiscal, came to him with a message, importing that the governor was sick and had commanded them to come for the letter. The lieutenant, though he thought this was only a mere pretence, at length delivered the letter, which they took away with them. After the boat's crew had waited without any refreshment for several hours in the heat of the sun, they were told that the governor had ordered two gentlemen to wait on their captain with an answer. As the boat lay off the wharf, the people on board observed a great hurry on shore, and concluded that all hands were busy in fitting out armed vessels, a circumstance which could not much contribute to their satisfaction.

Ill behaviour of the Dutch governor.

According to the promise given, soon after the boat's return, two gentlemen of the names of De Cerf and Douglas, came with dispatches, desiring, "That the ship might instantly depart from the port, without coming any nearer to the town; insisting that she should not anchor on any part of the coast, and that the captain should not permit any of the people to land on any place under the governor's jurisdiction."

The captain could not but sensibly feel the cruelty of this proceeding. As the strongest argument that could be used in answer to the letter, he shewed his dying men to the gentlemen, and urged the necessity of the case; nor could they but feel the propriety of granting refreshments to the subjects of a power at peace with their country, and who were in such a deplorable situation; but they observed that their orders were absolute and must be obeyed. Incensed at this treatment, Captain Carteret, at last, declared, that he would come to an anchor close to the town, and there, if they persisted in refusing him necessary refreshments, that he would run the ship aground, when his crew would sell their lives as dear as possible. Being alarmed at this declaration, they intreated the captain to remain in his present situation till further orders should arrive. This he promised, on condition that an answer should be sent before the setting in of the sea-breeze the next day.

In the morning early, it was observed that a sloop of war, and another vessel with soldiers on board, anchored under the ship's bows. They refused to speak with Captain Carteret, and as he weighed and set sail with the sea-breeze, they did the same, and closely followed him. As he proceeded, a vessel from the town approached him, wherein were several gentlemen, and Mr. Douglas among them; but, till the Swallow dropped anchor they could not come on board. They expressed some surprize at the English vessels having advanced so far; but the captain alledged that he had only acted according to his former declaration, which his present situation would sufficiently justify to every candid person.

These gentlemen brought with them two sheep, some fowls, fruit, and other provisions, which were extremely welcome to the English; but, after they had made several proposals, with which he could not comply, he shewed them the dead body of a man who had expired but a few hours before, and whose life might probably have been saved, had the Dutch sent them a timely supply of refreshments, and again declared his resolution of executing what he had threatened, if they would not comply with his requisition. His guests now enquired whether the ship had touched at the spice islands, and were answered in the negative. At last it was agreed, that the Swallow should sail for a bay at a little distance, where an hospital for the sick might be provided, and where provisions were generally plentiful, and, if there was a want of any articles, they might be supplied occasionally from the town.

It will be imagined that a proposal of this kind was readily agreed to by Captain Carteret; all he insisted upon was, that it should be ratified by the governor and council, which was afterwards done in the proper manner. He could not forbear asking, however, for what reason the two vessels had anchored under his ship's bows. He received for answer, that this was only done in a friendly manner, to protect her from any insult that might be offered by the natives of the country. While this treaty was going forward, the English captain had nothing to give his guests but rotten biscuit and bad salt meat; however, they had ordered an elegant dinner to be dressed on board their own vessel, which was afterwards served up at his table, and they parted in friendship.

The next day an officer from the town came on board, to whom the captain applied to get money for his bills on the English government. He promised to endeavour to do this, and for that purpose went on shore, but when he returned in the evening, he said that there was no person in the town that had any cash to remit to Europe; that the company's chest was quite empty. This was a great difficulty; however it was surmounted at last by an order being sent to the Resident at Bonthain, who had money to remit, and who, in consequence received the bills in question. Matters being thus accommodated, they sailed on the 20th of December, and anchored in the road of Bonthain on the 21st, at which time the guard-boats were moored between them and the shore, to prevent any communication between the ship's boats and the natives of the country. The captain having waited on the resident, to settle the mode of procuring provisions, he had a house appointed for him near a small Dutch fort. The sick being now landed at this place, which was fitted up in the manner of an hospital, they were put under a guard which was commanded by M. Le Cerf, who would not suffer them to go above thirty yards from the spot, nor would he let the seamen carry on any sort of treaty with the natives, so that all the profits were engrossed by the Dutch soldiers, whose gains were immoderate; so great indeed, that some of them sold at more than a thousand per cent. after having extorted the provisions from the natives, at what price they pleased. Captain Carteret having remonstrated with the Resident, on the injustice of this procedure, he spoke to the soldiers on the subject, but this produced no good effect; and it was known that after this Le Cerf's wife sold provisions at more than double the prime cost while it was suspected that her husband sold arrack to the seamen.

On the 26th and 27th, three vessels arrived, one of which had troops on board, destined for the Banda Islands; but their boats not being allowed to go on board the ship, the captain prevailed on the Resident to purchase, for his use, four casks of salt provisions. Above one hundred sail of praws arrived in Bonthain Bay on the 28th. These vessels, which fish round the island, carry Dutch colours, and send the produce of their labours to China for sale.

On the 18th of January a letter from Macassar informed Captain Carteret, that the Dolphin, his old consort, had arrived at Batavia. Ten days afterwards

SOLDIERS of the Kingdom of MACASSER
blowing poisoned Darts through Trunks at their enemies.

PORTRAITS of SOLDIERS inhabiting the ISLE of TIMOR,
whose Swords are made of Sandel Wood.

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the ſecretary, who had been ſent with Le Cerf had orders to return to Macaſſar. On the 19th of Feb. Le Cerf himſelf was recalled, and on the 17th of March the largeſt of the guard-boats was ordered back. On the 9th the reſident received a letter from the governor of Macaſſar, enquiring when Captain Carteret would ſail for Batavia, though he muſt know it could not be before the eaſtern monſoon ſet in, which would not be till May. All theſe were ſuſpicious circumſtances; and toward the end of the month a canoe was frequently obſerved paddling round the ſhip ſeveral times in the night, but returned as ſoon as ſhe was diſcovered.

Various conjectures were formed, relative to this circumſtance and ſome others which appeared not to wear a very favourable aſpect. In the mean time, a letter was ſent to the captain, wherein he was given to underſtand, that a deſign was formed for his deſtruction: the ſcheme was ſaid to be laid by the Dutch, but the ſon of the king of Bony was to be the chief perſon to put it into execution, as he was on terms of friendſhip with them, who had often aſſiſted him in his attempts to reduce the reſt of the iſland of Celebes. The pretended grounds for theſe proceedings were to prevent the Engliſh from forming connexions with any of thoſe unſubdued natives. On receiving this intelligence, though the captain could not be certain whether it was true or not, yet he thought it highly proper to put himſelf in a poſture of defence. In reality, he ſuſpected that the reſident was concerned in this piece of treachery, of which he had now received information; though as to this particular he had afterwards ſufficient reaſon to believe otherwiſe; but it appeared that one of the princes, ſubject to the king of Bony, and a miniſter of that monarch had been privately at Bonthain, but of 800 men who were ſaid to be there, no traces could be found.

On the 7th of May the captain received, through the hands of the reſident, a letter from the governor of Macaſſar, denying his having any knowledge of the above-mentioned project, and requiring that the writer of the letter might be given up; but this requiſition was not complied with, as the captain knew he would be equally puniſhed, whether his information was true or falſe.

At this place they purchaſed plenty of freſh proviſions, at moderate prices; and, among the reſt, beef of an excellent quality. The bullocks of this country are thoſe that have the bunch on the back; and it abounds in buffaloes, horſes, ſheep, deer, and goats. The natives neither eat pork nor turtle; but they ſold the latter, as well as other fiſh, to Captain Carteret.

Having taken in wood and water, they ſailed hence on the 22d of May, and, ſteering along the ſhore, came to an anchor the ſame evening between the iſlands of Celebes and Tonikaky. They ſailed again in the morning, and at night ſaw the ſouthernmoſt of the iſlands of Salombo. On the 26th they ſaw the iſland of Luback; and on the 29th a number of ſmall iſlands, called Carimon Java.

On the 2d of June they had ſight of the land of Java, and on the following day came to an anchor in the road of Batavia, after having with difficulty prevented the ſhip from ſinking, by the conſtant working of the pumps, during her whole paſſage from Celebes. Having fired guns of ſalutation, the captain attended the governor, requeſting permiſſion to repair the defects of the ſhip; but he was directed to petition the council. The council met on the Monday following, when the captain ſent a letter, ſtating the defects of the ſhip, and requeſting permiſſion to repair her. The time from this day till the 11th of the month, was loſt in altercations, reſpecting the affair at Bonthain Bay; the governor and council inſiſting, that Captain Carteret ſhould ſign a formal declaration, that he believed the report of an intention formed at Celebes, for cutting off the ſhip, was falſe and malicious; and he on his part reſolutely perſiſting in his refuſal to ſign any ſuch paper.

The captain learned, on the 18th that orders had been iſſued for repairing the ſhip at Onruſt whither a pilot had attended her, and where ſhe came to an anchor, on the 22d of June. The wharfs, however, being pre-engaged by other veſſels, it was the 24th of July, before the repairs commenced. The ſhip when examined, was found to be in ſo decayed and rotten a condition, that the Dutch carpenter would not undertake to repair her without ſhifting her whole bottom, till the captain had certified under his hand, that whatever ſhould be done was in conſequence of his own expreſs direction. This precaution the Dutchman inſiſted on, leſt, if the ſhip ſhould never reach England, the blame might remain with him. 1768

While Captain Carteret ſtaid at this port, he often viſited Mr. Houting, an admiral in the Dutch ſervice. This gentleman was remarkable for his politeneſs and affability, from whom the captain received great civilities.—The governor of Batavia keeps the ſtate of a ſovereign prince. When he goes publicly abroad is attended by horſe-guards, and two black footmen run before his carriage. If any other coach meets the governor's, it is obliged to be drawn on one ſide, and thoſe who are in are then to get out, in order to pay their reſpects to him. Nor muſt any one that is behind, paſs by that of his excellency, though never ſo much in haſte. The ſame rules are obſerved with regard to the honour ſhewn thoſe of the council, only that the ſalute is given by the perſon who meets him ſtanding upright in his carriage, inſtead of getting out of it, and a member of the council has only one black footman running before his coach. The blacks carry ſticks, and threaten to chaſtiſe ſuch as do not comply with theſe arbitrary cuſtoms.

The maſter of the hotel where the Engliſh captain lodged, failed not to give his gueſt notice of what was expected from him in theſe particulars, but the captain diſdained to pay ſuch homage to the governor or council belonging to the province of a republic as was not expected by the king of Great Britain, he therefore, in plain terms refuſed to comply, and when the black fellows were mentioned to him as perſons that were appointed to inforce compliance, he intimated that he ſhould have recourſe to his piſtols, if any inſult was offered him. To prevent a conteſt of this nature, however, the governor thought proper to ſend him word that he might act as he pleaſed.

The Swallow ſailed from Onruſt on the 5th of September, the captain having recruited his crew by engaging ſome Engliſh ſeamen, and the next day came to an anchor off the ſtreights of Sunda. Here he took in wood and water, and ſailed again on the 25th with a favourable gale, which continued to carry him on their courſe for the ſpace of 700 leagues, and on the 23d of Nov. he anchored in Table Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope. From hence they ſailed again on the 26th of January, the captain during his ſtay having received a number of civilities from the governor and the gentlemen of this ſettlement. On the 20th of January they came to an anchor off St. Helena, and quitting that iſland, took their departure from thence for England, on the 24th of the ſame month. They touched at Aſcenſion Iſland in their courſe, anchoring on the laſt day of January, in a bay where they found plenty of turtle. The veſſel ſailed again the ſucceeding day. The iſland is uninhabited and it has been cuſtomary to leave a letter in a bottle, containing an account of the name and deſtination of any veſſel that might touch there, with which Captain Carteret complied before he proceeded on his voyage.

They obſerved a ſhip on the 20th of February ſtanding towards them. This veſſel had been ſeen far to the leeward the day before, but had outſailed the Swallow in the night. She proved to be a Frenchman, and ſent her boat on board, with a young officer, who had it in charge to endeavour to learn from Captain Carteret all the intereſting particulars of his voyage, at the ſame time that he took great pains to diſguiſe what related to his own. It was however afterwards diſcovered that the ſhip from whence he had been ſent, was M. Bougainville's, which, like the

1769 the Swallow, was returning from a voyage round the world, and which, as we have already noticed, had followed Captain Wallis ſo cloſely through the Streights of Magellan. The French captain had learned the name of the Engliſh ſhip from the letter left in the bottle at Aſcenſion Iſland, and took this unfair method of attempting to inform himſelf of all that he wanted to know concerning the expedition.

But Captain Carteret was ſo cautious and guarded in his converſation, that the French officer got no information of any conſequence to his nation from this proceeding, while his own ſecret was diſcovered by his countrymen; for the boat's crew that had brought him on board, told the whole matter to one of the Engliſhmen who was able to converſe with him in his own language.

Nothing material happened to the Swallow from this time, during the reſt of the voyage. Captain Carteret came in ſight of the Weſtern Iſlands on the 27th of March, 1769, and holding on his courſe, came to an anchor at Spithead on the ſame month, after having accompliſhed her voyage round the world, for which it was ſcarcely poſſible to conceive any veſſel more unfit, and having ſingly combatted ſuch difficulties as even whole ſquadrons have found it impoſſible to ſurmount.

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN COOK ROUND THE WORLD,

In his Majeſty's Ship the ENDEAVOUR: Undertaken in the Year 1768.

CAPTAIN COOK ſailed on this voyage the latter end of Auguſt, 1768, having on board Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, two gentlemen of diſtinguiſhed abilities, of whom we ſhall ſay a few words, before we proceed with our relation.

The firſt of theſe gentlemen, who was poſſeſſed of a conſiderable fortune in Lincolnſhire, had already been on a voyage to Newfoundland, and was now deſirous of obſerving the tranſit of Venus, in the ſouthern hemiſphere. On this expedition he engaged his friend Dr. Solander to accompany him. The Doctor had been appointed to a place in the Britiſh Muſeum, which he filled with credit to himſelf, and in which he gave univerſal ſatisfaction. He was a native of Sweden, and a man of great learning and capacity, an adept in natural philoſophy, and had ſtudied under the famous Linnæus. Mr. Banks took two draughtſmen with him, the one being intended to paint ſubjects of natural hiſtory, the other to delineate figures and landſcapes. He had likewiſe a ſecretary and four ſervants in his retinue.

Captain Cook ſails from Plymouth with Mr. Solander and Doctor Banks.

The Endeavour quitted Plymouth on the 26th of Auguſt, and ſaw land between Cape Finiſterre, and Cape Ortegal, on the coaſt of Gallicia in Spain, on the 2d of September. During their courſe, theſe two gentlemen ſaw ſeveral marine animals hitherto unnoticed by naturaliſts. One of theſe is deſcribed as a new ſpecies. It is of an angular figure, near three inches in length, and about one in thickneſs; it has a hollow quite through it, and a brown ſpot at one end. It ſeemed that four of theſe animals were joined together; but when they were put into water they ſeparated and ſwam about, ſhining with a gem-like brightneſs. There was alſo another animal of a beautiful colour, ſomewhat reſembling an opal. They obſerved likewiſe ſeveral birds not deſcribed by Linnæus at the diſtance of about ten leagues from Cape Finiſterre.

They diſcovered the iſlands of Puerto Santo and Madeira, on the 12th, and on the 13th they came to an anchor in the road of Fonchial. In heaving the anchor Mr. Weir, the maſter's mate, was unfortunately carried over-board and drowned. Mr. Banks found here the tree called *Laura Indicus*, the wood of which he ſuppoſes to be what is called the Madeira mahogany, as there is no real mahogany upon the iſland.

Madeira deſcribed.

The people of Madeira appear to have no other article proper for trade than wine, which is made by preſſing the juice out in a ſquare veſſel. The ſize of this veſſel is proportioned to the quantity of wine, and the perſons employed, taking off their cloaths, get into it, and with their elbows and feet, preſs out as much of the juice as they can; in the ſame manner, the ſtalks being tied together, are alſo preſſed under another ſquare piece of wood by a lever, and a ſtone to extract the remainder of the juice. Wheeled carriages are not in uſe in Madeira, nor have they any thing that reſembles them, except a hollow board which is more properly a ſledge, upon which their wine veſſels are drawn. The ſoil is ſo very rich, and there is ſuch a variety in the climate, that there is ſcarcely any article either of the neceſſaries or luxuries of life, which might not probably be cultivated here. On the hills, walnuts, cheſnuts, and apples flouriſh, almoſt without culture. Pine-apples, mangoes, guanas, and bananas, grow almoſt ſpontaneouſly in the town. They have corn which is large-grained and fine; and it might be produced in plenty; but for want of being attended to, this is not the caſe, but all that they conſume here is imported from other countries. Beef, mutton, and pork, are remarkably good here, and the captain took ſome of the former on board for his uſe. Fonchial (which took its name from *Fonchi*, ſignifying fennel, in the Portugueſe language) is ſituate at the bottom of a bay, and though it is extenſive in proportion to the reſt of the iſland, it is but poorly built, and the ſtreets are narrow and badly paved. The churches are full of ornaments, with pictures and images of ſaints; the firſt are, for the moſt part, wretchedly executed, and the latter are dreſſed in laced cloaths. The taſte of the convents, eſpecially of the Franciſcans is better; neatneſs and ſimplicity being united in moſt of the deſigns of the latter. The Infirmary alſo is a piece of good architecture, and one of the moſt conſiderable in the place. There are many high hills here, and Pico Ruivo in particular, is near 5100 feet in height. To a certain height theſe hills are covered with vines, above which are numbers of cheſnuts and pine-trees; and above theſe again whole foreſts of various ſorts of trees. The Mirmulano and Paobranco which are found among them, are unknown in Europe. The latter of theſe is very beautiful, and would be a great ornament to our gardens.

The inhabitants of Madeira are computed to amount to between ſeventy and eighty thouſand, and the revenue that ariſes from the cuſtoms is between twenty and thirty thouſand pounds a year. Beſides wine, water is to be had here in plenty; alſo onions, and a great number of fruits may eaſily be procured, but for the obtaining of poultry and freſh meat it is neceſſary to get the governor's permiſſion.

The veſſel ſailed from Madeira on the 19th of September, and on the 22d they ſaw the iſlands of Salvages to the northward of the Canaries. The principal of theſe iſlands was about five leagues to the ſouth half-weſt. They ſaw the Peak of Teneriff on the 23d, bearing weſt by ſouth. The height of this mountain is eſtimated at about 15,400 feet. On the 29th they ſaw Bona Viſta, one of the Cape Verd Iſlands, in 16° north latitude, and 21° 48′ of weſt longitude.

In their course from Bona Vista to Teneriff they observed great numbers of flying fish, which appeared very beautiful, their sides resembling burnished silver; and Mr. Banks went out in a boat on the 7th of October, and caught what is called a Portuguese Man of War, together with several marine animals, which were objects of his curiosity.

They had now variable winds, with some showers of rain, and the air was so damp as considerably to damage their utensils. On the 25th of this month, Mr. Banks shot a black-toed gull, a sort of bird which Linnæus has not described, and whose dung is of a lively red.

On the 25th of October they crossed the line with the usual ceremonies; and on the 28th of the same month, when the ship was in the latitude of Ferdinand Noronha, and in 32° 5′ west long. they began to look out for the island, and the shoals which are laid down as situate between it and the main; but neither the island nor the shoals could be discovered by our voyagers. On the evening of the 29th they perceived that luminous appearance of the sea mentioned by navigators, which sent forth rays like those of lightning. As Mr. Banks and his friend were not thoroughly satisfied with any of the causes which have hitherto been assigned for this phœnomenon,* but rather thought it was occasioned by some luminous animals, they threw out a casting net, in order to try by experiment whether they were right in their conjectures. A species of the Medusa was taken, which bore some resemblance to a metalline substance greatly heated, and emitted a whitish light; they caught also some small crabs which glittered very much; animals which had not before been taken notice of by the curious researchers into the secrets of nature.—As provisions by this time began to grow short, they resolved to put into the harbour of Rio de Janeiro. On the 8th of November they saw the coast of Brasil, and speaking with the crew of a Portuguese fishing boat, were informed by them, that the land which they saw was to the south of Santo Espirito. Mr. Banks buying some fish of these people was surprised that they required English shillings, and refused Spanish silver. †

Luminous animals in the sea.

They made sail for Rio de Janeiro on the 13th in the morning, and the first lieutenant was sent before to the city to acquaint the governor that we put into that port in order to procure a pilot and proper refreshments. The pinnace returned, but the lieutenant had been detained by the viceroy, till the captain should come on shore. When the ship had come to an anchor, a ten-oared boat filled with soldiers, approached, and rowed round her, but no conversation took place. Presently afterwards another boat appeared which had several of the viceroy's officers on board. They enquired from whence the Endeavour came, and what was her cargo? They also desired to know the number of men and guns she carried, and to what port she was bound? All these questions being punctually and truly answered by the English, the officers apologized for having detained the lieutenant, and behaved in the manner already related, pleading the custom of the place in excuse for their conduct.

On the 14th the captain went on shore, and got leave to furnish himself with provisions, which permission was clogged with the condition of employing an inhabitant as a factor. He also found that it was judged proper to send a soldier in the boat every time she came from shore to the vessel. To both these circumstances Captain Cook made objections, but the viceroy was determined to insist on them, neither would he by any means permit the gentlemen to remain on shore, nor allow Mr. Banks to go up the country to collect plants. The captain conceiving from these and other marks of jealousy, that the viceroy thought they were come to trade, used all his endeavours to convince him of the contrary; and acquainted him that they were bound to the southward, to observe the transit of Venus over the disk of the sun, which was an object of great consequence to the improvement of navigation; but the person to whom he addressed himself, seemed to be entirely ignorant of this phœnomenon. An officer now was appointed to attend the captain: this he was told must be understood as a compliment. However, when he would have declined such a ceremony, the viceroy very politely forced it upon him. 1768

The two gentlemen were not a little disappointed and chagrined on hearing that they must not be permitted to reside on shore, and still more so when they understood that they were not even to be allowed so much as to quit the vessel. For the viceroy had ordered that none but the captain and such sailors as were required by their duty, should come on shore. Whether this arose from his jealousy in regard to trade, or from the apprehensions he entertained of the extraordinary abilities of gentlemen sent on voyages of discovery, it is certain that they were highly disagreeable to the persons prohibited, who were resolved, if possible, to evade the order. They attempted to come on shore, but were stopped by the guard-boat; yet several of the crew, without the knowledge of the centinel, let themselves down by a rope from the cabin window into the boat, about midnight, and drove away with the tide, till they were out of hearing. They afterwards rowed to an unfrequented part of the country, where they landed, and from thence went up the country. Disputes with the viceroy.

The captain failed not to remonstrate to the viceroy on the unreasonableness of these restrictions; but the latter gave him for answer, that these were his master's orders, and must be obeyed. Thus repulsed, Captain Cook, much displeased at this conduct, resolved to go no more on shore, rather than when-ever he did so, to be treated as a prisoner in his own boat, the officer who was so polite as to accompany him, constantly attending him both to and from the shore. A resolution was now taken to draw up two memorials, to be presented to the viceroy, one written by the captain, and the other by Mr. Banks; but the answers sent to these were by no means such as gave satisfaction. In effect, several papers passed between them and the viceroy, to no good purpose, the prohibitions still remaining as before. This caused the captain to judge it necessary in order to vindicate his own compliance, to urge the viceroy to some act of force in the execution of his orders. For this purpose he sent Lieutenant Hicks with a packet, giving him orders not to admit of a guard in his boat. As this gentleman was resolved to obey his captain's command, the officer of the guard-boat did not oppose him by force, but accompanying him to the viceroy, acquainted him with what had happened, on which the lieutenant was sent away with the packet unopened. When he returned, he found a guard of soldiers had been placed in his boat, which he insisted on their quitting. The officer then seized the boat's crew, and conducted them under an escort to prison. The lieutenant being sent back to the ship, guarded. As soon as the captain was informed of the transaction, he wrote to the viceroy to demand his boat and her crew, inclosing the memorial which Mr. Hicks had brought back with him. He sent these papers by a petty officer, to avoid continuing the dispute concerning a guard, which must have been kept up by a commissioned officer.

An answer was now promised by the viceroy, but before this could well arrive, the long-boat, which had

* Some have supposed it to be caused by fishes darting at their prey; some have concluded it to arise from the putrefaction of marine animals; and others have attributed it to electricity.

† Their Venetian and Portuguese interpreters told them the crew of the fishing vessel asserted, that they had not seen a ship for eight years; but as these men spoke the English language very imperfectly, it was natural to conclude that there must have been some mistake in the interpretation.

1768 had four pipes of rum on board (the rope breaking that was thrown from the ſhip) was driven to windward of her, together with a ſmall ſkiff which was faſtened to her; while the pinnace was ſtill detained on ſhore. Immediate orders were given for manning the yawl, which being diſpatched accordingly with proper directions, returned, and brought the people on board the next morning. Captain Cook learned from them that the long-boat having filled with water, they had brought her to a grappling, and quitted her, and falling in with a reef of rocks on their return, they were forced to cut the faſtening of Mr. Banks's little boat, and ſend her adrift. The captain now thought it would be proper to ſend again to the viceroy; and accordingly he diſpatched another letter to his excellency, wherein he informed him of the accident, deſired he would aſſiſt him with a boat to recover his own, and at the ſame time, renewed his demand of the delivery of the pinnace, and her crew. The viceroy at length complied with the demand, and granted the requeſt; but in his anſwer to the captain's remonſtrance, ſuggeſted ſome doubts that he entertained, whether the Endeavour was really a king's ſhip, accuſing the crew of ſmuggling. *

Captain Cook in his reply ſaid, that though the viceroy had already ſeen his commiſſion, he was willing to ſhew it; adding, if any attempt ſhould be made to carry on a contraband trade, he requeſted his excellency would order the offender to be taken into cuſtody.

The diſpute was thus terminated; but Mr. Banks's thirſt of natural knowledge led him to attempt eluding the vigilance of the guard, which he found means to do, and got ſafe on ſhore on the 26th in the morning. He took care to avoid the town, and paſſed the day in the fields, where he could beſt gratify his curioſity. He found the country people inclined to treat him with civility, and was invited to their habitations. But as it was afterwards heard that ſearch had been making for him while he was abſent, he and Dr. Solander reſolved to run no more riſques in going on ſhore, while they remained at this place.

Having taken in water and proviſions, they got a pilot on board on the firſt of December, when a contrary wind prevented them from putting to ſea. A Spaniſh packet from Buenos Ayres, bound for Spain, arriving the next day, the captain of her was ſo polite as to offer his ſervice to convey Mr. Cook's diſpatches to Europe, who accordingly ſent by him all the papers which had paſſed between him and the viceroy, leaving the duplicates of them with his excellency.

It was not till the 7th that the Endeavour got under way, when having paſſed the fort, the guard-boat left them, and the pilot was diſcharged. It was obſerved that during the three laſt months of their ſtay in this place, the air was filled with a certain ſpecies of butterflies. Of the town and neighbouring country we have the following deſcription.

Deſcription of Rio de Janeiro.

Rio de Janeiro is ſuppoſed to have been called ſo becauſe it was diſcovered on the feſtival of St. Januarius. The town, which is the capital of the dominions of the Portugueſe, in America, borrows its name from this circumſtance.

It is ſituated on the weſt ſide of the river, from which it extends itſelf about three quarters of a mile. The ground whereon it ſtands is a level plain; it is defended on the north ſide by a hill that extends from the river, having a ſmall plain, which contains the ſuburbs and king's dock. On the ſouth ſide is another hill running towards the mountains which are behind the town. Some of its ſtreets run parallel from north to ſouth, and are interſected by others at right angles. The principal ſtreet is near 100 feet in width, and extends from St. Benedict to the foot of Caſtle-hill. The other ſtreets are commonly twenty or thirty feet wide. The houſes adjoining to the principal ſtreet are three ſtories high, but in other places they are very irregular, though built after the ſame manner as at Liſbon. In the town are four convents; the firſt is that of the Benedictines, ſituated near its northern extremity: the ſtructure affords an agreeable proſpect, and contains an elegant chapel, which is ornamented with ſeveral valuable paintings. The ſecond is that of the Carmelites, which forms the centre angle of the royal ſquare, and fronts the harbour; its church had fallen ſome time before, but it was rebuilding in a very elegant manner, with fine free-ſtone brought thither from Liſbon. The third is that of St. Anthony, ſituated on the point of a hill, on the ſouth ſide of the town; before this convent ſtands a large baſon of brown granite, in the form of a parallelogram, which is employed in waſhing. The fourth is ſituated at the eaſtern extremity of the town, and was formerly the Jeſuit's convent, but is now converted into a military hoſpital.

The viceroy's palace forms the right angle of the royal ſquare: the palace, mint, ſtables, goal, &c. compoſe but one large building, which has two ſtories, and is 90 feet from the water. In paſſing through the palace, the firſt entrance is to a large hall or guard-room, to which there is an aſcent of three or four ſteps. In the guard-room are ſtationed the body of guards, who attend the viceroy, and are relieved every morning between eight and nine: Adjoining to the hall are the ſtables, the priſon being in the back part of the building. Within the guard-room is a flight of ſtairs for aſcending to the upper ſtory; this divides at a landing-place about half way, and forms two branches, one leading to the right, and the other to the left. The former leads to a ſaloon, where there are two officers in conſtant attendance; the viceroy's aid-du-camp at the ſame time waiting in an anti-chamber to receive meſſages and deliver orders.

The left wing of the royal ſquare is an irregular building, which conſiſts chiefly of ſhops occupied by trading people. In the centre of the ſquare is a fountain ſupplied with water from a ſpring at the diſtance of three miles, from which it is brought by an aqueduct. From this fountain both the ſhipping and inhabitants are ſupplied with water, the place being continually crowded with negros of both ſexes waiting to fill their jars. At the corner of every ſtreet is an altar. The market-place extends from the north-eaſt end of the ſquare along the ſhore; and this ſituation is very convenient for the fiſhing-boats, and thoſe who bring vegetables from the other ſide of the river to market. Negros are almoſt the only people employed in ſelling the different commodities expoſed in the market, and they employ their leiſure time in ſpinning cotton.

Without the Jeſuit's college on the ſhore, is a village called Nueſtra Seignora del Gloria, which is joined to the town by a very few intervening houſes. Three or four hundred yards, within the Jeſuit's convent, ſtands a very high caſtle, but it is falling to decay. The biſhop's palace is about 300 yards behind the Benedictine convent, and contiguous to it is a magazine of arms, ſurrounded by a rampart.

The gentry keep their chaiſes, which are drawn by mules; the ladies however uſe a ſedan chair, boarded before and behind, with curtains on each ſide, which is carried by two negros, on a pole connected to the top of the chair by two rods coming from under its bottom, one on each ſide, and reſting to the top. The inhabitants likewiſe uſe hammocks or rajas, ſupported in like manner, and ſurrounded with curtains. The apothecaries ſhops in this town commonly ſerve the purpoſes of coffee-houſes, as the people meet in them to drink capillaire, and play at back-gammon. When the gentry are ſeen abroad they are

* It ſeems that Mr. Banks's ſervants had got on ſhore by ſtratagem, on the 22d, early in the morning, and remained till night; but they had brought on board nothing but plants and inſects to gratify their maſter's curioſity.

are well-dreſſed, though at home they are but looſely covered. The ſhop-keepers have generally ſhort hair, and wear linen jackets with ſleeves.

"The women here, as in moſt of the Portugueſe and Spaniſh ſettlements in South America, are more prompt to grant amorous favours than thoſe of any other civiliſed parts of the world. As ſoon as the evening began, females appeared at the windows on every ſide, who diſtinguiſhed ſuch of the men as beſt pleaſed their fancies by giving them noſegays, and the doctor and two other gentlemen, received ſo many of them, that they threw away theſe love-tokens by handfuls.

"As to the climate of Rio de Janeiro, it is healthy and agreeable, and free from moſt of thoſe inconveniences incident to tropical countries. The air is ſeldom found immoderately hot, as the ſea-breeze conſtantly begins to blow about ten o'clock in the morning, and continues till night, when it is generally ſucceeded by a land wind; though that does not always happen. The ſeaſons are divided into dry and rainy, though their commencement of late has been irregular and uncertain. It appeared that the rainy ſeaſons had almoſt failed for four years preceding Captain Cook's arrival in thoſe parts; but at this time the rain had juſt began, and it fell in large quantities during their ſtay: formerly the ſtreets have been overflowed by the rain, and rendered impaſſable with canoes.

"The adjacent country is mountainous, and chiefly covered with wood, but a ſmall part of it appearing to be cultivated. The ſoil near the town is looſe and ſandy; but farther from the river it is a fine black mould. It produces all the tropical fruits, ſuch as oranges, lemons, limes, melons, mangoes, cocoa-nuts, &c. in great abundance, and without much cultivation, a circumſtance which is agreeable to the inhabitants, who are very indolent.

"The mines, which lie far up in the country, are very rich; but their ſituation is concealed, and nobody can view them, except thoſe who work in them. The experiment is very dangerous, for every one found upon the road which leads to them, is hung upon the next tree, unleſs he can give a ſatisfactory account of the cauſe of his being in that ſituation. About twelve months before their arrival, the government had detected ſeveral jewellers in carrying on an illicit trade for diamonds, with the ſlaves in the mines; and immediately afterwards a law paſſed, making it felony to work at the trade, or have any tools fit for it in poſſeſſion, the civil officers having indiſcriminately ſeized on all that could be found. Near 40,000 negros are annually imported to dig in the mines: theſe works are ſo pernicious to the human frame, and occaſion ſo great a mortality amongſt the poor wretches employed in them, that, in the year 1766, 20,000 more were draughted from the town of Rio de Janeiro to ſupply the deficiency of the former number. There are ſeveral courts of Juſtice in the town, at all of which the viceroy preſides. In criminal cauſes the ſentence is regulated by the majority of voices in the ſupreme court. The viceroy has a council appointed from Europe by the king, to aſſiſt him in his private department, where he has two voices.

"The inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro maintain a whale-fiſhery, which ſupplies them with lamp-oil. They import brandy from the Azores, and their ſlaves and Eaſt India goods from their ſettlements in Africa, their wine from Madeira, and their European goods from Liſbon. The current coin is Portugueſe, which is ſtruck here; the ſilver pieces are called Petacks of different value; and the copper are five and ten ree pieces.

"Rio de Janeiro is very uſeful for ſhips that are in want of refreſhment; the harbour is ſafe and commodious, and may be diſtinguiſhed by a remarkable hill, in the ſhape of a cone, at the weſt point of the bay. The entrance is not wide, but it is eaſy, from the ſea-breeze which prevails from noon to ſun-ſet, for any ſhip to enter before the wind. The entrance of the narrow part is defendeſt by two forts, La Cruz, and Loziã,; they are about three quarters of a mile from each other. The bottom being rocky, renders it dangerous to anchor there, but there is a way to avoid that danger, which is to keep in the mid-channel. The coaſt abounds with a variety of fiſh, among which are dolphins and mackarel." 1769

An amazing number of atoms were taken out of the ſea on the 9th of December. Theſe were of a yellowiſh colour, and few of them were more than the 5th part of an inch long; nor could the beſt microſcope on board the Endeavour diſcover whether they belonged to the animal or vegetable creation. The ſea was tinged in ſuch a manner with theſe equivocal ſubſtances, as to exhibit broad ſtreaks of a ſimilar colour, for near the ſpace of a mile in length, and for ſeveral hundred yards in breadth.—Perhaps theſe might be the ſpawn of ſome marine animal, unknown either to ancient or modern philoſophers. Extraordinary ſubſtances found in the ſea.

Having procured all neceſſary ſupplies, Captain Cook left Rio de Janeiro on Thurſday, the 8th of December, and met with nothing worth relating till the 22d of the ſame month, when numbers of birds of the *proſillaria genus* were diſcoved in 39° 37′ of ſouth latitude, and in longitude 49° 16′ weſt, a number of porpoiſes of a ſingular ſpecies alſo ſurrounded them; theſe were of an aſh-colour, and about 15 feet long.

On the 23d, an eclipſe of the moon was obſerved; and a ſmall white cloud appeared about ſeven o'clock in the weſt, from which iſſued a train of fire, extending itſelf weſterly; in two minutes time, they heard two diſtinct loud exploſions like thoſe of a canon, immediately ſucceeding each other; and the cloud diſappeared ſoon afterwards.

They caught a large tortoiſe called a logger-head, on the 24th, and likewiſe ſhot ſeveral birds, among which was one of thoſe called the *Albetroſs*, meaſuring between the tips of its wings nine feet and an inch, and two feet one inch and a half from the beak to the tail. They ran upwards of fifty leagues on the 30th through great numbers of land inſects, ſome in the air, and ſome upon the water, which appeared exactly to reſemble our flies in England. This was the more remarkable as our voyagers accounted themſelves to be 30 leagues from land.

Captain Cook now ſuppoſed himſelf to be nearly oppoſite the bay called Sans Fond [or bottomleſs] where ſome have conjectured there is a paſſage that divides America; but the gentlemen on board rather thought it might be a large river which had cauſed an inundation. They had much thunder and lightning and rain on the 31ſt, and the three following days. They now ſaw ſome birds, about the ſize of our pigeon, with white bellies and grey breaſts. They had alſo ſight of ſeveral whales.

On the 4th of January they perceived the appearance of land, which they miſtook for Pepys Iſland; but ſtanding towards it, it proved one of thoſe deceptions which we have already noticed. At this time the ſailors were furniſhed with fear-nought jackets, as is cuſtomary in theſe cold climates. Having paſſed Falkland's Iſlands at about the diſtance of four leagues, they ſaw Terra del Fuego. Perceiving a ſmoke they took it for a ſignal, as it did not continue after they had paſſed along the ſhore to the ſouth-eaſt.

They entered the ſtreights of Le Maire on the 14th, but were afterwards driven out again with ſuch violence, (the tide being againſt them) that the ſhip's bow-ſprit was frequently under water.

At length however they got anchorage in a little cove, which was called St. Vincent's Bay, where the weeds, that were obſerved upon rocky ground were very remarkable. They appeared above the ſurface of the water, where it is eight or nine fathoms in depth. Their leaves were four feet long, and many of the ſtalks of the length of an hundred feet, tho' their circumference was not above an inch and an half. Mr. Banks and the Doctor went on ſhore, and returned with upwards of an hundred different plants and St. Vincent's Bay.

1769

and flowers, of which none of the European botaniſts had taken any notice near this bay. The country in general was flat, and the bottom, in particular, was a graſſy plain. Here was plenty of wood, water, and fowl, and winter bark was found in great plenty. The trees appeared to be a ſpecies of the birch, but neither large nor lofty. The wood was white and they bore a ſmall leaf. White and red cranberries were found in theſe parts.

They came to an anchor on Sunday, the 18th in twelve fathom water, upon coral rocks, before a ſmall cove, at the diſtance of about a mile from the ſhore. At this time two of the natives came down upon the beach, as if they expected that the ſtrangers would land; but as there was no ſhelter here, the ſhip was got under ſail again, and the Indians retired diſappointed.

The ſame afternoon about two o'clock, they came into the bay of Good Succeſs, and the veſſel coming to an anchor, the captain went on ſhore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, in order to ſearch for a watering place, and diſcourſe with the Indians. Theſe gentlemen had not proceeded above 100 yards before the captain, when two of the Indians that had ſeated themſelves, roſe up, and threw away the ſmall ſticks which they held in their hands, as a token of amity. They afterwards returned to their companions, who had remained at ſome diſtance behind them and made ſigns to their gueſts to advance, whom they received in a friendly tho' uncouth manner. In return for their civility, ſome ribbands and beads were diſtributed among them. Thus a ſort of mutual confidence was eſtabliſhed, and the reſt of the Engliſh joined the party, the Indians converſing with them in their way, in an amicable manner. Captain Cook and his friends took three of them to the ſhip, dreſſed them in jackets, and gave them bread and other proviſions, part of which they carried on ſhore with them; but they refuſed to drink rum or brandy, making ſigns that it burned their throats, as their proper drink was water.

Strange Indians.

"One of theſe people (ſays our author) made ſeveral long and loud ſpeeches, but no part of them was intelligible to any of us. Another ſtole the covering of a globe, which he concealed under his garment that was made of ſkin. After having remained on board about two hours, they returned on ſhore, Mr. Banks accompanying them. He conducted them to their companions, who ſeemed no way curious to know what their friends had ſeen, and the latter were as little diſpoſed to relate as the former were to enquire. None of theſe people exceeded five feet ten inches in height, but their bodies appeared large and robuſt, though their limbs were ſmall. They had broad, flat faces, high cheeks, noſes inclining to flatneſs, wide noſtrils, ſmall black eyes, large mouths, ſmall, but indifferent teeth, and ſtraight black hair, falling down over their ears and foreheads, the latter being generally ſmeared with brown and red paints, and like all the original natives of America, they were beardleſs. Their garments were the ſkins of ſeals and guanicoes, which they wrapped round their ſhoulders. The men likewiſe wore on their heads a bunch of yarn, which fell over their foreheads, and was tied behind with the ſinews or tendons of ſome animals. Many of both ſexes were painted on different parts of their bodies with red, white, and brown colours, and had alſo three or four perpendicular lines pricked acroſs their cheeks, and noſes. The women had a ſmall ſtring tied round each ancle, and each wore a flap of ſkin faſtened round the middle. They carried their children upon their backs, and were generally employed in domeſtic labour and drudgery.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander go up the country.

"Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, attended by their ſervants, ſet out from the ſhip on the 16th, with a deſign of going into the country as far as they could that day, and returning in the evening. Having entered a wood, they aſcended a hill through a pathleſs wilderneſs till the afternoon. After they had reached what they took for a plain, they were greatly diſappointed to find it a ſwamp, covered with birch, the buſhes interwoven and ſo inflexible that they could not be divided: however, as they were not above three feet high, they ſtepped over them, but were up to the ancles in boggy ground. The morning had been very fine, but now the weather became cold and diſagreeable; the blaſts of wind were very piercing, and the ſnow fell thick; nevertheleſs they purſued their route in hope of finding a better road. Before they had got over this ſwamp, an accident happened that greatly diſconcerted them: Mr. Buchan, one of the draughtſmen, whom Mr. Banks had taken with him, fell into a fit. It was abſolutely neceſſary to ſtop and kindle a fire, and ſuch as were moſt fatigued remained to aſſiſt him; but Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Mr. Monkhouſe proceeded, and attained the ſpot they had in view, where they found a great variety of plants that gratified their curioſity, and repaid their toil. On returning to the company amidſt the ſnow which now fell in greater abundance, they found Mr. Buchan much recovered. They had previouſly ſent Mr. Monkhouſe and Mr. Green back to him and thoſe that remained with him, in order to bring them to a hill which was conjectured to lie in a better track for returning to the wood, and which was accordingly fixed on as a place of rendezvous. They reſolved from this hill to paſs through the ſwamp, which this way did not appear to be more than half a mile in extent, into the covert of the wood, in which they propoſed building a hut, and kindling a fire, to defend themſelves from the ſeverity of the weather. Accordingly, the whole party met at the place appointed, about eight in the evening, whilſt it was ſtill day-light, and proceeded towards the next valley.

Their diſtreſſes.

"Dr. Solander, having often paſſed over mountains in cold countries, was ſenſible, that extreme cold when joined with fatigue, occaſions a drowſineſs that is not eaſily reſiſted; he therefore intreated his friends to keep in motion, however diſagreeable it might be to them. His words were—Whoever ſits down will ſleep, and whoever ſleeps will wake no more.—Every one ſeemed accordingly armed with reſolution; but, on a ſudden, the cold became ſo very intenſe as to threaten the moſt dreadful effects. It was now very remarkable, that the Doctor himſelf, who had ſo forcibly admoniſhed and alarmed his party, was the firſt that inſiſted to be ſuffered to repoſe. In ſpite of the moſt earneſt intreaties of his friends, he lay down amidſt the ſnow, and it was with difficulty that they kept him awake. One of the black ſervants alſo became weak and faint, and was on the point of following this bad example. Mr. Buchan was therefore detached with a party to make a fire at the firſt commodious ſpot they could find. Mr. Banks and four more remained with the doctor and Richmond the black, who with the utmoſt difficulty were perſuaded to come on; and when they had traverſed the greateſt part of the ſwamp, they expreſſed their inability of going any farther. When the black was told that if he remained there he would ſoon be frozen to death, his reply was, That he was ſo much exhauſted with fatigue, that death would be a relief to him. Doctor Solander ſaid he was not unwilling to go, but that he muſt firſt take ſome ſleep, ſtill perſiſting in acting contrary to the opinion which he himſelf had delivered to the company. Thus reſolved, they both ſat down, ſupported by ſome buſhes, and in a ſhort time fell aſleep. Intelligence now came from the advanced party, that a fire was kindled about a quarter of a mile farther on the way. Mr. Banks then awakened the doctor who had already almoſt loſt the uſe of his limbs, though it was but a few minutes ſince he ſat down; nevertheleſs, he conſented to go on, but every meaſure taken to relieve the black proved ineffectual. He remained motionleſs, and they were obliged to leave him to the care of a ſailor, and the other black ſervant, who appeared to be the leaſt hurt by the cold, and they were to be relieved as ſoon as two others were ſufficiently warmed, to fill their places. The doctor, with much difficulty, was got to the fire; and as to thoſe who were ſent to relieve the com-

companions of Richmond they returned without having been able to find them. What rendered the mortification ſtill greater was, that a bottle of rum (the whole ſtock of the party) could not be found, and was judged to have been left with one of the three that were miſſing.

"There was now a fall of ſnow which continued for near two hours, and there remained no hopes of ſeeing the three abſent perſons again. At twelve o'clock, however, a great ſhouting was heard at a diſtance, which gave inexpreſſible ſatisfaction to every one preſent. Mr. Banks and four others now went forward and met the ſailor, who had juſt ſtrength enough left to walk. He was immediately ſent to the fire, and they proceeded to ſeek for the other two. They found Richmond upon his legs, but incapable of moving them; the other black was lying ſenſeleſs upon the ground. All endeavours to bring them to the fire was fruitleſs; nor was it poſſible to kindle one upon the ſpot, on account of the ſnow that had fallen, and was falling; ſo that there remained no alternative, and they were compelled to leave the two unfortunate negros to their fate, after they had made them a bed of the boughs of ſome trees, and covered them over thick with the ſame. As all hands had been employed in endeavouring to move theſe poor blacks to the fire, and had been expoſed to the cold for near an hour and an half in the attempt, ſome of them began to be afflicted in the ſame manner as thoſe whom they were to relieve. Briſcoe, another ſervant of Mr. Banks, in particular, began to loſe his ſenſibility. At laſt they reached the fire, and paſſed the night in a very diſagreeable manner.

"The party that ſet out from the ſhip had conſiſted of twelve; two of theſe were already judged to be dead, it was doubtful whether the third would be able to return on board, and Mr. Buchan, a fourth, ſeemed to be threatened with a return of his fits. The ſhip they reckoned to be at the diſtance of a long day's journey, through an unfrequented wood, in which they might probably be bewildered till night, and having been equipped only for a journey of few hours, they had not a ſufficiency of proviſions left to afford the company a ſingle meal.

"On the 17th at day-break nothing preſented itſelf to the view all around but ſnow, which covered alike the trees and the ground; and the blaſts of wind were ſo frequent and violent, that their journey ſeemed to be rendered impracticable, and they had reaſon to dread periſhing with cold and famine. However, about ſix in the morning, they were flattered with a dawn of hope of being delivered, by diſcovering the ſun through the clouds, which gradually diminiſhed. Before their ſetting out, meſſengers were diſpatched to the unhappy negros; but theſe returned with the melancholy news of their death. Though the ſky had flattered the hopes of the ſurvivors, the ſnow continued falling very faſt, a circumſtance which impeded their journey, but a breeze ſpringing up about eight o'clock, added to the influence of the ſun, began to clear the air, and the ſnow falling in large flakes from the trees, gave tokens of a thaw. Hunger prevailing over every other conſideration, induced our travellers to divide the ſmall remainder of their proviſions, and to ſet forward on their journey about ten in the morning. To their great aſtoniſhment and ſatisfaction, in about three hours they found themſelves on the ſhore, and much nearer to the ſhip than their moſt ſanguine expectations could have ſuggeſted. When they looked back upon their former route from the ſea, they found that inſtead of aſcending the hill in a direct line, they had made a circle almoſt round the country. On their return, theſe wanderers received ſuch congratulations from thoſe on board as can more eaſily be imagined than expreſſed."

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went on ſhore again on the 20th of this month, landing in the bottom of the bay, where they collected a number of ſhells and plants, hitherto unknown. After having returned to dinner, they went to viſit an Indian town, about two miles up the country, the acceſs to which, on account of the mud, was difficult. When they approached the town, two of the natives came out to meet them, who began to ſhout in their uſual manner. They afterwards conducted Mr. Banks and the Doctor to their town. It was ſituate on a ſmall hill, over-ſhaded with wood, and conſiſted of about a dozen huts, conſtructed without art or regularity. They were compoſed of a few poles inclining to each other in the ſhape of a ſugar-loaf, which were covered on the weather ſide with graſs and boughs, and on the other ſide a ſpace was left open, which ſerved at once for a fire-place and a door. They were of the ſame nature of the huts that had been ſeen at St. Vincent's Bay. A little graſs ſerved for beds and chairs, and their utenſils were a baſket for the hand, a ſatchel to hang upon the back, and a bladder for water, out of which they drank through a hole near the top. This town was inhabited by a tribe of about 50 men, women, and children. Their bows and arrows were conſtructed with neatneſs and ingenuity, being made of wood highly poliſhed, and the point which was either glaſs or flint, very ſkilfully fitted. Theſe latter ſubſtances were obſerved among them unwrought, as alſo cloth, rings, buttons, &c. from whence it was concluded that they ſometimes travelled to the northward, as no ſhip, for years paſt, had touched at this part of Terra del Fuego. The natives here did not ſhew any ſurpriſe at the ſight of fire arms, but appeared to be well acquainted with their uſe. It is likely that the ſpot on which the Doctor and Mr. Banks met them, was not a fixed habitation, as their houſes did not ſeem as if they were erected to ſtand for any long time, and they had no boats or canoes among them. They did not appear to have any form of government or any ideas of ſubordination. They ſeemed to be the very out-caſts of men; and a people that paſſed their lives in wandering in a forlorn manner over dreary waſtes; their dwelling being a thatched hovel, and their cloathing ſcarcely ſufficient to keep them from periſhing with cold, even in theſe uncomfortable climates. Their only food was ſhell-fiſh, which on any one ſpot muſt ſoon be exhauſted; nor had they the rudeſt implement of art, not even ſo much as was neceſſary to dreſs their food, yet amidſt all this, we are told, that they appeared to enjoy that content which is ſeldom found in great and populous cities; a ſpecies of content, which if they really enjoyed it, muſt have ariſen from ſtupidity, a ſatisfaction the offspring of the greateſt ignorance. 1769

Such is the ſtate of uncultivated nature; ſuch the rude form which unciviliſed man puts on. The wants of theſe people ſeemed to be few; but ſome wants all mankind muſt have, and even the moſt ſimple of them, theſe poor ſavages appeared ſcarcely in a condition to gratify. The calls of hunger and thirſt muſt be obeyed, or man muſt periſh, yet the people in queſtion ſeemed to depend on chance for the means of anſwering them. Thoſe who can be happy in ſuch a ſituation, can only be ſo, becauſe they have not a due feeling of their miſery.

We know that there have been admirers of ſimple nature amongſt the philoſophers of all ages and nations; and certainly ſimple nature has her beauties. In regard to the vegetative and brute creation, ſhe operates with reſiſtleſs energy; her power is prevalent as her pencil is inimitable; but when we aſcend in the ſcale of beings, and come to examine the human race, what ſhall we find *them*, without cultivation? It is here that inſtinct ends and reaſon begins, and without entering into the queſtion, Whether a ſtate of nature is a ſtate of war? when we obſerve the innumerable inconveniences to which thoſe are ſubject on whom the light of ſcience never dawned, we may eaſily determine in the favour of thoſe arts which have civiliſed mankind, formed them into ſocieties, refined their manners, and taught the nations where they have prevailed, to protect thoſe rights which the untutored

ſavages

1769 ſavages have ever been obliged to yield to the ſuperior abilities of their better inſtructed invaders, and have thus fallen a prey to European tyranny. *

No other quadrupeds than ſeals, ſea-lions, and dogs were obſerved here. From a hill, Mr. Banks, indeed, remarked the impreſſion of the foot-ſteps of a large animal, on the ſurface of a bog, but of what kind it was he could not determine. There were no land-birds ſeen here larger than an Engliſh black-bird, hawks and vultures excepted; there were ducks and other water-fowls in abundance. Shell-fiſh, clams, and limpets, were very plentiful here. The country, though not cleared, produced no ſpecies of hurtful or troubleſome animals. A great variety of plants were found by the Doctor and Mr. Banks. The beach and the birch which grow here may be uſed for timber. The wild celery (as well as the ſcurvy-graſs) is ſuppoſed to poſſeſs antiſcorbutic qualities, which cannot but be of ſervice to the crews of ſuch ſhips as touch here after having been on a long voyage. The latter is found in abundance near ſprings and in damp places, particularly at the watering-place in the bay of good Succeſs, and reſembles the Engliſh cuckow-flower or lady's-ſmock. The wild celery is like that of our gardens, but the leaves are of a deeper green. It grows in plenty near the beach and upon the land above the ſpring-tides, and taſtes ſomewhat like parſley mixed with celery.

On Sunday, January 22, Captain Cook having got in his wood and water, ſailed out of the bay, and ſteered his courſe through the Streights of Maghellan.

Notwithſtanding the terrible deſcription which ſome voyagers have given of Terra del Fuego, the people on board the Endeavour did not find that it had ſuch a very forbidding aſpect. On the contrary, they found the ſea coaſts and the ſides of the hills cloathed with verdure. The ſummits of theſe hills were indeed barren, but the valleys appeared rich, and a brook was generally found at the foot of almoſt every hill. Though the water had a reddiſh tinge, it was far from being ill-taſted.

The ſtreight of Le Maire is bounded on the weſt by Terra del Fuego, and on the eaſt by the weſt end of Staten Land, and is near five leagues in length, and as many in breadth. The bay of Good Succeſs is ſituate about the middle of it, on the ſide of Terra del Fuego, which preſents itſelf on entering the ſtreight from the northward. The ſouth head of it may be diſtinguiſhed by a land mark, reſembling a road from the ſea into the country. It affords good anchorage, and plenty of wood and water. Staten Land did not appear to captain Cook in the ſame manner as it did to Commodore Anſon. The horror and wildneſs with which it appeared to the commodore was not diſcernible to our voyager. On the contrary, the land ſeemed not to be deſtitute of wood and verdure, nor covered with ſnow; and on the north ſide there was the appearance of bays and harbours. It is moſt probable that the ſeaſon of the year and other circumſtances have concurred to furniſh us with theſe different deſcriptions of a land which at beſt muſt be owned to be diſagreeably ſituated.

The ſhip ſailed from Cape Horne on the 26th of January, the weather being then very calm; and Mr. Banks went on board a ſmall boat in order to ſhoot birds, when he killed ſome ſheer-waters, and albetroſſes, the latter were larger than thoſe caught to the northward of the ſtreight, and proved to be very good food.

Captain Cook had the good luck to find no difficulty in doubling Cape Horn, and had a very diſtinct view of the coaſt, the weather being fair and temperate. On the firſt of March they were in 38° 44′ of ſouth latitude, and 110° 33′ of weſt longitude, both by the log and by the obſervation, a concurrence very ſingular in a run of 660 leagues, and which tended to prove that no current had affected the ſhip in her courſe, and it was likewiſe concluded that ſhe had not come near a continent of very large extent from a parity of reaſoning. Mr. Banks killed more than 60 birds in one day, and caught two foreſt flies, ſuch as had never yet been deſcribed; he alſo found a cuttle-fiſh different from thoſe of this name generally deſcribed in Europe. This fiſh which had a double row of talons, reſembling thoſe of a cat, which it could put forth or withdraw at pleaſure, when dreſſed made good ſoup.

A young fellow about twenty threw himſelf overboard on the 25th, on account of a quarrel about a piece of ſeal-ſkin which he took by way of frolic, but being charged with it as a theft, he took it ſo much to heart, that he could not endure to live after ſuch an accuſation.

On Tueſday the 14th of April, Peter Briſcoe, ſervant to Mr. Banks, diſcovered land to the ſouth, at the diſtance of about three or four leagues. The captain immediately gave orders to haul up for it, and found it was an iſland of an oval form, with a lagune [or lake] in the middle which extended over the greateſt part of it. The ſurrounding border of land was low and narrow in many places, eſpecially towards the ſouth, where the beach conſiſted of a reef of rocks; three places on the north ſide had the ſame appearance; ſo that on the whole, this land ſeemed to reſemble ſeveral woody iſlands. There was a large clump of trees to the weſtward, and in the centre were two cocoa-trees. The veſſel came within a mile on the north ſide, but no bottom could be found at 130 fathom, nor any good anchorage. The iſland was covered with trees; but no other ſpecies than the palm and the cocoa-nut tree could be diſcerned from on board. Several of the natives were diſcovered on ſhore. They appeared to be tall, with heads remarkably large, which probably ſome bandage might have increaſed. Their complexion was of the copper colour, and their hair was black. Some of theſe people were ſeen a-breaſt of the ſhip, holding poles or pikes of twice their own height. They then appeared naked, but when they retired, on the ſhip's paſſing by the iſlands, they put on a light-coloured covering. Some clumps of palm-trees ſerved for their habitations, and the appearance of the groves was very agreeable. They called this place Lagune Iſland; it lay in latitude 18° ſouth, and longitude 139° weſt. Lagune Iſland.
In the afternoon the captain ſaw land again to the north-weſt, by ſun-ſet he reached it, and found it a low circular iſland, in circumference about a mile. The land appeared here covered with verdure, but of various ſorts, but no inhabitants were ſeen, nor any cocoa-trees. It was called *Thrumb-Cap* by the gentlemen on board. Thrumb-Cap Land.

They continued their courſe on the 5th, with a favourable trade wind, and ſaw land about three o'clock to the weſtward. It was a low land, in form reſembling a bow, and appeared to be about ten or twelve leagues round. Its length was between three and four leagues, its width that of above two hundred yards. The beach was flat, and ſeemed to have no other herbage than ſea-weeds upon it. The reſemblance of a bow was preſerved in the arch and cord forming the land, while the intermediate ſpace was taken up by water; the arch in general was covered with trees of various verdure, and of different heights. Bow Iſland.

Having ſailed along the beach within a league till ſun-ſet, concluding that they were half way between the two tufts of trees that they had ſeen, they ſounded.

From

* For a comprehenſive ſyſtem of all the uſeful arts, ſee the New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, written by the Rev. Mr. Middleton, and other gentlemen of abilities, where the principles of every art are treated in ſuch a manner as to be ſuited to all capacities, and the whole circle of ſciences is fully illuſtrated and explained. This Dictionary is compriſed in only eighty numbers, and includes all the new diſcoveries in the ſeveral arts and ſciences.

From the ſmoke that had been ſeen here, our voyagers concluded the place to be inhabited, and gave it the name of *Bow Iſland*.

On Thurſday the 6th, about noon, land was again ſeen to the weſt; at three o'clock they came up with it. It ſeemed to be divided into two parts, which had the appearance of two collections of iſlands, to the extent of about nine leagues. The two largeſt were divided from the others by a ſtreight, the breadth of which was about half a mile.

There were ſome of theſe iſlands about ten miles in length; but they appeared like long narrow ſtrings of land, not above a quarter of a mile in breadth. They produced trees, however, of different kinds, among which the cocoa-tree was ſeen. Some of the inhabitants came out in their canoes, and two of them made as if they intended to come on board; but theſe, like the reſt, ſtopped at the reef. After the captain had got about a league from the ſhore, he ſaw ſome of the natives following in a canoe with a ſail, but ſhe likewiſe ſtopped after ſhe paſſed the reef. From the obſervations made on theſe people, they appeared to be about the common ſize, and well made, their complexion was brown, and they were naked. — In general, they bore two weapons, one of them was a long pole, ſpear-pointed, and the other reſembled a paddle. Several of their canoes were conſtructed in ſuch a manner as not to carry more than three perſons; others were fitted up for ſix or ſeven; one of theſe boats hoiſted a ſail, which was converted into an awning when a ſhower of rain fell. The captain did not chuſe to ſtay for any of them; neither could he nor his officers determine whether the ſignals made by the natives were meant for defiance or for invitation. However, the captain did not think proper to try the experiment, being ſatisfied that ſhould theſe people endeavour to oppoſe his landing, it muſt coſt them dear, whereas the iſland appeared to be of no importance, as producing nothing of which the ſhip's company were at that time deſtitute. He therefore reſolved to paſs by this place, and proceed to the iſland where directions were given to make the aſtronomical obſervations already mentioned, the natives of which he conceived would make no reſiſtance, as they had already experienced the danger of oppoſing the force of an European nation.

On the 7th, about ſix in the morning, another iſland was diſcovered, which was about five miles in circumference, being very low and had a piece of water in the middle of it. It was woody, and covered with verdure, but no inhabitants were ſeen upon it by thoſe on board. The Engliſh called this Bird Iſland. *Bird Iſland*, from the birds that were ſeen flying round it.

In the afternoon of Saturday, they ſaw land to the northward, and came abreaſt of it in the evening, at about five miles diſtance. It ſeemed to be a chain of iſlands. It was of an oval figure, and conſiſted of coral and ſand, with ſome clumps of ſmall trees, and a lagune [or lake] was in the middle of it. It received Chain Iſland. the name of *Chain Iſland*, on account of its appearance.

Oſnaburgh Iſland, already mentioned, was ſeen on the 10th, and the ſame day they made Otaheite, or King George the Third's Iſland, as Captain Wallis had denominated it. The ſhip was prevented from approaching it by the calms, till the 12th, when a breeze ſprang up, and ſeveral canoes were ſeen making towards the ſhip, but thoſe who were in the neareſt of theſe canoes ſeemed to be very ſhy of coming on board. They had brought with them young plantains and branches of trees, which were handed up the ſhip's ſide, and, by their deſire, were ſtuck in conſpicuous parts of the rigging, as tokens of peace and friendſhip. Then the Engliſh bartered with the Indians for their cargoes, which conſiſted of bread fruit, bananas, apples, and figs. 1769

They opened the north-weſt point of the iſle, to which the Dolphin's people had given the appellation of York Iſland, on the evening of this day. They lay off and on all night, and entered Port Royal Harbour on the 13th, in the morning, and came to an anchor within half a mile of the ſhore. Several of the natives came off immediately in their canoes, and brought with them bread-fruit, * cocoa-nuts, and apples, beſides ſome hogs which they bartered for beads and other trinkets with the ſhip's company. The old Indian that was ſo well known to Mr. Gore and others, who had been on the iſland with Mr. Wallis, came on board. His name was *Owhaw*; and being looked upon as a very uſeful man, they were glad of his company. Captain Cook arrives at Otaheite.

The veſſel being ſecured in a proper manner, the captain, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander went on ſhore with a party under arms. Some hundreds of the natives received them with awe and reverence; and the tokens of peace being exchanged the Indians offered to conduct them to a ſpot of ground which it would be more convenient for them to occupy, than that where they had landed. The offer was accepted, and, on their way, the Engliſh made the Indians ſome preſents which the latter very thankfully received. They now took a circuit of about four miles through groves of the bread-fruit and cocoa-trees. Intermingled with theſe were the dwellings of the natives, which conſiſted of huts without walls. They found but few fowls or hogs in the courſe of their journey, and underſtood that none of their conductors, nor any of the people they had hitherto ſeen were perſons of rank in the iſland. Such as had before been at Otaheite in the Dolphin, were likewiſe of opinion, that the queen's reſidence was removed, as there were no traces of it now to be diſcovered.

Before they left the ſhip the next morning, ſeveral canoes were ſeen full of people whoſe dreſs indicated them to be of a ſuperior claſs. Two of them came on board, when each fixed upon a friend, one choſe Captain Cook, and the other Mr. Banks, at the ſame time performing the ceremony of taking off great part of their cloaths to put on the Engliſh gentlemen, who preſented them with ſome trinkets in return for their compliment. They afterwards made ſigns for their new friends to go with them to their habitation. As the captain was deſirous of being acquainted with the people, and of finding out a more convenient harbour, he accepted the invitation, and went with them, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and others. They landed at the diſtance of about three miles, among a great number of the natives who brought them to a large houſe, where they were introduced to a middle-aged man, named Tootahah. As ſoon as they were ſeated, this Indian preſented Mr. Banks with a cock and a hen and a piece of perfumed cloth, which compliment was returned by a preſent from the Engliſh gentleman. After this they were conducted to ſeveral large houſes built in the manner we have already deſcribed, where they were kindly received by many of the natives of both ſexes, and afterwards met with another chief, whoſe name was Tubora Tumaida, with whom they ſettled a treaty according to the faſhion of the country. This chief gave them to underſtand that if they choſe to eat he had proviſions at their ſervice, which he accordingly produced.

"In the courſe of this viſit (ſays my author) Tomio, the chief's wife placed herſelf upon the ſame mat with Mr. Banks, cloſe by him; but as ſhe was not young, nor appeared ever to have poſſeſſed many charms, this gentleman paid little attention to her, and ſhe received the additional mortification of Mr. Banks's beckoning to a pretty girl, who, with ſome

* The tree which bears this fruit is about the ſize of the horſe-cheſnut; its leaves are near a foot and a half in length, in ſhape oblong, and very much reſemble thoſe of the fig-tree. The fruit is ſomething like that of the cantaloupe melon, it is incloſed in a thin ſkin, and its core is as large as a man's thumb, its ſubſtance is ſomewhat like that of new bread, and of the whiteneſs of a blanched almond. It is roaſted before it is eaten, and has very little taſte.

1769 reluctance, came and placed herſelf by him. The princeſs was ſomewhat chagrined at this preference given to her rival; nevertheleſs ſhe continued her aſſiduities to her gueſt. This whimſical ſcene was interrupted by an event of a more ſerious nature; Dr. Solander having miſſed his opera glaſs, a complaint was made to the chief, which interrupted the convivial party. The complaint was inforced by Mr. Banks's ſtarting up and ſtriking the butt-end of his muſquet againſt the ground, which ſtruck the Indians with ſuch a panic that all of them ran precipitately out of the houſe, except the chief and a few others of the ſuperior claſs. That no diſadvantageous notions might be entertained of them on account of this circumſtance, the chief obſerved, with an air of great probity, That the place which the Doctor had mentioned on this occaſion, was not within his diſtrict, but that he would ſend to the chief of it, and endeavour to recover it, adding, that if this could not be done, he would make the Doctor compenſation, by giving him as much new cloth, (of which he produced large quantities) as ſhould be thought equal to the value. The caſe however was brought in a little time, and the glaſs itſelf ſoon after, which deprived us of the merit we ſhould otherwiſe have had in refuſing the cloth which had been offered us. But it afforded an opportunity of convincing the natives of our generoſity, by laviſhing rewards upon them for an action, to which ſelf-intereſt had been the motive, rather than any ſentiment of probity; to which, from numerous tranſactions, they appeared to be abſolutely ſtrangers. After this adventure was amicably terminated, we returned to the ſhip about ſix o'clock in the evening. On Saturday the 15th, in the morning, ſeveral of the chiefs, one of whom was very corpulent, came on board from the other point, bringing with them hogs, bread-fruit, and other refreſhments, in exchange for which they received linen, beads, and other trinkets; but ſome of them took the liberty of ſtealing the lightning chain. This day the captain, attended by Mr. Banks, and ſome of the other gentlemen, went on ſhore to fix on a proper ſpot to erect a fort for their defence, during their ſtay on the iſland, and the ground was accordingly marked out for that purpoſe; a great number of the natives looking on all the while, and behaving in the moſt peaceable and friendly manner."

As Mr. Banks and his friends had ſeen ſo few hogs and poultry in their walks, they ſuſpected that they had been driven up the country; for which reaſon they determined to penetrate into the woods, the tent being guarded by a petty officer and a party of marines. On this excurſion ſeveral of the natives accompanied the Engliſh. While the party were on their march they were alarmed by the diſcharge of two pieces fired by the guard of the tent. Owhaw having now called together the captain's party, diſperſed all the Indians, except three, who in token of their fidelity broke branches of trees, according to their cuſtom, and whom it was thought proper to retain. When they returned to the tent, they found that an Indian having ſnatched away one of the centinel's muſquets, a young midſhipman, who commanded the party, was ſo imprudent as to give the marines orders to fire, which were obeyed, and many of the natives were wounded; but this did not ſatisfy them, as the offender had not fallen, they therefore purſued him and revenged the theft by his death.

This action which was equally inconſiſtent with policy and humanity, could not but be very diſpleaſing to Mr. Banks; but as what had paſſed could not be recalled, nothing remained but to endeavour to accommodate matters with the Indians. Accordingly he croſſed the river where he met an old man, through whoſe mediation ſeveral of the natives were prevailed to come over to them, and to give the uſual tokens of friendſhip. The next morning, however, they ſaw but few of the natives on the banks, and none came on board, from whence it was concluded that the treatment they had received the former day was not yet forgotten, and the Engliſh were confirmed in this opinion by Owhaw's having left them. In conſequence of theſe circumſtances, the captain brought the ſhip nearer to the ſhore, and moored her in ſuch a manner as to make her broad-ſide bear on the ſpot which they had marked out for erecting their little fortification. But in the evening the captain and ſome of the gentlemen going on ſhore, the Indians came round them, and trafficked with them as uſual.

On the 17th, Mr. Banks had the misfortune to loſe Mr Buchan. The ſame day they received a viſit from Tubora Tumaida, and Tootahah. They brought with them ſome plantain branches, and till theſe were received, they would not venture on board. They bartered ſome bread-fruit and a hog which was ready dreſſed, for nails, with the Engliſh.

On the 18th the fort began to be erected. And now ſome of the company were employed in throwing up intrenchments, whilſt others were buſied in cutting faſcines and pickets, in which work the Indians aſſiſted them. They fortified three ſides of the place, with intrenchments and palliſadoes, and upon the other which was flanked by a river, where a breaſtwork was formed by the water-caſks. The natives brought down ſuch quantities of bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts this day, that it was neceſſary to refuſe them, and to let them know that none would be wanting for two days. Mr. Banks ſlept for the firſt time on ſhore this night. None of the Indians attempted to approach his tent, he had however taken the precaution of placing centinels about it, for its defence, in caſe any attack ſhould be meditated.

Tubora Tumaida viſited Mr. Banks at his tent on Wedneſday the 19th, and brought with him his wife and family with the materials for erecting a houſe, intending to build it near the fort. He afterwards aſked that gentleman to accompany him to the woods. On their arrival at a place where he ſometimes reſided, he preſented his gueſts with two garments, one of which was of red cloth, and the other was made of fine matting; having thus clothed Mr. Banks, he conducted him to the ſhip, and ſtaid to dinner with his wife and ſon. They had a diſh ſerved up that day, which was prepared by the attendants of Tubora Tumaida, which ſeemed like wheat flour, and being mixed with cocoa-nut liquor, it was ſtirred about till it became a jelly. Its flavour was ſomething like blanc mange. A ſort of market was now eſtabliſhed without the lines of the fort, which was tolerably well ſupplied, and Tubora Tumaida was a frequent gueſt to Mr. Banks, and the other Engliſh gentlemen. He was the only native that attempted to uſe a knife and fork, being fond of adopting European manners. The ſurgeon being abroad on his evening walk, reported that he had ſeen the body of the man who had been ſhot from the tent, of which he gave the following account.——"The corpſe was depoſited in a ſhed, cloſe to the houſe where the deceaſed had reſided when he was alive, and others were within ten yards of it. It was about fifteen feet in length, and eleven in breadth, and the height was proportionable. The ſides and one end were incloſed with a ſort of wicker work; the other end was intirely open. The body lay on a bier, the frame of which was of wood, ſupported by poſts about five feet high, and was covered with a mat, over which lay a white cloth: By the ſide of it lay a wooden mace, and towards the head two cocoa ſhells; towards the feet was a bunch of green leaves, and ſmall dried boughs tied together, and ſtuck in the ground, near which was a ſtone about the ſize of a cocoa-nut; here were alſo placed a young plantain tree, and a ſtone axe. A great many palm-nuts were hung in ſtrings at the open end of the ſhed; and the ſtem of a palm-tree was ſtuck up on the outſide of it, upon which was placed a cocoa-ſhell filled with water. At the ſide of one of the poſts there hung a little bag with ſome roaſted pieces of bread-fruit."—The natives were not pleaſed at his approaching the body, their jealouſy appearing plainly in their countenances and geſtures.

On the 22d they were entertained by ſome of the muſicans of the country, who performed on an inſtrument ſomewhat reſembling a German flute, but the performer blew with his noſtril inſtead of his mouth; ſeveral of the natives accompanied this inſtrument with a particular tune.

Some axes were brought by the natives to the Engliſh to grind and repair, and moſt of them appeared to have been left there by Captain Wallis and his people. There was however a French one among the reſt, which it was found at laſt they had received from M. Bougainville when he viſited theſe parts, in the courſe of his voyage round the world, as the reader will ſee in its proper place.

Mr. Banks and the Doctor made an excurſion into the country on the 24th, and found it level and fertile for about two miles along the ſhore to the eaſtward; farther on, they found the hills ſtretch to the water's edge, till at laſt they ran quite out into the ſea. Having paſſed theſe hills, which continued about three miles, they deſcried an extenſive plain where the houſes were good; the people ſeemed to enjoy a conſiderable ſhare of property; and the place was rendered ſtill more agreeable by a wide river iſſuing from a valley that watered it.——When they had croſſed this river, perceiving that they were come into a barren country, they reſolved to return; but juſt as they were about to put their reſolve into execution, they were offered ſome refreſhment by a man whoſe ſkin was of a dead white, and his hair and eyebrows were as white as his ſkin. Tubora Tumaida and his women expreſſed great joy when they met the Engliſh on their return.

Several of the gentlemens knives being miſſing on the 25th, Mr. Banks who had loſt his amongſt the reſt, accuſed Tubora Tumaida of having taken it, which, as he was innocent, occaſioned him a great deal of unmerited anxiety. It was ſome time before he could forget the injury, and at laſt it was found that Mr. Banks's ſervant had miſlaid it. The Indian, with the tears ſtarting from his eyes, made ſigns that if he ever had been guilty of ſuch an action as was imputed to him, he would ſuffer his throat to be cut. But though he was innocent of this accuſation, it appeared that the natives of this iſland were very much addicted to thieving.

Six ſwivel guns were mounted upon the fort on the 24th, on which the Indians ſeemed to be in great trouble, and ſeveral of the fiſhermen removed themſelves, fearing, notwithſtanding all the marks of friendſhip which had paſſed between them, that within a few days they ſhould be fired at from the fort.

Notwithſtanding this jealouſy, Tubora Tumaida came with three of his women, and an acquaintance of his who was a remarkable glutton, to dine at the fort; after which he went back to his own houſe in the wood. It was not long after that he returned, to complain to Mr. Banks that the ſhip's butcher had threatened to cut his wife's throat, becauſe ſhe would not barter a ſtone hatchet for a nail. As it appeared that he was to blame, he was flogged in the veſſel in ſight of ſeveral of the natives, who were humane enough to interfere, and beg for his releaſe;—they ſhewed great concern, and even burſt into tears when that favour was denied them.

In the forenoon of the 28th the Indian canoes were continually coming in, and people of both ſexes filled the tents at the fort. The maſter of the Endeavour now went on ſhore, where having ſeen a female whoſe name was Oberea, he declared ſhe was the ſame perſon whom he judged to be the queen of the iſland when he was there with Captain Wallis.

It will naturally be imagined that the attention of all was fixed on a perſon of whom ſo much had been ſaid by the captain and crew of the Dolphin. With regard to her perſon, ſhe was tall, and rather large made; her ſkin was white, and ſhe had once been handſome, but as ſhe was near forty, it was no wonder that her beauty was on the decline; her eyes, however, ſtill retained great expreſſion. It was not long before this lady was conducted on board with ſome of her family. Among ſeveral preſents that ſhe received, was a child's doll that ſhe ſeemed to be very attentive in viewing. She was eſcorted on ſhore by the captain, to whom ſhe gave a hog and ſome plantains, in return for his preſents;—theſe marks of her favour were carried in a ſort of proceſſion, the rear of which was cloſed by the queen and the captain.—Envy is found among thoſe who are ſuppoſed to be the children of ſimple nature; this peſt is but too apt to ſow her baleful ſeeds in every breaſt. Her influence was plain enough here, though in a matter which to an European was rather a ſubject of laughter than of ſerious conſideration. As they proceeded they met Tootahah who, though he did not appear to be king of the iſland, yet acted as if he thought he had a right to ſomething like ſovereign command. He immediately ſhewed ſigns of jealouſy at Oberea's having the doll; nor could there be any means found of conciliating his friendſhip (however abſurd the preſent might ſeem) without complimenting this chief with "the baby of a child" and ſo prevalent is faſhion in every country, when the great ones lead the way, that now a doll was preferred to a hatchet; but a very ſhort time taught the Indians to find their miſtake, and the uſefulneſs of iron in the end prevailed over every other conſideration. As to the natives who now came on board, the men ate heartily of the ſhip's proviſions, but the women did not chuſe to partake of any of them; and though they were courted to dine with the gentlemen, yet, for reaſons which remained a ſecret to thoſe who ſolicited them, they choſe to eat of plantains with the ſervants. 1769 The queen comes on board.

Mr. Banks paid a viſit to Oberea on the 29th day of the month, but found that ſhe was aſleep under the awning of her canoe, and going to call her up, was not a little ſurpriſed at finding her in bed with a young fellow of about twenty-five years of age, a circumſtance which cauſed him to retire rather diſconcerted, and with ſome precipitation. But as we have already obſerved, a commerce of this kind was by no means uncommon in the iſland of Otaheite; the ladies being all of eaſy virtue, frequently courting the men to their arms, and making no ſecret of their amorous dalliance. On this occaſion, Mr. Banks was given to underſtand that ſuch an intrigue as this was not conſidered as ſcandalous, and that the perſon found in bed with the queen, whoſe name was Obadie, was well known to her ſubjects to be the companion of her looſer hours.

Oberea, however, ſoon got up and dreſſed herſelf to wait on her Engliſh friend. After dreſſing him in a ſuit of fine cloth, they proceeded together to the tent; and Mr. Banks paid a viſit to Tubora Tumaida in the evening. He was aſtoniſhed to find this chief and his family in tears, nor could he diſcover the reaſon while he remained with them: But, on his return, the officers acquainted him that Owhaw had been ſo weak as to pretend to foretell that the guns would be fired within four days, and this was the eve of the third, which had occaſioned their alarm. As the gentlemen were apprehenſive that ſome ill conſequence might ariſe from this prepoſſeſſion, the centinels were doubled at the fort, and they themſelves thought it neceſſary to keep under arms; but Mr. Banks walking his bounds about two in the afternoon, finding nothing that might tend to encourage his ſuſpicions, he dropped them and reſted ſecure in the fort.

On the 30th Tomio came in great haſte to the tents, and taking Mr. Banks by the arm, told him that Tubora Tumaida was dying, owing to ſomething that had been given by ſome of the Engliſh, and entreated he would inſtantly go to him.

Mr. Banks went according to their deſire, and found the Indian very ſick. He was told that he had been vomiting, and had thrown up a leaf which they ſaid contained ſome of the poiſon. Mr. Banks having examined the leaf, found it was nothing but tobacco which the Indian had begged of ſome of the ſhip's company.

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1769 The matter, however, appeared in a very ſerious light to Tubora Tumaida, who really concluded from the violent ſickneſs he ſuffered, that he had ſwallowed ſome deadly drug, the terror of which no doubt contributed to make him yet more ſick. While Mr. Banks was examining the leaf, he looked up to him, as if he had been juſt on the point of death. But when the nature of this dreadful poiſon was found out, he only ordered him to drink of cocoa-nut milk, which ſoon reſtored him to health, and he was as chearful as before the accident happened.

Theſe people ſeemed in particular inſtances to be ſometimes ſtrangely afflicted from ſlight cauſes. At one time a certain female attendant of Tubora Tumaida came to the tent in the greateſt ſeeming affliction, the cauſe of which could not be diſcovered: the tears guſhed from her eyes, and ſhe ſeemed to be in all the bitterneſs of grief. When ſhe was aſked the occaſion of all this, ſhe refuſed to make any anſwer, but ſtruck herſelf with a ſhark's tooth ſeveral times upon the head, till ſhe cauſed the blood to flow plentifully; yet ſeveral other Indians who were preſent, continued talking and laughing without being in the leaſt concerned at her ſorrow. She afterwards picked up ſome pieces of cloth that ſhe had thrown down to catch the blood, and caſt them into the ſea, as if ſhe meant to ſignify that ſhe wiſhed her unaccountable behaviour might be forgotten. Afterwards ſhe bathed herſelf in the river, and returned with great chearfulneſs to the tent; and ſoended the whole matter.

Captain Cook having produced an iron adze, which was made in imitation of the ſtone ones uſed by the natives, ſhewed it to Tootahah, as a curioſity. The latter ſnatched it up and inſiſted on having it; and though he was offered the choice of any of the articles in the cheſts which were opened before him, yet he would not accept of any thing in its ſtead. A chief dined with them that day, who had been on board ſome time before, accompanied by ſome of his women that uſed to feed him. He now came alone; and when all things were ſet ready for dinner, the captain helped him to ſome victuals, ſuppoſing that he would have diſpenſed with the ceremony of being fed; but he was deceived; for the chief never attempted to eat, and would have gone without his dinner, if one of the ſervants had not fed him.

They took the aſtronomical quadrant and ſome of the inſtruments on ſhore that afternoon; and to their great ſurpriſe when they wanted to make uſe of the quadrant, the next day, it was not to be found; a matter which was looked upon as the more extraordinary, as a centinel had been placed for the whole night within a few yards of the place where it was depoſited.

At firſt their own people were ſuſpected of being concerned in this theft, and, as the inſtrument had never been taken out of the caſe, it was ſuſpected that ſome perſon might have carried it off, under the ſuppoſition that its contents were articles uſed in traffic. A ſtrict ſearch was made in and about the fort, and a conſiderable reward offered in order to obtain it again. But all this proving fruitleſs, Mr. Banks, accompanied by Mr. Green and ſome other gentlemen, ſet out for the woods, where they thought they might probably get ſome tidings of what was ſtolen. In their way, they met with Tubora Tumaida, and ſome of the natives. This chief was made to underſtand by ſigns, that they had loſt the quadrant, and that as ſome of his countrymen muſt have taken it, they inſiſted upon being ſhewn the place where it was concealed. Having proceeded a few miles together, after ſome enquiry, Tubora Tumaida was informed who the thief was, and it was found that he was then at a place about four miles diſtant. As they had no arms but a brace of piſtols, not caring to truſt themſelves ſo far from the fort, a meſſage was diſpatched to Captain Cook, requeſting him to ſend out a party to ſupport them. The captain accordingly ſet out, with a party properly armed, after having laid an embargo upon all the canoes in the bay.

In the mean time, Mr. Banks and Mr. Green proceeded on their way, and at the place which had been mentioned, were met by one of Tubora Tumaida's own people, bringing with him part of the quadrant; the caſe and the other parts of the inſtrument were recovered ſoon afterwards, when it was found that it had received no real injury, though it had been taken to pieces.

When they returned in the evening, they were much ſurpriſed to find Tootahah under confinement in the fort, while a crowd of the natives, (who thought he would be put to death) ſurrounding the gate, diſcovered marks of the greateſt anxiety for the fate of their chief.

The cauſe of his detention originated from the conduct of the Indians: alarmed at Captain Cook's having gone up the country with an armed party, moſt of the natives left the fort that evening, and one of the canoes attempted to quit the bay. The lieutenant who commanded on board the ſhip, having it in charge not to ſuffer any canoe to depart, ſent a boat to detain her, but ſhe no ſooner approached, than the Indians jumped into the ſea. Tootahah being of the number, was taken up, and ſent by the lieutenant to the officer that commanded at the fort, who concluded he ſhould do right to detain him priſoner, while the poor chief thought of nothing but being put to death, till Captain Cook cauſed him to be returned to the great joy of his countrymen.

But the natives were ſtill inclined to bear this affair in their minds, and as a proof of it, they neglected to ſupply the market with proviſions. Mr. Banks walking into the woods, heard great murmurings concerning the treatment of Tootahah, who, as they ſaid, had been ill uſed and beaten, though Mr. Banks declared he was quite ignorant of his having received ſuch treatment.

The chief now ſent for ſuch hogs to be reſtored as he had left behind him at firſt, intending them as a preſent, which by this time, perhaps, he did not think the Engliſh had merited; but they refuſed to ſend them unleſs he would come himſelf, thinking by an interview to promote a reconciliation; and this they were the more deſirous of, as they were told it would be a fortnight before he would pay them a viſit.

Proviſions were now extremely ſcarce, as the markets continued to be ill ſupplied on the account already mentioned; and it was not without ſome difficulty that Mr. Banks got a few baſkets of bread-fruit from Tubora Tumaida. Tootahah now ſent for an axe and a ſhirt in return for the hogs, which were accordingly promiſed to be brought him the next day. He ſent again early in the morning of the 5th, and Mr. Banks and the Doctor ſet out in the pinnace, taking with them one of Tootahah's people, and ſoon reached Eparre, where he reſided, which was a few miles to the weſtward. When they arrived there, they found a great number of the natives waiting for them on the ſhore, and were conducted directly to the chief, the people notwithſtanding the offence they had ſo lately taken, ſhouting out in their language, "Tootahah is your friend." He was ſitting under a tree, and ſome old men were ſtanding about him. Having made ſigns for them to be ſeated, he aſked for the axe, which was then given him by Captain Cook, as alſo the ſhirt that he had demanded, and a broad-cloath garment, which latter he put on, and was well pleaſed with the preſent. They ate a mouthful together in the boat, and were afterwards conducted to a large court-yard on one ſide of the chief's houſe where they were to be entertained with wreſtling after the manner of the country. He himſelf ſat at the upper end of the area, having ſeveral of his principal men on each ſide of him, who appeared as judges of the ſport, which is deſcribed in the following manner.

"Ten or twelve combatants entered the area; and after many ſimple ceremonies of challenging, they engaged, and each endeavoured to throw his antagoniſt by mere ſtrength: thus they ſeized each other

other by the hand, the thigh, the hair, or the cloaths, grappling, without the leaſt art, till one was thrown on his back. The conqueſt was applauded by ſome words from the old men, and three ſhouts. After one engagement ſucceeded another, but if they could not determine the victory in about a minute, they parted, either by conſent or the intervention of their friends. Several women of rank in the country were preſent, but it was thought they only attended this amuſement in compliment to the Engliſh gentlemen. A man with a ſtick, who made way for them when they landed, officiated here as maſter of the ceremonies, keeping order among the people.

As ſoon as this entertainment was ended, the gentlemen were acquainted that ſome hogs and a quantity of bread-fruit were ordered to be prepared for their dinner, which intelligence was pleaſing enough to them, as their journey had ſharpened their appetite. However, they neither dined on ſhore nor in the boat, but went as far as the ſhip, at the deſire of the chief; and as ſoon as he was known to be on board, the Indians brought to the fort plenty of bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other proviſions.

Early in the morning of the 8th, Mr. Molineux, the maſter, and Mr. Green, ſet out in the pinnace to the eaſtward, with a view of procuring ſome poultry or hogs; they ſaw ſome of the latter, and a turtle, but could not purchaſe either, becauſe they belonged to Tootahah, and without his permiſſion the people would not preſume to ſell them. However, ſome time afterwards, bringing out their nails to purchaſe proviſions, they obtained near 20 cocoa-nuts and ſome bread-fruit, for one of the ſmalleſt ſize, ſo that they ſoon had plenty of theſe articles. On the 9th in the forenoon, Oberea and her favourite Obadie paid the Engliſh a viſit, and made them a preſent of a hog and ſome bread fruit.

By this time the forge was ſet up and frequently employed, which greatly excited the curioſity of the Indians, and they were beſides ſometimes more materially obliged by the ſmith's having permiſſion to make them various ſorts of tools out of ſome old iron which was ſuppoſed to have been left on the iſland by Captain Wallis's people.

A very extraordinary ceremony was performed by ſome of the natives, on the 12th of this month. As Mr. Banks was ſitting in his boat, ſome ladies who were ſtrangers, came, in a ſort of proceſſion, the Indians each ſide giving way to them. They then preſented him with ſome plantains and other plants, as alſo with ſome parrots feathers. After this they brought ſome large bundles of cloth, conſiſting of nine pieces, which being divided into three parcels, one of the women, who appeared to be the principal, ſtepping on one of them, pulled up all her cloaths as high as her waiſt, and then turned round three times with an air of the greateſt ſimplicity. She did the ſame on the other two parcels, and then the ladies ſaluting Mr. Banks, the whole was preſented to him, and he, in return, gave them ſuch preſents as he ſuppoſed would prove moſt acceptable to them: ſo ended this ceremony.

Tubora Tumaida the next evening much ſurpriſed and offended Mr. Banks, by ſnatching his gun out of his hand, and firing it in the air, whereas the Engliſh gentlemen had no idea that the Indian knew any thing of the method of uſing it. And as the ignorance of the people of theſe countries in regard to this particular muſt always cauſe them to reverence and fear their gueſts, Mr. Banks made a ſerious matter of what probably the other meant as a joke, and, not without threats, gave him to underſtand, that for him to touch the piece was a high inſult. The offender made no reply, but ſet out immediately with his family for Eparre. However, as he was really an uſeful man, and his abſence might in ſome meaſure impede the dealings of the Engliſh with the Indians, Mr. Banks and Mr. Molineux went after him, and found him among his people, apparently much dejected on account of what had happened. On this, they made up the affair with him, and brought him back to ſupper, and both he and his wife paſſed the night in Mr. Banks's tent. That very evening, while they were there, one of the natives tried to ſcale the walls of the fort, but the centinel prevented him. The temptation which cauſed him to attempt what might have coſt him his life, was doubtleſs the iron which he expected to find within in the fortification. 1769

On Sunday the 14th, in the morning, divine ſervice was performed on ſhore, which was done with a view of having the preſence of ſome of the Indians; but before the time fixed on for beginning, moſt of them were gone home; Tubora Tumaida and his wife indeed were preſent, but though they behaved with great decency, they took no notice of what paſſed, and their brethren, at their return, made as few enquiries of them as they had been diſpoſed to make of the Engliſh. The day thus begun, on the one hand, with an act of piety, was concluded with ſeveral acts of lewdneſs, on the other, which were exhibited by the natives, by way of entertainment. Among the reſt, a young fellow publicly lay with a girl about eleven or twelve years of age, while queen Oberea and ſome women of the firſt rank in the country were ſpectators of the exhibition.

Mr. Banks having a good opinion, in general, of Tubora Tumaida, was reſolved to put his honeſty to the teſt, in order to prove whether he was as much infected as his countrymen, with the common vice of the iſland. For this purpoſe, he threw ſeveral temptations in his way; a baſket of nails at laſt proved an object ſo deſireable as to conquer his honeſty. He confeſſed the fact; but when reſtitution was talked of, he ſaid the nails were at Eparre. High words paſſed on the occaſion, and, in the end, the Indian produced one of the nails, and was to be forgiven on reſtoring the reſt; but his virtue was not equal to the taſk, and he withdrew himſelf, as uſual, when he had committed any offence.

One of theſe nimble-fingered Indians came before day-light, on the 17th, in order to ſteal ſome caſks, and as this was not the firſt attempt of the ſame nature, he was near paying dear for his temerity, for the centinel levelled his piece at him, and he eſcaped only by its miſſing fire.

Tootahah having ſent ſeveral times to intreat that the captain would viſit him, and promiſed to acknowledge the favour by preſenting him ſome hogs, Mr. Hicks was ſent to him on the 24th, in order, if poſſible, to obtain the hogs without the required viſit. Coming to a place called Tettehah, where the chief had taken up his reſidence, he was received in a friendly manner, but procured only one hog, though when this was produced, which was on his firſt arrival, he was promiſed more the next morning; but when the time arrived, he was obliged to go away without them.

Mr. Banks ſeeing Tubora Tumaida at the tent, for the firſt time after the affair of the nails, once more endeavoured to prevail on him to make reſtitution, but he did not ſucceed in his attempt, for which reaſon the Indian was treated very coolly while he ſtayed; and as he could not but perceive it, he departed in a very abrupt manner.

Tootahah having removed to a place called Atahoroa, the captain with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and ſome others ſet out in the pinnace, to pay him a viſit. After making preſents of a few articles, they were invited to paſs the whole night there. Mr. Banks accepted of a place in Oberea's canoe, to whom he gave charge of his cloaths; but notwithſtanding her care, they were ſtolen, as were alſo his piſtols, his powder-horn, and ſeveral other things that were in his waiſtcoat pockets. Tootahah, who ſlept in the next canoe, being alarmed, roſe and went in purſuit of the thief, Oberea accompanying him. As to Mr. Banks he waited for them, having nothing on but his breeches; and when they returned, found that he muſt be obliged to put up with his loſs, as their ſearch had been unſucceſsful. Juſt as he had compoſed himſelf

1769 to ſleep again, he was rouſed by ſome muſic, and obſerved lights at a little diſtance from the ſhore. He then roſe to go and find his companions. As ſoon as he approached the lights, he found the hut where Captain Cook and three others of the gentlemen lay, when he began to relate his miſadventure to them, they told him, in return, that they had loſt their ſtockings and jackets. In effect, Dr. Solander, who joined them the next morning, was the only one that eſcaped being robbed, and he had ſlept at a houſe that was a mile diſtant. This accident, however, did not prevent Captain Cook, Mr. Banks, and the reſt that were at the hut, from attending to the muſic which was a ſort of concert called Heiva, and conſiſted of drums, flutes, and ſeveral voices. They retired again to their repoſe, after this entertainment was over.

Their cloaths, and the other things which had been ſtolen, were never heard of afterwards, but Mr. Banks got ſome cloaths from Oberea, in which he made an odd appearance. The next morning they ſet out for the boat, having obtained only one hog, which had been intended for their ſupper the preceding night; ſo that all things conſidered they had little reaſon to be ſatisfied with their excurſion. On their return, to the boat, they had a ſpecimen of the agility of the Indian ſwimmers, ſome of whom, merely for diverſion, ſwam in a ſurf where no European boat could have lived, and where our beſt ſwimmers muſt have periſhed, had they accidentally fallen in with it.

At this time the preparations were made for viewing the tranſit of Venus, and two parties were ſent out to make obſervations from different ſpots, that in caſe of failing in one place, they might ſucceed in another. They employed themſelves for ſome time in preparing their inſtruments, and inſtructing thoſe gentlemen who were to go out, in the uſe of them; and on Thurſday the firſt of June they ſent the long-boat with Mr. Gore, Mr. Monkhouſe, and Mr. Sporing, the latter of whom was a friend of Mr. Banks, with proper inſtruments to Emayo. Others were ſent to find out a ſpot that might anſwer the purpoſe, at a convenient diſtance from their principal ſtation.

The party that went towards Emayo, after rowing the greater part of the night, having hailed a canoe, were informed of a proper place by the Indians on board, which was judged proper for their obſervatory, where they accordingly fixed their tents. It was a rock that roſe out of the water about 140 yards from the ſhore.

As ſoon as it was light on Saturday the 3d (the day of the tranſit) Mr. Banks left them in order to go and get freſh proviſions on the iſland. The king, whoſe name was Tarrao, came to pay him a viſit, as he was trading with the natives, and brought with him Nuna his ſiſter. As it was cuſtomary for the people in theſe parts to be ſeated at their conferences, Mr. Banks ſpread his turban of Indian cloth, which he wore as a hat, upon the ground, on which they all ſat down. Then a hog and a dog, ſome cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit were brought, being the king's preſent, and Mr. Banks ſent for an adze, a ſhirt, and ſome beads, which were preſented to his majeſty, who received them with apparent ſatisfaction. Tubora Tumaida, and Tomio, who had gone with Mr. Banks, came from the obſervatory, when Tomio, who was ſaid to be related to Tarrao, gave him a long nail, and left a ſhirt as a preſent for Nuna. Afterwards the king, his ſiſter, and three beautiful young women their attendants, returned with Mr. Banks to the obſervatory, where he ſhewed them the tranſit of Venus, and acquainted them, that to view it in that ſituation was the cauſe of his undertaking a voyage to thoſe remoter parts. According to this gentleman's account, the produce of this iſland is nearly the ſame with that of Otaheite; the people alſo reſembled thoſe of that iſland: he had ſeen many of them upon it who who acquainted with the nature of trading articles. The parties that were ſent out to make their obſervations on the tranſit, had good ſucceſs in the undertaking; though they differed rather more than might have been expected in their account of the contact. * They view the tranſit of Venus.

Some of the ſhip's company having broke into the ſtore-room while the gentlemen and officers were buſied in viewing the tranſit, took the liberty of ſtealing a quantity of ſpike-nails. After a ſtrict ſearch the thief was found out; he had, however but few of the nails in his poſſeſſion; but he was ordered to receive two dozen of laſhes, by way of example.

An old female of ſome diſtinction dying, gave the Engliſh an opportunity of obſerving the ceremonies uſed by theſe iſlanders in diſpoſing of the dead bodies of their people; which, as we have obſerved, they do not directly bury. The reader has already ſeen the deſcription of the bier, the placing the bread-fruit, &c. which, according to Tubora Tumaida's account, was a ſort of offering to their Gods. In the front of the ſquare ſpace, a ſort of ſtile was placed where the relations of the deceaſed ſtood to give token of their grief. There were under the awning ſome pieces of cloth, whereon were the tears and blood of the mourners, who uſed to wound themſelves with a ſhark's tooth upon theſe occaſions. Four ſmall temporary houſes were erected at a ſmall diſtance, in one of which remained ſome of the relations of the deceaſed; the chief mourner reſided in the other; and was dreſſed in a particular manner, in order to perform a certain ceremony. When the corpſe is rotten, the bones are buried near the ſpot, and theſe places were found to anſwer the purpoſes of religious worſhip, though Captain Wallis could not perceive the traces of any ſuch worſhip among them.

As to the ceremony we are about to ſpeak of, the following is the account we have of it, which may not be unentertaining to the curious reader: "It was performed on the 10th, and Mr. Banks was ſo deſirous of being preſent, that he agreed to take a part in it when he was informed, that he could not be a ſpectator on any other condition. He went accordingly in the evening, to the place where the body was depoſited, where he was met by the relations of the deceaſed, and was afterwards joined by ſeveral other perſons. Tubora Tumaida was the principal mourner, whoſe dreſs was whimſical, though not altogether ungraceful. Mr. Banks was obliged to quit his European dreſs, and had no other covering than a ſmall piece of cloth that was tied round his middle; his body was blacked over with charcoal and water, as were the bodies of ſeveral others, and among them ſome females, who were no more covered than himſelf. The proceſſion then began, and the chief mourner uttered ſome words which were judged to be a prayer, when he approached the body, and he repeated theſe words as he came up to his own houſe. They afterwards went on, by permiſſion, towards the fort. It is uſual for the reſt of the Indians to ſhun theſe proceſſions as much as poſſible; they accordingly ran into the woods in great haſte, as ſoon as this came in view. From the fort the mourners proceeded along the ſhore, croſſed the river, then entered the woods, paſſing ſeveral houſes, which became immediately uninhabited, and during the reſt of the proceſſion, which continued for half an hour, not an Indian was viſible. Mr. Banks filled an office that they called *Niniveh*, and there were two others in the ſame character. When none of the other natives were to be ſeen, they approached the chief mourner, ſaying *Imatata*; then thoſe who had aſſiſted Funeral ceremonies.

* Mr. Green's account was as follows:

	Hours.	Min.	Sec.	
The firſt external contact	9	25	4	Morning.
The firſt internal contact or total emerſion,	9	44	4	Morning.
The ſecond internal contact, or beginning of the emerſion,	3	14	8	Aftern.
The ſecond external contact, or total emerſion	3	32	10	Aftern.

Latitude of the obſervatory 17 deg. 29 min. 15 ſec. ſouth; longitude, 149 deg. 32 min. 30 ſec. weſt from Greenwich.

assisted at the ceremony bathed in the river, and resumed their former dress." Mr. Banks who had performed a capital part in this ceremony, received applause from Tubora Tumaida. 1769

The Indians having lost some of their bows and arrows, and some strings of plaited hair, on the 12th of this month, a complaint was made on the subject to the captain, whereupon the affair was inquired into, and the offenders who had taken them away received each two dozen of lashes. The same day Tubora Tumaida brought his bow and arrows, in order to decide a challenge of shooting between him and Mr. Gore, but it appeared that they had mistaken each other, Mr. Gore intending to discharge his arrow at a mark, while the Indian meant only to try who could shoot farthest. As soon as this was apprehended, the challenge was dropped; but Tubora Tumaida, in order to shew his skill, kneeling down, shot an arrow (unfeathered, as they all are) near the sixth part of a mile, dropping the bow the instant the shot is discharged.

Mr. Banks having this morning met several of the natives, and learning that these people had a kind of musical entertainment in the evening, he and the English gentlemen resolved to be present at it. They went accordingly, and heard a performance on drums and flutes by a sort of itinerant musicians. The drummers sung to the music, and the English perceived these must be mere extempore compositions, as themselves were the subject of the song.

The captain seizes the canoes of the Indians on account of their thefts.

The continued dishonesty of the natives, (whose manners were in other respects agreeable enough) occasioned Captain Cook to try if he could not at once put an end to this evil by making reprisals; an iron coal rake for the oven being stolen in the night of the 14th, this consideration, added to many other facts of the like nature occasioned him to give orders for seizing twenty-seven of their double canoes, which were just come in, laden with fish. They were told that unless the rake and all the other things were returned these canoes with their cargoes should certainly be burnt; but Captain Cook who had very humanely already given orders to the centinels not to fire on the Indians, even if they should detect them in the act of thieving, never meant to make this sacrifice to justice. However, the natives were alarmed by a threat of such a nature, as he was furnished with the power to put it into immediate execution. Yet so much averse were they to restitution, that the cole-rake only was brought home, the rest being still retained in their possession. The captain, however, gave up the cargoes of the Indian vessels, as the poor natives were greatly distressed by the seizure, and afterwards promised to release the canoes, in order to prevent the confusion arising from the disputes concerning the property of the different lots of goods which they had on board.

But a boat being sent on shore, in order to procure ballast, the imprudence of the officer was near involving his countrymen in another quarrel with the Indians. As he could not readily procure what he wanted, he very improperly began to violate the mansions of the dead, and was immediately opposed by the inraged islanders. Intelligence of this dispute being received by Mr. Banks, he went to the place where it had commenced, when, as it appeared that there was a sufficient quantity of stones to be got elsewhere, the affair was amicably settled. And this was the only opposition which they met with, and the only personal insult received, properly so called (except at the affair of the fort, which has been already related) was by Mr. Monkhouse, the surgeon, whom one of the Indians struck for plucking a flower within one of these burial inclosures. This gentleman laid hold of him, but two of his countrymen pulled his hair, till he was obliged to let him go; and then they all ran off as fast as they could. In the evening of the 19th soon after the canoes were detained, Queen Oberea and several of her attendants came from Tootahah's house in a double canoe, and brought a hog, a dog, some bread-fruit, and other presents; but as she had brought none of those things which the captain had required to be restored, he would not accept them, at which she appeared to be much concerned; especially as a childish story that she told about Obadie's taking them, and her having beaten him for so doing did not gain credit. Notwithstanding all this, and though at first she did not seem to be without her fears, yet at length she surmounted them so far as to offer to sleep in Mr. Banks's tent; but being refused she went to rest in her canoe.

She returned to the fort next morning, when the captain thought fit to accept her presents, when two of her attendants were very assiduous to match themselves with mates, in which design they found the greatest likelihood of succeeding by means of the surgeon and one of the lieutenants. All were very agreeable till bed-time, when some words arising between the surgeon and one of them, Mr. Banks thrust her out, and the rest followed. As Mr. Monkhouse thought his mistress not well used, it was feared this affair would have occasioned a duel; but happily the matter was amicably adjusted.

The natives of Otaheite hold dogs flesh in higher esteem than they do pork; but it is to be observed that those dogs which they breed for food, live only upon vegetables. In order to try an experiment, Tupia undertook to kill and bake one of these animals; and they all allowed that the dish was agreeable.

On the 21st of this month they were visited by many of the natives, who brought them various presents. Among the rest was a chief of several districts on the island, named Oamo, whom the English gentlemen had never yet seen. He had a boy and a young woman with him; and the former was carried upon a man's back though he was able to walk. Oberea and some of the Indians bareheaded, and uncovered as low as the waist, went forth to meet them; a circumstance which was considered as a mark of respect. When Oamo entered the tent, the young girl, though seemingly very curious, did not follow him. The youth was brought in by Dr. Solander, but was soon got out again by the Indians, who were averse to the boy's entrance.

Mr. Banks and the rest of the gentlemen, being curious to know who their new guests were, received the following account: "That Oamo was the husband of Oberea; but that this couple had been separated by consent a long time, and the boy and girl were their children. The former was called Terridiri; he was heir apparent to the sovereignty of the islands, and when he came to a proper age, was to marry his sister. The present sovereign, Outou, was a minor, and was the son of a prince, called Whappai.—Whappai, Oama, and Tootahah, were all brothers, of whom Oama was the eldest, the last-named was the youngest; and Whappai having no other child besides Outou, Terridiri, his brother's son, according to the custom of the country, was heir to the sovereignty." It is here to be noticed, that in the island of Otaheite, a boy, as soon as he is born, succeeds to his father's authority; but a regent being necessary, that office, though elective, generally falls upon the father, who holds the reins of government till the child is of age. The reason that the election in this case had fallen upon Tootahah was, his being celebrated for his warlike exploits among his countrymen. Oamo asked a number of questions concerning the English, and, by his conversation appeared to be a person of good understanding.

Captain Cook received an elegant garment from a woman that came from the western part of the island. The ground was a bright yellow; it was bordered with red; and there were several crosses in the middle of it. As the French had been on the coast, it was supposed that they had taught the natives the notion of making these figures.

One of the English being missing on the 23d, proper inquiries were made for him among the natives; and at last it was found that he was at Eparre, from

whence

1769 whence one of the Indians fetched him the ſame evening. When he returned, he acquainted them that he had been taken by three men from the fort, and carried up to the top of the bay; that they ſtripped him, forced him into a canoe, and conducted him to Eparre, where Tootahah had given him ſome cloaths, and wanted to perſuade him to remain among his people. As ſoon as the natives knew of his return, they quitted the fort which was conſtrued as a confirmation of what this man had aſſerted.

Captain Cook ſails round the iſland.

Captain Cook ſetting out in the pinnace with Mr. Banks, ſailed to the eaſtward with a deſign of circumnavigating the iſland. They went on ſhore in the forenoon, in a diſtrict in the government of Ahio, a young chief, who at the tents had frequently been their viſitant. And here alſo they ſaw ſeveral other natives whom they knew. Afterwards they proceeded to the harbour where M. Bougainville's veſſel lay, when he came to Otaheite, and were ſhewn the watering-place, and the ſpot where he pitched his tent.

Coming to a large bay, when the Engliſh gentlemen mentioned their deſign of going to the other ſide, their Indian guide, whoſe name was Titubaola, ſaid he would not accompany them, and alſo endeavoured to diſſuade the captain and his people from going; obſerving, "That country was inhabited by people who were not ſubject to Tootahah, and who would deſtroy them all." Notwithſtanding they reſolved to put their deſign in execution, loading their pieces with ball; and at laſt Titubaola ventured to go with them. Having rowed till it was dark, they reached a narrow iſthmus which ſevered the iſland in two parts, and theſe formed diſtinct governments. However, as they had not yet got into the hoſtile part of the country, it was thought proper to go on ſhore to ſpend the night where Ooratova, the lady who had paid her compliments in ſo extraordinary a manner at the fort, provided them with a ſupper, and they proceeded for the other government in the morning.

They afterwards landed in the diſtrict of a chief called Maraitata, and his father was called Pahairede.* Theſe people gave the captain a very good reception, ſold them a hog for a hatchet, and furniſhed them with proviſions. A crowd of the natives came round the Engliſh gentlemen, amongſt whom however they met only two with whom they were acquainted; but though they ſaw ſeveral European commodities, yet they perceived none that came out of the Endeavour. Here they ſaw two twelve pound ſhot, one of which had the king's broad arrow upon it, yet the natives ſaid they had them from M. Bougainville. They afterwards advanced till they reached that diſtrict which was under the government of Waheatua, who had a ſon: it was not known in whoſe hands the ſovereign power was depoſited. There they found a ſpacious plain with a river which they were obliged to paſs over in a canoe, though the Indians that followed them, ſwam over without any difficulty. They proceeded on their journey for a conſiderable way along the ſhore, till at laſt they were met by the chief, who had with him an agreeable woman, of about twenty-two years of age, who was called Toudidde. Her name was not unknown to the Engliſh who had often heard of it; and ſhe was ſuppoſed to bear the ſame rank here as Oberea bore in the other part of the iſland. The parts through which they now paſſed, appeared to be better cultivated than any of the reſt, and the burial-places were more in number. They were neat, and ornamented with carvings; and in one a cock was ſeen, which was painted with the various colours of the bird. Though the country was apparently fertile, very little bread-fruit was to be found here, a nut called Ahee, furniſhing the principal ſubſiſtance of the inhabitants.

Being fatigued with their journey, they went on board their boat, and landed in the evening on an iſland which was called Otooareite, to ſeek for refreſhment. Mr. Banks going into the woods for this purpoſe, when it was dark could diſcover only one houſe, wherein he found ſome of the nuts before-mentioned, and a little bread-fruit. There was a good harbour in the ſouthern part of this iſland, and the ſurrounding country appeared to be extremely fruitful. Landing at about three miles diſtance they found ſome of the natives whom they well knew, yet it was not without difficulty that they obtained a few cocoa-nuts before they departed. When they came a little farther to the eaſtward, they landed again, and here they were met by Mathiabo, the chief, with whom they were not at all acquainted. He ſupplied them with bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, and they purchaſed a hog of him for a glaſs bottle which he choſe in preference to all the other articles preſented before him. A turkey-cock and a gooſe were ſeen here, which were much admired by the natives, and were ſuppoſed to have been left there by Captain Wallis's people. They obſerved in a houſe near the ſame place ſeveral human jaw-bones, which ſeemed freſh, and had not loſt any of the teeth, and were faſtened to a board, of a ſemi-circular figure; but they could not get any information of the cauſe of this extraordinary appearance.

When they left the place, the chief piloted them over the ſhoals. In the evening they opened the bay on the north-weſt ſide of the iſland, which anſwered to that on the ſouth-eaſt in ſuch a manner as to interſect it at the iſthmus. Several canoes came off here, and ſome beautiful women giving tokens that they ſhould be glad to ſee them on ſhore, they readily accepted the invitation.—Of their adventures during the reſt of their journey we have the following account.

"They met with a very friendly reception from the chief whoſe name was Wiverou, who gave directions to ſome of his people to aſſiſt them in dreſſing their proviſions which were now very plentiful, and they ſupped at Wiverou's houſe in company with Mathiabo. Part of the houſe was allotted for them to ſleep in, and ſoon after ſupper they retired to reſt. Mathiabo having borrowed a cloak of Mr. Banks, under the notion of uſing it as a coverlet when he lay down, made off with it without being perceived either by that gentlemen or his companions. However, news of the robbery being preſently brought them by one of the natives, they ſet out in purſuit of Mathiabo, but had proceeded only a very little way before they were met by a perſon bringing back the cloak which this chief had given up rather through fear than from any principle of honeſty. On their return they found the houſe entirely deſerted; and, about four in the morning, the centinel gave the alarm that the boat was miſſing. Captain Cook and Mr. Banks were greatly aſtoniſhed at this account, and ran to the water-ſide; but though it was a clear, ſtar-light morning no boat was to be ſeen. Their ſituation was now extremely diſagreeable. The party conſiſted of no more than four, having with them only one muſquet and two pocket piſtols, without a ſpare ball or a charge of powder. After having remained ſome time in a ſtate of anxiety ariſing from theſe circumſtances, of which they feared the Indians might take advantage, the boat which had been driven away by the tide, returned; and Mr. Banks and his companions had no ſooner breakfaſted than they departed. This place is ſituated on the north ſide of Tirrabou, the ſouth-eaſt peninſula of the iſland, about five miles eaſt from the iſthmus, with a harbour equal to any in thoſe parts. It was fertile and populous, and the inhabitants every where behaved with great civility.

The laſt diſtrict in Tiarrabou, in which they landed was governed by a chief named Omoe. He was then building a houſe, and was very earneſt to purchaſe a hatchet; but the gentlemen had not one left. He would not trade for nails, and they embarked, the chief, however, following them in his canoe with his wife. They were afterwards taken on board, but when they had ſailed about a league, deſired to be put on ſhore. Their requeſt was complied with, when

* The former of theſe names ſignifies *the burying-place of men*, and the other *the ſcaler of boats*.

the captain met with some of Omoe's people, who brought with them a very large hog. The chief agreed to exchange the hog for an axe and a nail, and to bring the beast to the fort. As the hog was a very fine one, Mr. Banks accepted the offer. They saw at this place one of the Indian Eatuas, a sort of image, made of wicker-work, which resembled a man in figure; it was near seven feet in height, and was covered with black and white feathers; on the head were four protuberances, called by the natives *Tata ete*, that is, *little men*. Having taken their leave of Omoe, the gentlemen set out on their return. They went on shore again, after they had rowed a few miles, but saw nothing, except a sepulchral building, which was ornamented in an extraordinary manner. The pavement, on which was erected a pyramid, was very neat; at a small distance there was a stone image, very uncouthly carved, but which the natives seemed to hold in high estimation. They passed through the harbour which was the only one fit for shipping on the south of Opoureonou, situate about five miles to the westward of the isthmus, between two small islands, not far from the shore, and within a mile of each other. They were now near the district called Paparra, which was that where Oama and Oberea governed, and where the travellers intended to spend the night. But when Mr. Banks and his company landed, about an hour before it was dark, it appeared they were both set out to pay them a visit at the fort. However, they slept at Oberea's house, which was neat, though not large, and of which there was no inhabitant but her father, who shewed them much civility.

"They took this opportunity of walking out upon a point upon which they had observed at a distance some trees called Etoa, which usually grow upon the burial places of these islanders. They call those burying grounds Morai. And here Mr. Banks saw a vast building, which he found to be the Morai of Oama and Oberea, which was the most considerable piece of architecture in the island. It consisted of an enormous pile of stone-work, raised in the form of a pyramid, with a flight of steps on each side. It was near 270 feet long, about one third as wide, and between 40 and 50 feet high. The foundation consisted of rock stones; the steps were of coral, and the upper part was of round pebbles, all of the same shape and size. The rock and coral-stones were squared with the utmost neatness and regularity, and the whole building appeared as compact and firm as if it had been erected by the best workmen in Europe. What rendered this last circumstance the more extraordinary was the consideration that when this pile was raised, the Indians must have been totally destitute of iron tools either to shape their stones, or for any other necessary purpose, nor had they mortar to cement them when made fit for use; so that a structure of such height and magnitude must have been a work of infinite labour and fatigue. In the centre of the summit was the representation of a bird carved in wood; close to this was the figure of a fish in stone. The pyramid constituted part of one side of a court or square, the sides of which were nearly equal; and the whole was walled in, and paved with flat stones, notwithstanding which pavement, several plantains and trees which the natives call Etoa, grew within the inclosure. At a small distance to the westward of this edifice was another paved square that contained several small stages, called Ewattas by the natives; which appeared to be altars, whereon they placed the offerings to their Gods. Mr. Banks afterwards observed whole hogs placed upon these stages or altars.

"They arrived at Otahorou on Friday the 30th, where they found their old acquaintance Tootahah, who received them with great civility, and provided them a good supper and convenient lodging; and though they had been so shamefully plundered the last time they slept with this chief, they spent the night in the greatest security, none of their cloaths nor any other article being missing the next morning. They returned to the fort at Port Royal Harbour, on the first of July, having discovered the island, including both peninsulas, to be about 100 miles in circumference." 1769

After their return from this tour, they were very much in want of bread-fruit, none of which they had been able to provide themselves with, as they had seen but little in the course of their journey; but their Indian friends coming round them, soon supplied their want of provisions.

Mr. Banks made an excursion on the 3d, in order to trace the river up the valley to its source, and to remark how far the country was inhabited along the banks of it. He took some Indian guides with him, and after having seen houses for about six miles, they came to one which was said to be the last that could be met with. The master presented them with cocoa-nuts and other fruits, and they proceeded on their walk, after a short stay. They often passed through vaults formed by rocky fragments in the course of their journey, in which, as they were told, benighted travellers sometimes took shelter. Pursuing the course of the river about six miles farther, they found it banked on both sides by rocks almost 100 feet in height, and nearly perpendicular; a way, however, might be traced up these precipices, along which their Indian guides would have conducted them, but they declined the offer as there did not appear to be any thing at the summit which could repay them for the toil and dangers of ascending it. Mr. Banks sought in vain for minerals among the rocks, which were naked almost on all sides, but no mineral substances were found. The stones every where exhibited signs of having been burnt, which was the case of all the stones that were found while they staid at Otaheite, and both there and in the neighbouring islands the traces of fire were evident in the clay upon the hills.

A great quantity of the seeds of water-melons, oranges, limes and other plants, brought from Rio de Janeiro, were planted on each side of the fort, by Mr. Banks, who also plentifully supplied the Indians with them, and planted many of them in the woods. Some melons, the seeds of which had been sown on the first arrival of the English at the island, grew up and flourished before they left it.

By this time they began to think of making preparations to depart; but Oama, Oberea, and their son and daughter visited them before they were ready to sail. As to the young woman (whose name was Tojmata) she was curious to see the fort, but Oama would not permit her to enter. The son of Waheatua, chief of the south-east peninsula, was also here at the same time; and they were favoured with the company of the Indian who had been so dextrous as to steal the quadrant, as above related. The carpenters being ordered to take down the gates and palisadoes of the fort, to be converted into fire-wood for the Endeavour, one of the natives stole the staple and hook of the gate; he was pursued in vain, but the property was afterwards recovered, and returned to the owners by Tubora Tumaida.

Before their departure, two circumstances happened which gave Captain Cook some uneasiness. The first was, that two foreign sailors having been abroad, one of them was robbed of his knife, which as he was endeavouring to recover, he was dangerously hurt with a stone by the natives, and his companion also received a slight wound in the head. The offenders escaped, and the captain was not anxious to have them taken, as he did not want to have any disputes with the Indians. Of the other matter we have the following account.—

Two young marines one night withdrew themselves from the fort, and in the morning were not to be met with. Notice having been given the next day that the ship would sail that or the ensuing day; as they did not return, Captain Cook began to be apprehensive that they designed to remain on shore; but as he was apprised in such a case no effectual means could be taken to recover them without running a risque of destroying the harmony subsisting between the English and the natives, he resolved to wait a day, in hopes of their

1769 their returning of their own accord. But as they were ſtill miſſing on the 10th in the morning, an enquiry was made after them, when the Indians declared they did not propoſe to return, having taken refuge among the mountains, where it was impoſſible for them to be diſcovered; and added, that each of them had taken a wife. In conſequence of this, it was intimated to ſeveral of the chiefs that were in the fort with their women, that they would not be ſuffered to quit it till the deſerters were produced. They did not ſhew any ſigns of fear or diſcontent upon the occaſion; but aſſured the captain that the perſons in queſtion ſhould be ſent back. However, in the mean time, he ſent Mr. Hicks with the pinnace to bring Tootahah on board the ſhip, and he executed his commiſſion without giving any alarm. When night came on, Oberea, Tubora Tumaida, and ſome others, were removed on board the ſhip, which greatly alarmed them all, and eſpecially the females, theſe latter teſtifying their apprehenſions with great agitation of mind, and floods of tears, when they were conducted on board. Captain Cook eſcorted them; but Mr. Banks remained on ſhore with ſome Indians whom he thought it of leſs conſequence to detain. One of the marines was brought back in the evening by ſome of the natives, who reported that the other, and the two people that were ſent to fetch them back, would be detained while Tootahah was confined. On this, Mr. Hicks was immediately diſpatched in the long-boat, with ſeveral men, to reſcue the Engliſh priſoners; at the ſame time Captain Cook told Tootahah that it was incumbent on him to aſſiſt them with ſome of his people, and to give orders in his name that the men ſhould be ſet at liberty; for that he would be expected to anſwer for the event. Tootahah immediately complying, this party releaſed the men without oppoſition. They returned on the 11th about ſeven in the morning, but they did not bring their arms back with them; theſe however being ſent ſoon after, the chiefs on board were allowed to return, and thoſe that had been detained on ſhore were alſo ſet at liberty. On examining the deſerters it appeared that the Indians had told the truth, they having choſen two girls, and would have remained with them at Otaheite if they had not been brought back as above related.—

The power of Oberea was not ſo great when Captain Cook came to theſe parts as it was when the Dolphin firſt diſcovered the iſland. The Engliſh gentlemen had obſerved all the way from her houſe to the Morai, a great number of human bones. When they aſked what had occaſioned this circumſtance, they were told "That about four or five months before the arrival of the Endeavour, the inhabitants of Tiarrabou, the ſouth-eaſt peninſula had made a deſcent, and ſlain many of the people, whoſe bones were thoſe which were ſtrewn along the ſea-coaſt; that thereupon Oberea and Oama fled to the mountains, and that the victors deſtroyed all the houſes, and pillaged the country." It ſeems the turky and gooſe which Mr. Banks had ſeen in Mathiabo's diſtrict, were not left there by captain Wallis's people, but were taken among the plunder from Oberea's government. As to the jaw-bones, it ſeems they were preſerved as trophies, being looked upon in much the ſame light wherein ſcalps are conſidered by the North-American Indians.

Tupia, who had been prime miniſter of the queen when in the zenith of her power, had often expreſſed a deſire of going with the Engliſh. This Indian was alſo intimately acquainted with the religion of the iſlanders, being himſelf the principal prieſt in the country. Beſides this, he had a knowledge of navigation, and was acquainted with the ſituation and inhabitants of the neighbouring iſlands. On Wedneſday the 12th he came on board with a boy about twelve years of age, who was his ſervant, whoſe name was Taiyota, and requeſted that the gentlemen on board would let him go with them. This being agreed to, Tupia went on ſhore for the laſt time to bid farewell to his friends, to whom he gave ſeveral baubles, by way of remembrance, at parting.

Captain Cook and Mr. Banks wanting to obtain a drawing of the Morai, which was in the poſſeſſion of Tootahah, went to viſit him at Eparre, accompanied by Dr. Solander, where thy were met by Oberea and ſeveral others. Tupia came back with them, and ſlept on board the ſhip for the firſt time, the Indian chiefs having promiſed once more to viſit the gentlemen before the veſſel ſet ſail.

Accordingly, theſe friendly people came on board on the 30th, and a vaſt number of canoes filled with Indians of the lower ſort, ſurrounded the ſhip. About twelve, the captain weighed anchor, and notwithſtanding all the little miſunderſtandings that had happened between the Engliſh and the natives, who were treated ſometimes perhaps too ſeverely, yet the latter, who poſſeſſed a great fund of good-nature and much ſenſibility, took their leave weeping in an affecting manner. As to Tupia, he felt the ſcene, but with more fortitude than his countrymen; though it might ſeem that he had the moſt cauſe for weeping, he ſuppreſſed the ſtarting tear, and going to the maſt-head with Mr. Banks, took a laſt farewell of his country.——For the entertainment of the curious reader, we ſhall here give a ſummary account of what has been remarked by the voyagers who viſited this iſland, which is to the following purport:—

Further deſcription of Otaheite.

"The people are in general of a larger make than the Europeans. The males are moſtly tall, robuſt, and finely ſhaped; the women of the higher claſs, in general are rather above the ſize of thoſe in England; but it is remarkable that thoſe of the lower rank are below our ſtandard, and ſome of them are very ſhort. Their natural complexion is a fine clear olive, or what we call a *brunette*; their ſkin is delicately ſmooth and agreeably ſoft. Their faces in general are handſome, and their eyes are full of ſenſibility. Their teeth are remarkably white and regular, and their breath is intirely free from any diſagreeable ſmell; their hair is for the moſt part black. The men, unlike the *aborigines* of America, have long beards, which they wear in various forms; and circumciſion is generally practiſed among them from a motive of cleanlineſs, which is carried ſo far, that they have a term of reproach with which they upbraid thoſe among them who do not adopt this cuſtom. Both ſexes always eradicate the hair from their arm-pits, and they often took upon them to charge the Engliſh gentlemen with want of cleanlineſs, for not making uſe of the ſame method. Their motions are eaſy and graceful, and their behaviour when unprovoked (as the reader has ſeen) affable and courteous. Contrary to the cuſtom of moſt other nations, the women of this country cut their hair quite ſhort, whereas the men wear it long, ſometimes hanging looſe upon the ſhoulders, and at other times tied in a knot on the crown of the head, in which they ſtick the feathers of birds of various colours.

"A piece of cloth of the manufacture of the country is frequently tied round the heads of both ſexes, in the manner of a turban; and the women take pains to plait human hair into long ſtrings, which being folded into branches, are tied on the forehead by way of ornament. They have alſo a cuſtom (not peculiar to them, but practiſed in many of the hot countries) of anointing their hair with cocoa-nut oil; the ſmell of which is not very agreeable; and having no ſort of combs among their various inventions, they were infeſted with vermin, which however they quickly got rid of as ſoon as they were furniſhed by the Europeans with theſe convenient inſtruments.

"The people of this iſland ſtain their bodies by indenting or pricking the fleſh with a ſmall inſtrument made of bone, cut into ſhort teeth; which indentures they fill with a dark blue or blackiſh mixture, prepared from the ſmoke of an oily nut (burnt by them inſtead of candles) and water; this operation, which is called by the natives Tataowing, is exceedingly painful, and leaves an indelible mark on the ſkin.

It is uſually performed when they are about ten or twelve years of age, and on different parts of the body; but thoſe which ſuffer moſt ſeverely are the breech and the loins, which are marked with arches, carried one above another a conſiderable way up the back. At the operation of tataowing performed upon the poſteriors of a girl about twelve years of age, Mr. Banks was preſent; it was executed with an inſtrument that had twenty teeth, and at each ſtroke, which was repeated every moment, ſerum mixed with blood iſſued. She bore it with great reſolution for ſeveral minutes; but at length the pain became ſo intolerable, that ſhe murmured and complained, and then burſt into the moſt violent lamentations; but her operator was inexorable, whilſt ſome females preſent chid, and even beat her. Mr. Banks was a ſpectator for near an hour, during which time it was performed only on one ſide, the other having undergone the ceremony ſome time before; and the arches upon the loins, which are the moſt painful, but which they moſt value, were yet to be made.—They cloath themſelves in cloth and matting of various kinds: the firſt they wear in fair, the latter in wet weather. They are in different forms, no ſhape being preſerved in them, nor are the pieces ſewed together. The women of a ſuperior claſs wear three or four pieces. One which is of conſiderable length, they wrap ſeveral times round their waiſt, and it falls down to the middle of the leg. Two or three other ſhort pieces, with a hole cut in the middle of each, are placed on one another, and their heads coming through the holes, the long ends hang before and behind, both ſides being open, by which means they have the free uſe of their arms. The mens dreſs is very ſimilar, differing only in one inſtance which is that part of the garment, inſtead of falling below the knees is brought between the legs. This dreſs is worn by all ranks of people, the only diſtinction being quantity in the ſuperior claſs. At noon both ſexes appear almoſt naked, wearing only the piece of cloth that is tied round the waiſt. Their faces are ſhaded from the ſun with ſmall bonnets, made of cocoa-nut leaves or matting, which are conſtructed in a few minutes. The men ſometimes wear a ſort of wig made of human or dog's hair, or of cocoa-nut ſtrings, woven on a ſingle thread, which is faſtened under their hair, and hangs down behind. Both men and women wear ear-rings on one ſide, conſiſting of ſhells, ſtones, berries, or ſmall pearls; but they ſoon gave the preference to the beads, brought by the Endeavour's company. The boys and girls go quite naked; the firſt till they are ſeven or eight years old; the latter till they are about five. Their houſes, which have been deſcribed already, they ſeldom uſe but to ſleep in, or to avoid the rain, as they eat in the open air, under the ſhade of a tree. Their cloaths ſerve them at night for covering, and there are no diviſions or apartments. The maſter and his wife repoſe in the middle, then the married people; next to theſe the unmarried females, and at a ſmall diſtance the men who are unmarried; and the ſervants ſleep in the open air in fair weather. The houſes of the chiefs, however, differ in ſome degree; there are ſome very ſmall, and ſo built as to be carried in canoes; all ſides of them are incloſed with the leaves of the cocoa-nut; the air nevertheleſs penetrates: in theſe the chief and his wife alone ſleep. There are alſo houſes which are general receptacles for the inhabitants of a diſtrict. Theſe are much larger, many being more than 200 feet in length, 40 in breadth, and 70 or 80 feet high. They are conſtructed at the common expence, and have an area on one ſide, ſurrounded with low paliſadoes: but like the others have no walls.

"When a chief kills a hog, which is but ſeldom, he divides it equally among his vaſſals; dogs and fowls are more common. When the bread-fruit is not in ſeaſon, they are ſupplied by cocoa-nuts, bananas, plantains, &c. Their cookery conſiſts chiefly of baking, the manner of doing which has been already deſcribed. They bake their bread-fruit in the ſame way, which renders it ſomething like a mealy potatoe; of this fruit three diſhes are made, by beating it to a paſte, and mixing it with bananas, plantains, or ſour paſte, which the natives nominate *mahie*. 1769

This paſte is made by taking bread-fruit which is not thoroughly ripe, and laying it in heaps, covered with leaves, by which means it ferments; the core is then taken out, and the fruit put into a hole lined with graſs; it is then again covered with leaves, upon which large ſtones are placed; this produces a ſecond fermentation, after which it grows ſour, and undergoes no change for a long time: they take it from this hole as they have occaſion for it and make it into balls, it is rolled up in plantain leaves, and baked; as it will keep for ſome weeks after it is dreſſed, they eat it both hot and cold. Such is the food of theſe people, their ſauce to which never conſiſts of any thing but ſalt water. As to their drink, it is generally confined to water, or the milk of the cocoa-nut, though there were inſtances in which ſome of them drank ſo freely of the Engliſh liquors as to become quite intoxicated. This, however, ſeemed to proceed more from ignorance than deſign, as they were never known to practice a debauch of this kind a ſecond time. They were told indeed that the chiefs ſometimes became inebriated by drinking the juice of a plant called Ava; but of this they ſaw no inſtance during the time they remained on the iſland. The chief generally eats alone, unleſs when viſited by a ſtranger, who is ſometimes permitted to become a ſecond in the meſs. Having nothing to ſupply the want of a table, they ſit on the ground in the ſhade; leaves of trees being ſpread before them, ſerve as a table-cloth: their attendants, who are numerous, having placed a baſket by the chiefs, containing their proviſions and a cocoa-nut ſhell of freſh and ſalt water, ſet themſelves around; they then begin by waſhing their mouths and hands, after which they eat a handful of bread-fruit and fiſh, dipt in ſalt water alternately, till the whole is conſumed, taking a ſup of ſalt water likewiſe between almoſt every morſel. The bread-fruit and fiſh being all eaten, they next have either plantains or apples, which they never eat without being pared. During this time a ſoft paſte is prepared from the bread-fruit, which they ſup out of cocoa-nut ſhells; this finiſhes the meal, and the hands and mouth are again waſhed as at the beginning. They eat an aſtoniſhing quantity of food at a meal; Mr. Banks and ſome other gentlemen ſaw one of them devour three fiſh of the ſize of a middling carp, four bread-fruits, as large as a common melon; thirteen or fourteen plantains, ſeven or eight inches long, and above half as big round, and about a quart of the paſte made of bread-fruit. The inhabitants of this iſland, though apparently ſo fond of the pleaſures of ſociety, have yet an averſion to holding any intercourſe with each other at their meals; and they are ſo rigid in the obſervation of this cuſtom that brothers and ſiſters have their ſeparate baſkets to contain their proviſions, and generally ſit at the diſtance of ſome yards when they eat, with their backs on each other, and not exchanging a word during the whole time of their repaſt; the middle-aged of ſuperior rank, uſually go to ſleep after dinner, but what is remarkable, the older people are not ſo indolent, but muſic, dancing, wreſtling, and ſhooting with the bow, or throwing the lance, conſtitute a chief part of their diverſions. Flutes and drums are formed of a circular piece of wood, hollow only at one end, this is covered with the ſkin of a ſhark, inſtead of a ſtick. The ſongs of the iſlanders are *extempore*, and frequently in rhime, but they conſiſt only of two lines. Theſe are often couplets rehearſed by way of evening amuſements, between ſun-ſet and bed time, during which interval they burn candles made from an oily nut, fixing them one above another upon a ſmall ſtick that is run through the middle; ſome of theſe candles afford a pretty good light, and are known to burn for a long time. They have a dance called Timorodee, which is generally performed by ten or a dozen young females,

1769 males, who put themſelves into the moſt wanton attitudes, keeping time during the performance with the greateſt nicety and exactneſs. Pregnant women are excluded from theſe dances. *

"Perſonal cleanlineſs is much eſteemed among theſe Indians. Both ſexes are particular in waſhing three times a day, viz. when they riſe in the morning, at noon, and before they go to reſt. They are alſo very cleanly in their cloaths, ſo that no diſagreeable effluvia are found to ariſe in the largeſt communities.

"Cloth is the chief manufacture of Otaheite, and of this there are three ſorts, all which are made out of the bark of different trees, namely, the mulberry, the bread-fruit, and a tree which bears ſome reſemblance to the Weſt-Indian wild fig-tree. The firſt of theſe produces the fineſt cloth, which is ſeldom worn but by thoſe of the firſt rank. The next ſort is made of the bread-fruit tree and the laſt of that which reſembles the wild fig-tree. But this laſt ſort, though the coarſeſt is ſcarcer than the other two, which are manufactured only in ſmall quantities, as the ſame manner is uſed in manufacturing all theſe cloths. [The following deſcription will ſuffice for the reader's information.]

"The bark of the tree being ſtripped off, is ſoaked in water for two or three days; they then take it out, and ſeparate the inner bark from the external coat, by ſcraping it with a ſhell, after which it is ſpread out on plantain leaves, placing two or three layers over one another, care being taken to make it of an equal thickneſs in every part. In this ſtate it continues till it is almoſt dry, when it adheres ſo firmly that it may be taken from the ground without breaking. After this proceſs, it is laid on a ſmooth board, and beaten with an inſtrument made for the purpoſe, of the compact, heavy wood called Etoa. The inſtrument is about fourteen inches long, and about ſeven in circumference; is of a quadrangular ſhape, and each of the four ſides is marked with longitudinal grooves or furrows, differing in this inſtance, that there is a regular gradation in the width and depth of the grooves on each of the ſides; the coarſer ſide not containing more than ten of theſe furrows, while the fineſt is furniſhed with above fifty. It is with that ſide of the mallet where the grooves are deepeſt and wideſt that they begin to beat their cloth, and proceeding regularly, finiſh with that which has the greateſt number. By this beating, the cloth is extended in a manner ſimilar to the gold that is formed into leaves by the hammer; and it is alſo marked with ſmall channels reſembling thoſe which are viſible on paper, but rather deeper; it is in general beat very thin; when they want it thicker than common, they take two or three pieces and paſte them together with a kind of glue prepared from a root called *pea*.

This cloth becomes exceedingly white by bleaching, and is died of a red, yellow, brown or black colour; the firſt is exceeding beautiful, and equal, if not ſuperior to any in Europe. They make the red colour from a mixture of the juices of two vegetables, neither of which uſed ſeparately has this effect: matting of various kinds is another conſiderable manufacture in which they excel, in many reſpects, the Europeans. They make uſe of the coarſer ſort to ſleep on, and in wet weather they wear the finer. They excel in the baſket and wicker work; both men and women employ themſelves at it, and can make a great number of different patterns. They make ropes and lines of all ſizes of the bark of the Poerou, and their nets for fiſhing are made of theſe lines; the fibres of the cocoa-nut they make thread of, ſuch as they uſe to faſten together the ſeveral parts of their canoes; the forms of which are various, according to the uſe to which they are applied. Their fiſhing lines are eſteemed the beſt in the world, made of the bark of the Erowa, a kind of nettle which grows on the mountains; they are ſtrong enough to hold the heavieſt and moſt vigorous fiſh, ſuch as bonettas and albicores; in ſhort, they are extremely ingenious in every expedient for taking all kinds of fiſh.

"The tools which theſe people make uſe of for building houſes, conſtructing canoes, hewing ſtones, and for felling, cleaving, carving and poliſhing timber, conſiſts of nothing more than an adze of ſtone, and a chiſſel of bone, moſt commonly that of a man's arm; and for a file or poliſher, they make uſe of a raſp of coral and coral ſand.

"The blades of their adzes are extremely tough, but not very hard; they make them of various ſizes, thoſe for felling wood, weigh ſix or ſeven pounds, and others which are uſed for carving, only a few ounces; they are obliged every minute to ſharpen them on a ſtone, which is always kept near them for that purpoſe. The moſt difficult taſk they meet with in the uſe of theſe tools, is the felling of a tree, which employs a great number of hands for ſeveral days together. The tree which is in general uſe is called *Aair*, the ſtem of which is ſtrait and tall. Some of their ſmaller boats are made of the bread-fruit tree, which is wrought without much difficulty, being of a light ſpungy nature. Inſtead of planes they uſe their adzes with great dexterity. Their canoes are all ſhaped with the hand, the Indians not being acquainted with the method of warping a plank.

"They have two kinds of canoes; one they call *Ivahah*, the other *pahies*; the former is uſed for ſhort voyages at ſea, and the latter for long ones. Theſe boats do not differ either in ſhape or ſize, but they are in no degree proportionate, being from ſixty to ſeventy feet in length, and not more than the thirtieth part in breadth. Some are employed in going from one iſland to another, and others uſed for fiſhing. There is alſo the Ivahah, which ſerves for war; theſe are by far the longeſt, and the head and ſtern are conſiderably above the body. Theſe Ivahahs are faſtened together, ſide by ſide when they go to ſea, at the diſtance of a few feet, by ſtrong wooden poles, which are laid acroſs them and joined to each ſide. A ſtage or platform is raiſed on the fore-part, about ten or twelve feet long, upon which ſtand the fighting-men, whoſe miſſile weapons are ſlings and ſpears. Beneath theſe ſtages the rowers ſit, who ſupply the place of thoſe who are wounded. The fiſhing Ivahahs are from thirty or forty to ten feet in length, and thoſe for travelling have a ſmall houſe fixed on board, which is faſtened upon the fore-part, for the better accommodation of perſons of rank, who occupy them both day and night. The pahies differ alſo in ſize, being from ſixty to ſeventy feet long, they are alſo very narrow, and are ſometimes uſed for fighting, but chiefly for long voyages. In going from one iſland to another, they are out ſometimes a month, and often at ſea a fortnight or twenty days, and if they had convenience to ſtow more proviſions, they could ſtay out much longer.

Theſe veſſels are very uſeful in landing, and putting off from the ſhore in a ſurf, for by their great length and high ſtern they landed dry, when the Endeavour's boats could ſcarcely land at all.

They are very curious in the conſtruction of theſe boats, the chief parts or pieces whereof are formed ſeparately without either ſaw, plane, chiſſel, or any other iron tool, which renders their fabrication more ſurpriſing

* One of the worſt cuſtoms of the people of Otaheite, is that which ſeveral of the principal people of the iſland have adopted of uniting in an aſſociation, wherein no woman confines herſelf to any particular man, by which means they obtain a perpetual ſociety. Theſe ſocieties are called Arreoy. The members have meetings where the men amuſe themſelves with wreſtling, and the women dance the Timorodee in ſuch a manner as is moſt likely to excite the deſires of the other ſex, and which were frequently gratified in the aſſembly. A much worſe practice is the conſequence of this. If any of the women prove with child, the infant is deſtroyed, unleſs the mother's natural affection ſhould prevail with her to preſerve its life, which, however, is forfeited unleſs ſhe can procure a man to adopt it. And where ſhe ſucceeds in this, ſhe is expelled from the ſociety being called Whannownow, which ſignifies a bearer of children, by way of reproach.

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surprising and worthy observation. These parts being prepared, the keel is fixed upon blocks, and the planks are supported with props, till they are sewed or joined together with strong plaited thongs, which are passed several times through holes bored with a chissel of bone, such as they commonly make use of, and when finished, they are sufficiently tight without caulking. They keep these boats with great care in a kind of shed, built on purpose to contain them. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were at a loss to find out their method of dividing time, they always made use of the term Malama, which signifies the moon, whenever they spoke of time, either past or to come; they reckon thirteen of these moons, beginning again when they are expired. This proves that they have some idea of the solar year; but these gentlemen could not discover how they computed their months, to make thirteen equal to the year, as they said these months consisted of twenty-nine days, one day in which the moon was invisible being included. They, however, knew the prevailing weather that was to be expected, as well as the fruits which would be in season. As to the day, they divide it into twelve equal parts, six of which belong to the day, and the other six to the night. When they numerate, they reckon from one to ten, making use of their fingers, and changing hands, till they came to the number which they intended to express; and joining expressive signs to their words, in the course of their conversation. But they are not so expert in measuring distances, for when they attempt describing the space between one place and another, they are obliged to express it by the time that would be taken in passing it.

"With regard to their language, it is soft, as it abounds with vowels, and easy to be pronounced, but very few of their nouns or verbs being declineable, it must consequently be rather imperfect. However, they found means to be mutually understood without much difficulty.

"The natives of this country are seldom afflicted with any diseases except sometimes an accidental fit of the cholic; but they are subject to the erisypelas, attended with cutaneous eruptions somewhat resembling the leprosy; and if they have it to any considerable degree, they are excluded from society and live alone, in a small house in some unfrequented part of the island. The management of the sick belongs to the priests, whose method of cure consists generally of prayers and ceremonies, which are repeated till they recover or die. If the former happens, it is attributed to their mode of proceeding; if the patient dies, then they urge that the disease was incurable.

"The religion of these islanders appears to be very mysterious; and as the language adapted to it, was different from that which was spoken on other occasions, the English were not able to gain much knowledge of it. Tupia, who gave them all the information that they got in regard to this particular, informed them, That his countrymen imagined every thing in the creation to proceed from the conjunction of two persons. One of these two first being (the supreme deity) they called Taroataihetoomo, and the other Tapapa; and the year which they call Tettowmatatayo, they suppose to be the daughter of these two. They also imagine an inferior sort of deities, known by the name of Eatuas, two of whom, they say, formerly inhabited the earth, and they suppose that the first man and woman descended from them. The Supreme Being they style "The causer of earthquakes;" but more frequently address their prayers to Tane, whom they conceive to be a son of the first progenitors of nature. They believe in the existence of the soul in a separate state, and suppose that there are two situations differing in the degrees of happiness, which they consider as receptacles for different ranks, but not as places of rewards and punishments. Their notion is, that the chiefs and principal people will have the preference to those of lower ranks. For as to their actions they cannot conceive them to influence their future state, as they believe the deity takes no cognizance of them. The office of priest is hereditary; there are several of them of all ranks: the chief is respected next to their kings; and they are in general superior to the natives, not only in point of divine knowledge, but also in that of astronomy and navigation. They are not at all concerned with the ceremony of marriage, which is only a simple agreement between the man and the woman, and when they chuse to separate, the matter is accomplished with as little ceremony as was thought necessary to bring them together. These people do not appear to worship images of any kind; but they enter their Morals with great awe and humility, their bodies being uncovered to the waist when they bring their offering to the altar.

"As to their form of government, there is a sort of subordination among them which resembles the early state of all the nations of Europe when under the feudal system; which reserved authority to a small number, putting the rest intirely in their power. The ranks of the people of this island were these, Earee Rahie, signifying a king or supreme governor; Earee, answering to the title of baron; Mannahoonies, to that of vassal; and Toutou, under which name was included the lowest orders of the people, such as are called villains according to the old law term. The Earee Rahie, of which there are two here, one belonging to each peninsula, had great respect shewn them by all ranks. The Earees are lords of one or more of the districts, into which these governments are divided; and they separate their territories into lots, which are given among the Manahoonies, who respectively cultivate the share that they hold under the baron. But they are only nominal cultivators; this, as well as all other laborious work, being done by the Toutou, or lower class of the people. The sovereign, or Earee Rahie, and the baron, or Earee are succeeded in titles and honours by their children, as soon as they are born; but their estates remain in their possession, and subject to the management of their parents. Every district under the command of an Earee furnishes a proportionate number of fighting men, for the defence of the common cause, in case of a general attack; and they are all subject to the command of the Earee Rahie. The number of fighting men furnished by the principal districts, amounted (according to Tupia's account) to upwards of 6000. Their weapons, as we have already observed, consist of slings, with which they are very dextrous, and of long clubs, remarkably hard,

* The following specimen will possibly enable the reader to form some notion of the language of those islanders.

Aheine, *a woman*	Ereowroo, *the head*
Aihoo, *a garment*	Huaheine, *a wife*
Ainao, *take care*	Itopa, *to fall*
Aree, *a chief*	Kipoo a meemhee, *a chamber-pot*
Aouna, *to-day*	Mahana, *a day*
Aoy, *water*	Marroowhai, *dry*
Eahoo, *the nose*	Matau, *the eyes*
Eawow, *to scald*	Matte roah, *to die*
Eei, *to eat*	Mayneence, *to tickle*
Eeyo, *look you*	Meyoooo, *the nails*
Emoto, *to box*	Midee, *a child*
Epanoo, *a drum*	Mutee, *a kiss*
Epeenei, *an echo*	Myby, *good*
Epehe, *a song*	Necheeo, *good night*
Oboboa, *to-morrow*	Tatta te homannee maital, *a good-natured person*
Oowhau, *the thighs*	Tea, *white*
Ore' dehaiya, *a large nail*	Teine, *a brother*
Ore' eeteea, *a small nail*	Tooaheine, *a sister*
Orawra, *yesterday*	Tooanahoe, *you and I*
Pahie, *a ship*	Toonoah, *a mole in the skin*
Parawei, *a shirt*	Tumatau, *a bonnet*
Poa, *a night*	Wahoa, *fire*
Poe, *ear-rings*	Waow, *I*
Tane, *a husband*	

It is remarkable that the people of Otaheite, finding great difficulty in pronouncing English names, instituted others more agreeable with their own language, by which they distinguished their guests: Thus Captain Cook they called *Toote*; Hicks, *Hate*; Green, *Treen*; and, Mr. Banks they called *Opane*.

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hard, with which they fight obſtinately and cruelly, giving no quarter to their enemies in time of battle."

While the Endeavour ſtaid at Otaheite, there was a good underſtanding between the Earees of the two peninſulas, though it ſeems that the Earee of Tiarrebau called himſelf king of the whole iſland: this however was a mere nominal claim, and was conſidered as ſuch by the inhabitants. There is nothing among them ſubſtituted for money or a general medium by which every deſirable object may be purchaſed or procured; neither can any permanent good be obtained by force or fraud. The general commerce with women ſets aſide almoſt every excitement to commit adultery. In a word, in a government ſo little poliſhed, though diſtributive juſtice cannot be regularly adminiſtered, as at the ſame time there can be but few crimes whereon to exerciſe it, the want of this juſtice is not ſo ſeverely felt, as it muſt be in more civiliſed ſocieties.

Before the crew of the endeavour quitted Otaheite, it is to be remarked that they were appriſed of the natives having the venereal diſeaſe among them, which it was eaſy to conclude was diſſeminated there by M. Bougainville's people. The iſlanders called it by a name expreſſive of *rottenneſs*, and gave the moſt diſmal accounts of its effects, obſerving that the hair and nails of thoſe who were firſt infected with it, fell off, and the fleſh rotted from their bones; while their countrymen uninfected, and neareſt relations were ſo much terrified at the appearance, that the unhappy ſufferer was often forſaken by them, and left to periſh in that horrible condition.—

On Thurſday, the 13th of July, after leaving the iſland of Otaheite, they ſailed with clear weather and a gentle breeze; and Tupia informed them that the iſlands which he called *Huaheine*, *Ulietea*, *Otaha*, and *Bolabola*, were at the diſtance of about one or two days ſail, and that hogs, fowls, and other refreſhments which were very ſcarce on board, were to be got there in great abundance. Accordingly they proceeded in ſearch of theſe iſlands, and diſcovered Huaheine, on the 14th, and ſounded on the 16th near the north-weſt part of the iſland, but found no bottom at 70 fathoms. Several canoes put off; but the Indians ſeemed fearful of coming near the veſſel till the ſight of Tupia removed their apprehenſions. They then came along ſide, and the king of Huaheine and the queen came on board. They ſeemed ſurpriſed at whatever was ſhewn them, but made no inquiries after any thing but what was immediately preſented before them. The king, whoſe name was Oroe, propoſed exchanging names with Captain Cook, a cuſtom which is looked upon as a mark of friendſhip in this iſland, and which the captain readily complied.

Huaheine.

The people here appeared in almoſt every reſpect ſimilar to thoſe of Otaheite; only Tupia aſſerted that they were not like them addicted to thieving.

The captain having come to an anchor in a ſmall but convenient harbour on the weſt ſide of the iſland, went on ſhore with Mr. Banks, and ſome other gentlemen, accompanied by the king and Tupia. The laſt-mentioned uncovered himſelf to the waiſt, deſiring Mr. Monkhouſe to follow his example. Being ſeated, he now began a ſpeech, which laſted about twenty minutes; the king, who ſtood oppoſite to him, anſwering in what ſeemed ſet replies. During this diſcourſe he delivered, at different times, a handkerchief, a black ſilk neck-cloth, ſome beads, and plantains, as preſents to their Eatua or Deity. He received in return for the Eatua, of the Engliſh, a hog, ſome young plantains, and two bunches of feathers, which were carried on board. Theſe ceremonies were conſidered as a kind of ratification of a treaty between the Engliſh and the king of Huaheine.

On the 17th they went again on ſhore, and walked up into the country, the productions of which greatly reſembled thoſe of the Otaheite; the rocks and clay ſeemed, however, more burnt; the boat-houſes were large, and the other houſes neat. The level part of the country affords the moſt beautiful landſcapes that the imagination can poſſibly form an idea of; the ſoil is exceedingly fertile, and the ſhore is lined with fruit-trees of different kinds, particularly the cocoa-nut, which was ſeen in great abundance. They alſo went on ſhore on the 18th, without Tupia, but his boy, whoſe name was Taiyota, accompanied them, and Mr. Banks propoſed taking a more perfect view of a kind of cheſt, or ark, which he had before obſerved: the lid of this ark was covered in a peculiar manner, and thatched with palm-nut leaves. It was placed upon two poles, and ſuſtained on ſmall carved arches of wood; the poles ſerved to remove it from one place to the other, in the manner of a ſedan chair: it is very ſurpriſing, that this cheſt was of a form greatly reſembling the ark of the Lord, among the Jews; but what was ſtill more extraordinary, the boy informed them that it was called *Ewharee no Eatua*, *the houſe of the God*, but could give no account of its nothing or utility.—With ſome difficulty they negotiated for eleven pigs, and were not without hopes of obtaining more the next morning.—

On the 19th they carried ſome hatchets with them, with which they procured three hogs. As they propoſed to ſail in the afternoon, the king accompanied by ſome others of the natives, came on board to take his leave, when his majeſty received from Captain Cook a ſmall pewter plate, with the following inſcription, "His Britannic Majeſty's ſhip Endeavour, Captain Cook commander, 16 July 1769." He alſo was preſented with ſome medals, or counters, reſembling the coin of England, and other trifles which were very acceptable to him. The iſland lies in 16° 43′ ſouth latitude, and 150° 52′ weſt longitude; it is about 30 leagues diſtant from Otaheite, and is about twenty miles in circumference. Their productions ſeem to be about a month forwarder than thoſe of Otaheite. Mr. Banks ſaw only a few new plants, but he found here a new ſpecies of ſcorpion.

The inhabitants are of a very lazy diſpoſition, but are ſtouter and larger made than thoſe of Otaheite. The women are much fairer than thoſe of that iſland, and in general are very handſome; neither ſo ſuſceptible of fear, nor not ſo deſirous of information.

They ſailed from Huaheine for the iſland of Ulietea, and came within a league or two of the ſhore in the afternoon. The next morning, by the direction of Tupia, they anchored in a bay which is formed by a reef on the north ſide of the iſland, two canoes full of the natives ſoon came off from the ſhore, and brought with them two ſmall hogs, which they exchanged for ſome nails and beads. The captain, Mr. Banks, and ſome other gentlemen now went on ſhore, accompanied by Tupia, who introduced them with the ſame kind of ceremonies that had taken place on their landing at Huaheine; after which Captain Cook took poſſeſſion of this adjacent iſland in the name of the king of Great Britain. They then walked to a large Morai, which the natives called Tapodoboatea. They found that it differed from the ſepulchral ornaments of Otaheite, being compoſed of four walls, about eight or nine feet in height, and built of large coral ſtones, ſurrounding a court of about 30 feet ſquare. They ſaw an ewhatta or altar, on which a hog was placed as an offering, weighing about an hundred pounds. There was an amphitheatre in the front of this morai, facing the ſea. They alſo ſaw three or four *Ewharee*, *no Eatua* (houſes of God) like that which was obſerved at Huaheine.

Ulietea.

The maſter was ſent on the 21ſt to inſpect the ſouthern part of the iſland, and a lieutenant was diſpatched in the yawl to ſound the harbour where the Endeavour lay; while the captain went in the pinnace to take a view to the northward. On their return they ſaw a tree of the ſame kind as that which had been obſerved by Mr. Green at Otaheite; the circumference of the trunk, or rather congeries of the roots of which, meaſured about 40 yards.

The hazy weather and briſk gales prevented Captain Cook

Engraved for Moore's Voyages & Travels.

The Mode of **DANCING** *in the Island of Ulietea.*

Page sculp

Exact representation of a **MORAI**, *or* **BURIAL PLACE**, *in Otaheitee.*

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Cook from getting under ſail, till the 24th, when he put to ſea, and ſteered northward within the reef, towards an opening, at the diſtance of about five or ſix leagues, in effecting which he was in great danger of ſtriking on a rock, the man who ſounded, crying out on a ſudden "Two fathoms," which could not but alarm them greatly, but luckily they received no damage.

The name of the bay where the Endeavour lay at anchor is Oopoa. It is capacious enough to hold a great number of ſhipping, and is ſecured from the ſea by a reef of rocks. Its ſituation is off the eaſternmoſt part of the iſland. The proviſions here conſiſt of cocoa-nuts, yams, plantains, and a few hogs and fowls. The country round about the place where they landed was not ſo plentiful as at Otaheite or Huaheine.

Otoha. They were within a league or two of the iſland of Otoha; but could not get near enough to land (the wind having proved contrary) till the 25th in the morning, when Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went in the long-boat with the maſter, in order to ſound a harbour on the eaſt ſide of the iſland, which they found ſafe and convenient. They then went on ſhore and purchaſed a large quantity of plantains, and ſome hogs and fowls. The produce of this iſland was much the ſame with that of Ulietea, but it ſeemed to be more barren. They received the ſame compliment from the Indians here, as was uſual for them to pay their own kings, which was by uncovering their ſhoulders, and wrapping their cloaths round their bodies. They made ſail to the northward, and at eight o'clock the next morning they were under the high peaks of Bolabola. They found the iſland inacceſſible in this part, and found likewiſe that it was impoſſible to weather the ſouth end of it till late at night. On the 13th they diſcovered an iſland which Tupia called *Maurua*, but ſaid it was ſmall, ſurrounded by a reef, and without any commodious harbour, but inhabited, and yielded nearly the ſame produce as the adjacent iſlands. In the middle is a high round hill which may be ſeen at eleven or twelve leagues diſtance. In the afternoon, finding themſelves to windward of ſome harbour that lay on the weſt ſide of Ulietea, they intended to put into one of them, in order to ſtop a leak which they had ſprung in the powder-room, and to take in ſome additional ballaſt. The wind being right againſt them, they plied on and off till the afternoon of the firſt of Auguſt, when they came to an anchor in the entrance of the channel, which led into one of the harbours.

Maurua.

On Wedneſday the 3d, in the morning, when the tide turned, they came into a proper place for mooring in 28 fathom. In the interim many of the natives came off, and brought hogs, fowls, and plantains, which were purchaſed upon very moderate terms. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went on ſhore, and ſpent the day very agreeably; the natives ſhewing them great reſpect: being conducted to the houſes of the chief people, they found thoſe who had ran haſtily before them, ſtanding on each ſide of a long mat ſpread upon the ground, and the family ſitting at the farther end of it. In one houſe they obſerved ſome very young girls dreſſed in the neateſt manner, who kept their places waiting for the ſtrangers to accoſt them; theſe girls were the moſt beautiful the gentlemen had ever ſeen.

One of them, who was about ſeven or eight years old, was dreſſed in a red gown, and her head was decorated with a great quantity of plaited hair; this ornament is called Tamou, and is held in great eſtimation among them. She was ſitting at the upper end of one of their long mats, on which none of the people preſent preſumed to ſet a foot; and her head was reclined on the arm of a decent looking woman, who appeared to be her nurſe; when Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander approached her, ſhe ſtretched out her hand to receive ſome beads, which they preſented to her, with an air of ſuch dignity and gracefulneſs, as would have done honour to the firſt princeſs in Europe.

Before their departure, they were entertained with a dance, different from any they had ſeen before. The performer put upon his head a large piece of wicker-work, about four feet long, of a cylindrical form, covered with feathers, and edged round with ſhark's teeth. Having this head-dreſs on, which is called a Whou, he began to dance with a ſlow motion; frequently moving his head, ſo as to deſcribe a circle with the top of his wicker cap, and ſometimes throwing it ſo near the faces of the by-ſtanders as to make them jump back: this they conſidered as an excellent piece of humour, and it always produced a hearty laugh, when practiſed upon any of the Engliſh gentlemen. 1769

On Thurſday the 3d, as Mr. Banks and the Doctor were going along the ſhore to the northward, with a deſign to purchaſe ſtock, they met with a company of dancers, who retarded the progreſs of their excurſion. The company was compoſed of ſix men and two women dancers, with three drums. They were informed that theſe dancers were ſome of the principal people of the iſland, and though they were an itinerant troop, they did not, like the ſtrolling parties of Otaheite, receive any gratuity from the by-ſtanders. The women wore a conſiderable quantity of tamou, or plaited hair, ornamented with flowers of the cape jeſſamine, which were ſtuck in with taſte, and made an elegant head-dreſs. The womens necks, breaſts, and arms, were naked; the other parts of their bodies were covered with black cloth, which was faſtened cloſe round them, and by the ſide of each breaſt, next the arms, was a ſmall plume of black feathers, worn like a noſegay.

Thus apparelled, they advanced ſideways, keeping time with great exactneſs to the drums, which beat quick and loud; ſoon after they began to ſhake themſelves in a very whimſical manner, and put their bodies into a variety of ſtrange poſtures, ſometimes ſitting down, and at others falling with their faces to the ground, and reſting on their knees and elbows, moving their fingers at the ſame time with a quickneſs ſcarcely to be credited. The chief dexterity, however, of the dances, as well as the amuſement of the ſpectators, conſiſted in the lacivioufneſs of their attitudes and geſtures.

Between the dances of the women a kind of dramatic interlude was performed by the men, conſiſting of dialogue as well as dancing; but for want of a ſufficient knowledge of their language, they could not learn the ſubject of this interlude.

Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and ſome other gentlemen, were preſent at a more regular dramatic entertainment the next day. The performers, who were all men, were divided into two parties, one dreſſed in brown, and the other in white, by way of diſtinction. Tupia being preſent, informed them that the party in brown acted the parts of a maſter and his ſervants, and the party in white, a gang of thieves; the maſter having produced a baſket of meat, which he gave in charge to his ſervants: which party, exhibited a variety of expedients, in endeavouring to ſteal this baſket, and the brown ſet as many in preventing the accompliſhment of their deſign. After ſome time had been ſpent in this manner, thoſe to whom the baſket was intruſted, laying themſelves down on the ground round it, pretended to fall aſleep; the other party availing themſelves of this opportunity, ſtole gently upon them, and carried off their booty; the ſervants awaking ſoon after, diſcovered their loſs, but they made no ſearch after the baſket, and began to dance with as much alacrity as before.

On Saturday the 5th, ſome hogs and fowls, and ſeveral large pieces of cloth, many of them being fifty or ſixty yards in length, together with a quantity of plantains and cocoa-nuts, were ſent to Captain Cook, as a preſent from the Earee Rahie of the iſland of Bola- Bolabola.
bola, accompanied with a meſſage, importing that he was then on the iſland, and intended waiting on the captain.

On Sunday the 6th, the king of Bolabola did not viſit

1769 visit them agreeable to his promise, his absence, however, was not in the least regretted, as he sent three young women to demand something in return for his present. After dinner, they set out to pay the king a visit on shore, since he did not think proper to come on board. As this man was the Earee-Rahie of the Bolabola men, who had conquered this, and were the dread of all the neighbouring islands, they were greatly disappointed, instead of finding a vigorous enterprising young chief, to see a poor feeble old dotard, half blind, and sinking under the weight of age and infirmities. He received them without either that state or ceremony which they had hitherto met with among the other chiefs.

On Wednesday the 19th, having stopped their leak, and taken on board their fresh stock of provisions they sailed out of the harbour. Though they were several leagues distant from the island of Bolabola, Tupia earnestly intreated Captain Cook, that a shot might be fired towards it; which, to gratify him, the captain complied with. This was supposed to have been intended by Tupia as a mark of his resentment against the inhabitans of that place, as they had formely taken from him large possessions which he held in the island of Ulietea, of which island Tupia was a native, and a subordinate chief, but was driven out by these warriors.

They had great plenty of provisions, as well of hogs, as of vegetables, during the time they continued in the neighbourhood of these islands, so that they were not obliged to use any considerable quantity of the ship's provisions, and they had flattered themselves, that the fowls and hogs would have supplied them with fresh provisions during the course of their voyage to the southward, but in this they were unhappily disappointed, for as the hogs could not be brought to eat any European grain, or any provender whatever, that the ship afforded, they were reduced to the disagreeable necessity of killing them immediately on their leaving those islands; and the fowls all died of a disease in their heads, with which they were seized soon after they had been carried on board.

As they were detained longer at Ulietea in repairing the ship than they expected, they did not go on shore at Bolabola; but after giving the general name of *The Society Islands*, to the islands of Huaheine, Ulietea, Bolabola, Otaha, and Maurua, which lie between the latitude of 16° 10′ and 18° 55′ south, they pursued their course, standing southwardly for an island, to which they were directed by Tupia, at above 100 leagues distant, which they discovered on Sunday the 13th, and were informed by him, that it was called Obiterea.

The next morning they stood in for land, and saw several of the inhabitants coming along the shore. One of the lieutenants was dispatched in the pinnace to sound for anchorage, and to obtain what intelligence could be got from the natives concerning any land, that might be farther to the south. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia, went with the lieutenant in the boat. Obiterea. When they approached the shore, they observed, that the Indians were armed with long lances. A number of them were soon drawn together on the beach, and two jumped into the water endeavouring to gain the boat; but she soon left them and some others that had made the same attempt, far enough behind her. Having doubled the point where they intended to land, they opened a large bay, and saw another party of the natives standing at the end of it, armed like those whom they had seen before. Preparations were then made for landing, on which a canoe full of Indians came off towards them. Observing this, Tupia received orders to acquaint them that the English did not intend to offer them violence, but meant to traffic with them for nails, which were produced. Thus informed they came along-side the boat, and took some nails that were given them, being seemingly well pleased with the present. Yet a few minutes after, several of these people boarded the boat, designing to drag her on shore; but some musquets being discharged over their heads they leaped into the sea, and having reached the canoe, put back with all possible expedition, joining their countrymen who stood ready to receive them. The boat immediately pursued the fugitives, but the crew finding the surf extremely violent, did not venture to land there, but coasted along shore to try if they could not find a more convenient place. Soon after the canoe got on shore, a man opposite the boat flourished his weapon, calling out at the same time with a shrill voice, which was a mark of defiance, as Tupia explained it to the English.—Not being able to find a proper landing-place they returned, with an intention to attempt it where the canoe went on shore; whereupon another warrior repeated the defiance: his appearance was more formidable than that of the other; he had a high cap on made of the tail feathers of a bird, and his body was painted with various colours. When he thought fit to retire, a grave man came forward, who asked Tupia several questions, relating to the place from whence the vessel came, Who were the persons on board? Whither they were bound? &c. After this, it was proposed that the people in the boat should go on shore and trade with them if they would lay aside their weapons; but the latter would not agree to this, unless the English would do the like. As this proposal was by no means an equal one, when it was considered that the hazard must for many reasons be greater to the boat's crew than the Indians, and as perfidy was dreaded, it was not complied with. Besides, since neither the bay which the Endeavour entered, nor any other part of the island furnished good harbour or anchorage, it was resolved not to attempt landing any more, but to sail from hence to the southward. Of the people of the island we have the following account.

"The natives are very tall, well proportioned, and have long hair, which, like the inhabitants of the other islands, they tie in a bunch on the top of their heads, they are likewise tatowed in different parts of their bodies, but not on their posteriors. The isle does not shoot up into high peaks like the others that they visited, but is more level and uniform, and divided into small hillocks, some of which are covered with groves of trees. However, none of those bearing the bread fruit were seen, and not many cocoa-trees, but a great number of those called Etoa, were seen on the sea coast of this island. Both the nature of their cloth, and their manner of wearing it differed in many respects from what had been observed in the progress of our voyagers. All the garments that these people wore, were died yellow, and painted with a variety of colours on the outside. One piece formed their whole habit, having a hole in it through which they put their heads. This reached as far as their knees, and was tied close round their bodies with a kind of yellowish sash. Some of them also wore caps of the same kind, as we have already mentioned, and others bound round their heads a piece of cloth which resembled a turban."

The Endeavour sailed from this island on the 15th of August, with a fine breeze; but on the 16th it was hazy, and they bore away for what resembled several high peaks of land, but the weather clearing up, they were convinced of their mistake, and resumed their course accordingly. They saw a comet on the 30th, about four o'clock, which was then about 60° above the horizon. Land was discovered at west by north, on Thursday the 7th of October, and in the morning of the 8th they came to an anchor opposite the mouth of a small river, not above half a league from the coast.

Captain Cook, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and some other gentlemen, having left the pinnace at the mouth of the river, proceeded a little farther up, when they landed, leaving the yawl to the care of some of their boys, and went up to a few small houses in the neighbourhood. Some of the natives that had concealed themselves in the neighbourhood took advantage of their absence from the boat, and rushed

out, advancing towards it, and brandiſhing their long wooden lances. On this, the boys dropped down the ſtream, but the ſavages purſued them cloſely. The cockſwain of the pinnace then fired a muſquetoon over their heads, but it did not prevent them from following till they were near enough to diſcharge their lances, in conſequence of which he levelled his piece and ſhot one of them dead upon the ſpot. They remained for a ſhort time motionleſs with aſtoniſhment, but retreated precipitately as ſoon as they had recovered from their fright. In the mean while thoſe in the pinnace and yawl being alarmed at the report of the piece, made haſte to return to the veſſel.

The Captain, Mr. Banks, and ſeveral gentlemen went on ſhore, with Tupia, on the Monday following, and a proper party, on that ſide of the river which was oppoſite to a ſpot where ſome Indians were ſeated on the ground. Theſe latter immediately ſtarted up, and began to handle their weapons; but Tupia ſpeaking to them, the gentlemen were agreeably ſurpriſed to find that he was underſtood by them, as they ſpoke his language, though in a different dialect. It appeared at firſt, that they had hoſtile intentions, whereupon it was thought proper to fire a muſquet at ſome diſtance from them. The ball ſtruck the water; and the effect which it had was viſible, in deterring them from farther menacing the Engliſh. Afterwards the captain, with ſome of the gentlemen and Tupia in their company, the mariners being previouſly drawn up, advanced nearer to the river's ſide. This friendly Indian ſpoke again to them, and told them that the Engliſh wanted only to trade; to which they readily conſented; but the gentlemen would not croſs the river unleſs the natives would lay aſide their weapons, which they could not by any means be prevailed upon to do, and without which conceſſion it was thought improper to croſs the river. The gentlemen, however, in their turn, intreated the iſlanders to come over; which one of them conſented to. However, they did not ſeem to value the beads and iron with which the Engliſh preſented them, nor would they give any thing in return, but propoſed to exchange their weapons for thoſe belonging to the Engliſh, which being conſequently objected to, they endeavoured ſeveral times to ſnatch them out of their hands, but as the Engliſh were on their guard, from the information given them by Tupia, that they were ſtill enemies, their attempts to ſeize their arms were repeatedly fruſtrated, and Tupia, by the directions of the gentlemen, gave them notice, that any further violence would be puniſhed with inſtant death. One of them had, nevertheleſs, the audacity to ſnatch Mr. Green's hanger, and, retiring a few paces, flouriſhed it over his head; he, however, paid for this temerity with his life, Mr. Monkhouſe firing at him with a muſquet loaded with ball; and that gentleman afterwards, with ſome difficulty, recovered the hanger, one of the Indians endeavouring to ſeize it.

The behaviour of the natives, added to the want of freſh water, induced Captain Cook to continue his courſe round the head of the bay. He was ſtill in hopes of getting ſome of the Indians on board, and by preſents added to civil uſage, to convey through them a favourable idea of the Engliſh to their fellow countrymen and thereby ſettle a good correſpondence with them. Soon after an event occurred, though attended with diſagreeable circumſtances, that promiſed to facilitate this deſign. Two canoes appeared, making towards land, and Captain Cook propoſed intercepting them with boats. One of them got clear off, but the Indians in the other finding it impoſſible to eſcape the boats, began to attack them with their paddles; this compelled the Endeavour's people to fire upon them, when four of the Indians were killed, and the other three, who were youths, jumped into the water, and endeavoured to ſwim to ſhore; they were, however, taken up and brought on board. They were at firſt greatly terrified, thinking they ſhould be killed; but Tupia, by repeated aſſurances of friendſhip, removed their fears, and they afterwards eat very heartily of the ſhip's proviſions. When they retired to reſt, in the evening, they appeared perfectly eaſy in their minds, and ſlept very quietly for ſome hours, but in the middle of the night their fears returned, and they appeared in great agitation, frequently uttering loud and diſmal groans. After ſome time, however, the friendly promiſes and kind careſſes of Tupia again prevailed over their fears, and they became ſo calm and reſigned as to ſing a ſong, the tune of which was ſolemn and ſlow, and at the dead of the night, when an univerſal ſilence prevailed throughout the ſhip, had an aweful and pleaſing effect. The next morning, after they were dreſſed and ornamented, according to the mode of their country, with necklaces and bracelets, Captain Cook propoſed ſetting them on ſhore, that they might give a favourable report to their countrymen of the reception they had met with. They teſtified much ſatisfaction on being told they were going to be releaſed, but ſeemed under great apprehenſions of danger, at finding the boat approach Captain Cook's firſt landing-place, intimating, that the inhabitants were their foes, and that they always killed and eat their enemies. The captain nevertheleſs, judged it expedient to land near the ſame ſpot, which he accordingly did, with Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia, reſolving at the ſame time to protect the youths from any injury that might be offered them, but on ſeeing two large parties of the Indians advancing haſtily towards them, they returned, and again put themſelves under their protection. As the Indians drew nearer, one of the boys diſcovered his uncle amongſt them, and a converſation took place between them acroſs the river, in which the lad gave a very juſt account of the hoſpitality he had met with, and took great pains to diſplay their cloaths and finery. Soon after, the uncle ſwam acroſs the river, bringing with him a green bough, as a token of friendſhip, which was received as ſuch, and ſeveral preſents were made him. The body of the Indian, who was ſhot the day before, lay in the ſame place where he fell; one of the boys had covered it with part of his cloaths, and after the gentlemen had retired, the Indian performed a kind of ceremony over it, by throwing a green bough towards it, and the body was afterwards carried in a raft acroſs the river. Notwithſtanding the preſence of the uncle of one of the boys, all three of them, by their own deſire, returned to the ſhip, but as the captain intended ſailing the next morning, he ſent them on ſhore in the evening, though much againſt their inclination. The names of theſe boys were Toahowrange, Koikerange, and Maragovete. They informed Captain Cook that there was a particular kind of deer upon the iſland, likewiſe tars, capers, romara, yams, a kind of long pepper, bald coote, and black-birds.

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On the 11th, Captain Cook ſet ſail, in hopes of finding a better anchoring place, after giving this bay (called by the natives Toaneora) the name of *Poverty Bay*, and the ſouth-weſt point he called *Young Nick's head*, on account of its being firſt perceived by a lad on board, named Nicholas Young. They were becalmed in the afternoon, and ſeveral canoes came off from the ſhore with Indians, who received many preſents, and afterwards bartered even their cloaths, and ſome of their paddles, ſo eager were they of being poſſeſſed of as many European commodities as poſſible. A ſingle tree formed the bottom of their canoes, and the upper part conſiſted of two planks ſewed together; they ſat on thwarts, their paddles were painted red, repreſenting many uncommon figures, and very curiouſly wrought. They were armed with bludgeons made of wood, and of the bone of a large animal: they called them *Patoo-Patoo*; and they were well contrived for cloſe fighting.

Poverty-Bay.

After they had finiſhed their traffic, they ſet off in ſuch a hurry, that they forgot three of their companions, who remained on board all night. They teſtified their fears and apprehenſions, notwithſtanding Tupia took great pains to convince them they

1769 were in no danger; and about ſeven o'clock the next morning a canoe came off, with four Indians on board. It was at firſt with difficulty the Indians in the ſhip could prevail on thoſe in the canoe to come near them, and it was not till after the former had aſſured them that the Engliſh did not eat men, that they came along ſide the Endeavour. The chief came on board, whoſe face was tataowed, with a remarkable patoo in his hand, and in this canoe the three Indians left the ſhip. Captain Cook gave the name of *Cape Table* to a point of land about ſeven leagues to the ſouth of Poverty Bay: its figure greatly reſembling a table, and the iſland, called by the natives *Teahowry*, he named *Portland Iſland*, it being very ſimilar to that of the ſame name in the Britiſh Channel. It is joined to the main by a chain of rocks near a mile in length, partly above water. There are ſeveral ſhoals, called ſhambles, about three miles to the north-eaſt of Portland, one of which the Endeavour narrowly eſcaped; there is, however, a paſſage between them with twenty fathom water. Some parts of Portland Iſland, as well as the main, were cultivated; and pumice-ſtone in great quantities lying along the ſhore, within the bay, indicated that there was a volcano in the iſland. High palings upon the ridges of hills were alſo viſible in two places, which were judged to be deſigned for religious purpoſes.

On the 12th ſeveral Indians came off in a canoe; they were diſfigured in a ſtrange manner, danced and ſang, and at times appeared to be peaceably inclined, but at others to menace hoſtilities. Notwithſtanding Tupia ſtrongly invited them to come on board, none of them would quit the canoe. Whilſt the Endeavour was getting clear of the Shambles, five canoes full of Indians came off, and ſeemed to threaten the people on board, by brandiſhing their lances, and other hoſtile geſtures. A four-pounder, loaded with grape-ſhot, was therefore ordered to be fired, but not pointed at them. This had the deſired effect, and made them drop a-ſtern. Two more canoes came off whilſt the Endeavour lay at anchor, but the Indians on board behaved very peaceably and quiet, and received ſeveral preſents, but would not come on board.

On Friday the 13th in the morning, they made for an inlet, but finding it not ſheltered, they ſtood out again; and were chaced by a canoe filled with Indians, but the Endeavour out-ſailed them. She purſued her courſe round the bay, but did not find an opening.

The next morning they had a view of the inland country: It was mountainous, and covered with ſnow in the interior parts, but the land towards the ſea was flat and uncultivated, and in many places there were groves of high trees. Nine canoes full of Indians came from the ſhore, and five of them, after having conſulted together, purſued the Endeavour, apparently with a hoſtile deſign. Tupia was deſired to acquaint them that immediate deſtruction would enſue if they perſevered in their attempts; but words had no influence, and a four-pounder, with grape-ſhot was fired, to give them ſome notion of the arms of their opponents. They were terrified at this kind of reaſoning, and paddled away faſter than they came. Tupia then hailed the fugitives, and acquainted them that if they came in a peaceable manner, and left their arms behind, no annoyance would be offered them; one of the canoes ſubmitting to the terms, came along-ſide the ſhip, and received many preſents; but the other canoes returning, and perſiſting in the ſame menacing behaviour, interrupted this friendly intercourſe.

The following day, Sunday the 15th, they were viſited by ſome fiſhing-boats, the people in which, conducted themſelves in an amicable manner. Though the fiſh which they had on board had been caught ſo long that they were not eatable, Captain Cook purchaſed them merely for the ſake of promoting a traffic with the natives. In the afternoon a canoe with a number of armed Indians came up, and one of them, who was remarkably cloathed, with a black ſkin, found means to defraud the captain of a piece of red baize under pretence of bartering the ſkin he had on for it. As ſoon as he had got the baize into his poſſeſſion, inſtead of giving the ſkin in return, agreeable to his bargain, he rolled them up together, and ordered the canoe to put off from the ſhip, turning a deaf ear to the repeated remonſtrance of the captain againſt his unjuſt behaviour. After a ſhort time, this canoe, together with the fiſhing boats which had put off at the ſame time, came back to the ſhip, and trade was again begun. During this ſecond traffic with the Indians, one of them unexpectedly ſeized Tupia's little boy Taiyota, and pulling him into his canoe, inſtantly put off, and paddled away with the utmoſt ſpeed; ſeveral muſquets were immediately diſcharged at the people in the canoe, and one of them receiving a wound, they all let go the boy, who before was held down in the bottom of the canoe. Taiyota taking the advantage of their conſternation, immediately jumped into the ſea, and ſwam back towards the Endeavour; he was taken on board without receiving any harm; but his ſtrength was ſo much exhauſted with the weight of his cloaths, that it was with great difficulty he reached the ſhip. In conſequence of this attempt to carry off Taiyota, Capt. Cook called the cape off which it happened, *Cape Kidnappers*, lying in latitude 39 deg. 43 min. ſouth, and longitude 182 deg. 24 min. weſt, and is very diſtinguiſhable by the high cliffs and white rocks that ſurrounded it. The diſtance of this cape from Portland Iſland is about 13 leagues, and it forms the ſouth point of a bay which was denominated *Hawke's Bay*, in honour of Admiral Hawke.

Cape Kidnappers.

Hawke's Bay.

Taiyota, on recovering from his fright, produced a fiſh, and informed Tupia that he intended to offer it to his Eatua or God, in gratitude for his happy eſcape; this being approved of by the other Indian, the fiſh was caſt into the ſea. Captain Cook now paſſed by a ſmall iſland which was ſuppoſed to be inhabited only by fiſhermen, as it ſeemed to be barren, and *Bare Iſland* was the name given to it, and to a head-land in latitude 40° 34′ ſouth, and longitude 182° 55′ weſt, becauſe the Endeavour turned, he gave the name of *Cape Turnagain*. It was never certainly known whether New Zealand was an iſland before this veſſel touched there: On this account, the lords of the admiralty had inſtructed Captain Cook to ſail along the coaſts as far as 40 degrees ſouth, and if the land extended farther, to return to the northward again. It was for this reaſon that the captain altered his courſe, when he arrived at the cape above-mentioned: The wind having likewiſe veered about to the ſouth, he returned, ſailing along the coaſt nearly in his former track. Between this and Cape Kidnappers Bay, the land is unequal, and ſomewhat reſembles our downs and ſmall villages, and many inhabitants were obſerved. The ſhip came abreaſt of a peninſula, in Portland Iſland, named *Terakako*, on Wedneſday the 19th. At this time a canoe with five Indians came up to the veſſel. There were two chiefs among them who came on board, and ſtaid all night. One of theſe was a very comely perſon, and had an open and agreeable countenance. They were extremely grateful for the preſents which they received, and diſplayed no ſmall degree of curioſity. They would not eat or drink, but the ſervants devoured the victuals ſet before them with a moſt voracious appetite.

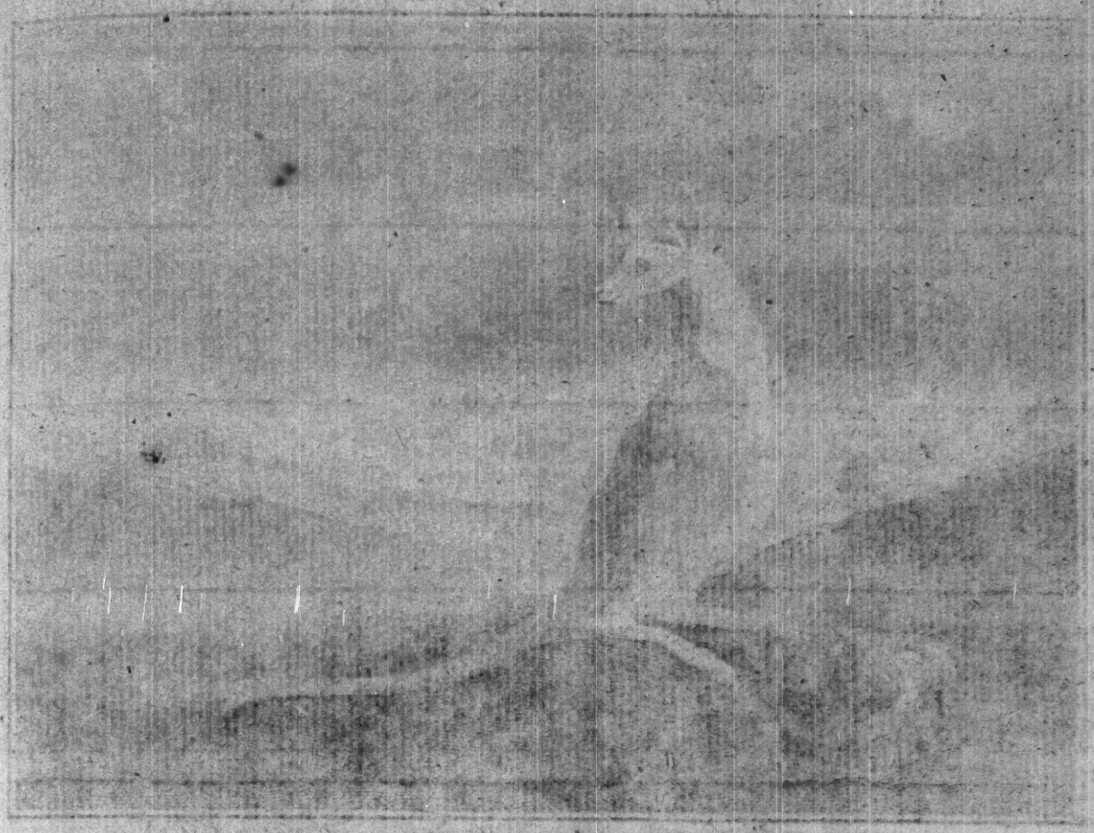
Bare Iſland.

Cape Turnagain.

They gave the name of *Gable End Foreland* to a remarkable head-land, which they paſſed on the 19th. Three canoes appeared here, and one Indian came on board to whom they gave ſmall preſents before he withdrew.

Gable End Foreland.

Several of theſe Indians wore pieces of green-ſtone round their necks which were tranſparent, and reſembled an emerald. Theſe being examined, appeared to be a ſpecies of the Nephritic ſtone. Several pieces of it were procured by Mr. Banks, and it appeared that this furniſhed the iſlanders with their principal



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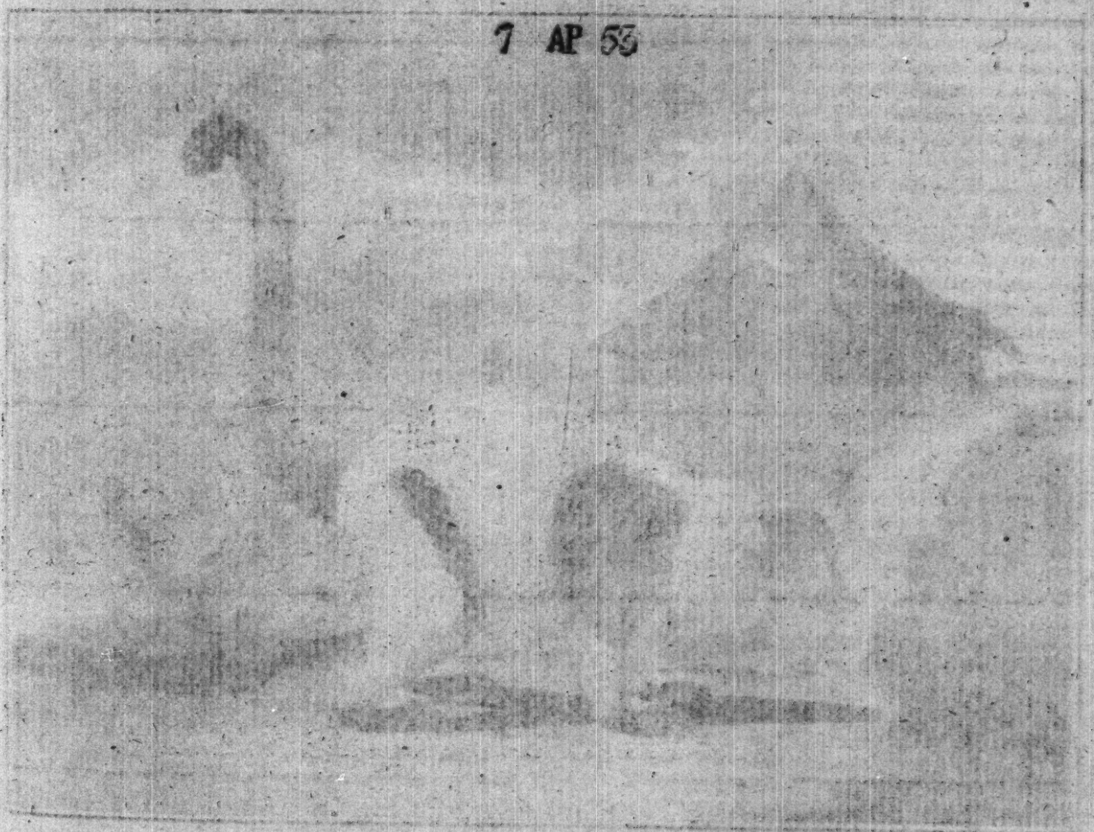

Engraved for Moore's Voyages & Travels.

A Remarkable Animal *found on one of the newly discover'd Islands by* Mr. Banks, &c.

The VARI, *or Maucauco, a native of* MADAGASCAR.

principal ornaments. The form of ſome of their faces was agreeable, and their noſes were rather prominent than flat. Their dialect was not ſo guttural as that of the others, and they ſpoke like the people of the iſland of Otaheite. Having anchored in a bay about two leagues to the northward of the foreland, two chiefs came on board here, and the natives invited them aſhore. The chiefs received preſents of linen, but they did not ſeem to value ſpike-nails ſo much as the inhabitants of the other iſlands. They were dreſſed in jackets, the one ornamented with tufts of red feathers, the other with dog's-ſkin. The natives received Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander courteouſly on ſhore; where they did not appear in numerous bodies. In the courſe of their journey round the bay, freſh water was found. All night they remained on ſhore, and the next day the Doctor and Mr. Banks diſcovered ſeveral plants and many beautiful birds, among which were large pigeons and quails. Many ſtages for the purpoſe of drying fiſh were obſerved near the place where the gentlemen landed, and ſome houſes with fences were ſeen. Some dogs were remarked on the iſland, which had pointed ears, and were very ugly. Sweet potatoes, like thoſe of North America were found here; and the cloth-plant grew ſpontaneous. The lands in the neighbouring valleys were laid out in regular plantations. In the bay there is plenty of crabs, cray-fiſh, and horſe-mackarel, larger than thoſe upon our coaſts. The woods were almoſt impaſſable on account of the number of ſupple jacks (as they are called) which grow there. As to the flat lands, they were planted with cocoas, as the hollow parts were with gourds. The Doctor and Mr. Banks viſited ſeveral of the natives houſes, and they met with a very civil reception. Fiſh conſtituted their principal food at this time; and a root of a ſort of fern ſerved them for bread, which, when roaſted upon a fire, and diveſted of its bark, was ſweet and clammy; in taſte not diſagreeable, but unpleaſant from its number of fibres. Vegetables were, doubtleſs, at other ſeaſons very plentiful. The women painted their faces red, which ſo far from increaſing, diminiſhed the very little beauty they had. The mens faces were not in general painted, but rubbed over with red ocre from head to foot, their apparel not excepted. Though they could not be compared to the inhabitants of Otaheite for cleanlineſs in general, they ſurpaſſed them in this reſpect in ſome particulars. Every dwelling was ſupplied with a privy, and they had dunghills for depoſiting dirt and filth. The women wore a girdle made of the blade of graſs under a petticoat, and to this girdle was tied in front a bunch of fragrant leaves. They ſeemed to hold chaſtity but in little eſtimation, many of the young females reſorting to the watering-place where they bountifully beſtowed every favour that was requeſted. One of the officers on ſhore, meeting with an elderly woman, he accompanied her to her houſe, and having preſented her with ſome cloth and beads, a young girl was ſingled out, and he was given to underſtand he might retire with her. Soon after, an elderly man with two women, came in as viſitors, and with much formality ſaluted all the company, according to the cuſtom of the place, which is by gently joining the tips of their noſes together. The officer, on his return, was furniſhed with a guide, who led him a much better road than that he had came, and whenever they came to a brook or rivulet, the Indian took him upon his back to preſerve him from being wet; ſeveral of the inhabitants were curiouſly tatowed, and one old man in particular, was marked on the breaſt with various figures. There was an axe made of the green-ſtone, already mentioned, which could not be purchaſed, though many things were offered in exchange. At night they danced in a very uncouth manner, making antic geſtures, lolling out their tongues, with other ſtrange grimaces; and in theſe dances old men with grey beards, as well as the young ones, were capital performers. They carried their civility ſo far, as to aſſiſt Mr. Banks and his company with one of their canoes to carry them on board, but the Endeavour's people being unacquainted with the method of ſteering ſuch a veſſel, ſhe was overſet, but no one was drowned; and they reached the ſhip without any farther accident, ſome of the Indians having voluntarily engaged to conduct her. During the ſtay of the gentlemen on ſhore, many of the natives went out in their canoes, and trafficked with the ſhip's company, preferring at firſt the cloth of Otaheite to that of Europe; but it ſoon diminiſhed in its value. Several of the Indians went on board, and teſtified their curioſity and ſurpriſe with regard to the different parts of the ſhip. 1769

On Sunday the 22d, in the evening, they ſailed from this bay, which by the natives is called Tegadoo, and lies in latitude 38° 10' ſouth. The wind being contrary, they put into another bay a little to the ſouth, called by the natives Toltaga in order to complete their wood and water, and extend their correſpondence with the natives: in this bay they came to an anchor in about ſeven fathom water, with a good ſandy bottom. Several canoes appeared with Indians on board, and they trafficked very fairly for glaſs bottles and cloth. The captain, Mr. Banks, and the Doctor went in the afternoon to examine the water, and found it extremely good; here was alſo plenty of wood, and the natives behaved with as much civility as thoſe they had juſt departed from.

On the 24th, Mr. Gore and the marines were ſent on ſhore, to guard the people employed in cutting wood and filling water, Captain Cook, Mr. Banks and the Doctor alſo went on ſhore; the two latter employed themſelves in collecting plants. In their route they found in the vales many houſes uninhabited, the natives reſiding chiefly in ſlight ſheds on the ridges of the hills, which are very ſteep. In a valley between two very high hills they ſaw a curious rock, that formed a large arch, oppoſite to the ſea: this cavity was in length above ſeventy feet, in breadth 30, and near 50 in heighth; it commanded a view of the hill and the bay, which had a very happy effect. Indeed, the whole country about the bay being agreeable beyond deſcription, if properly cultivated would be a moſt fertile ſpot. The hills are covered with beautiful flowering ſhrubs, intermixed with a number of tall and ſtately palms, which perfume the air, and make it moſt agreeably odoriferous. Mr. Banks and the Doctor found the tree that produces the cabbage, which, when boiled, was very good; and ſome other trees that yielded a fine tranſparent gum. Between the hills were fruitful valleys that might have been ſucceſsfully cultivated or turned into paſturage. Various kinds of edible herbage, were met with in great abundance; and there was reaſon to believe there were many trees that produced fruit fit to eat, ſome of which the gentlemen examined. The plant from which the cloth is made, is a kind of Hemerocallis, the leaves of which afford a ſtrong gloſſy flax, equally adapted to cloathing, and making of ropes. There are ſweet potatoes and young plantains near their houſes, which are carefully cultivated. Theſe gentlemen, on their return, met an old man who entertained them with the military exerciſes of the natives, which were performed with the *Patoo-Patoo*, and the lance. The former has already been mentioned, and is uſed as a battle-axe, the latter is 18 or 20 feet in length, made of extreme hard wood, and ſharpened at each end. A ſtake was ſubſtituted for their old warrior's ſuppoſed enemy; he firſt attacked him with his lance, when, having pierced him, the patoo-patoo was uſed to demoliſh his head, and the force with which he ſtruck, would at one blow have ſplit any man's ſcull. This mode of fighting induced the gentlemen to believe no quarter was ever given here in war. The natives in this part are not very numerous, they are tolerably well-ſhaped, but lean and tall, their faces reſemble thoſe of the Europeans, their noſes are aquiline, their eyes dark coloured, their hair is black, which is tied up on the top of their heads, and their beards are of a moderate length, their tatoowing is done very curiouſly in various figures, which makes

1769 their skin resemble carving; it is confined to the principal men, the females and servants using only red paint, with which they daub their faces, that otherwise would not be disagreeable. Their cloth is white, glossy, and very even; it is worn principally by the men, though it is wrought by the women, who, indeed, are condemned to all drudgery and labour.

On the 25th, the armourer's forge was set up on shore for necessary uses. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went again in search of plants, Tupia, who was with them, engaged in a conversation with one of the priests, and they seemed to agree in their opinions upon the subject of religion. Tupia, in the course of this conference, enquired whether the report of their eating men was founded in truth, to which the priest answered it was, but that they ate none but declared foes, after they were killed in war. This idea so savage and barbarous, proved, however, that they carried their resentment even beyond death. Captain Cook and Dr. Solander went on the 27th to inspect the bay, when the doctor was not a little surprised to find the natives in the possession of a boy's top, which they knew how to spin by whipping it, and he purchased it out of curiosity. Mr. Banks was during this time employed in attaining the summit of a steep hill, that had previously engaged their attention, and near it he found many inhabited houses. There were two rows of poles about fourteen or fifteen feet high, covered over with sticks, which made an avenue of about five feet in width, extending near a hundred yards down the hill, in an irregular line: the intent of this erection was not discovered. When the gentlemen met at the watering place, the Indians, sang their war song, which was a strange medley of shouting, sighing, and grimace, at which the women assisted. The next day Captain Cook and the other gentlemen went upon the island at the entrance of the bay, and met with a canoe that was 67 feet in length, six in breadth, and four in height; her bottom, which was sharp, consisted of three trunks of trees, and the sides and head were curiously carved.

There was a large unfinished house upon this island, the posts which supported it were ornamented with carvings, that did not appear to be done upon the spot, and as the inhabitants seem to set great value upon works of this kind, future navigators might find their advantage in carrying such articles to trade with. Though the posts of this house were judged to be brought here, the people seemed to have a taste for carving, as their boats, paddles, and tops of walking sticks evince. Their favourite figure is a volute or spiral, which is sometimes single, double, and triple, and is done with great exactness, though the only instruments the gentlemen saw were an axe made of stone, and a chissel. Their taste, however, was extremely whimsical and extravagant, scarcely ever imitating nature. Their huts are built under trees, their form is an oblong square: the door low on the side, and the windows are at the ends; reeds covered with thatch compose the walls, the beams of the eaves, which come to the ground are covered with thatch; most of the houses the gentlemen saw had been deserted, through fear of the English, upon their landing. There are many beautiful parrots, and great numbers of birds of different kinds, particularly one whose note resembles the European black-bird; but here is no ground fowl or poultry, nor were there any quadrupedes, except rats and dogs, and these were not numerous. The dogs are considered as delicate food, and their skins serve for ornaments to their apparel. There is a great variety of fish in the bay, shell and cray fish are very plentiful, some of the latter weigh near a dozen pounds.

Sunday, October 19, they set sail from this bay, which was called by the natives *Tolaga*. It is situate in latitude 38° 22′ south, four leagues to the north of Gable-End Foreland; there are two high rocks at the entrance of the bay, which form a cove very good for procuring wood and water. There is a high rocky island off the north point of the bay, which affords good anchorage, having a fine sandy bottom, and from seven to thirteen fathom water, and is likewise sheltered from all but the north-east wind.

Captain Cook obtained nothing here in trade but some sweet potatoes, and a little fish. This is a very hilly country, though it presents the eye with an agreeable verdure, various woods and many small plantations. Mr. Banks found a great number of trees in the woods, quite unknown to Europeans, the fire wood resembled the maple-tree, and produced a gum of whitish colour; other trees yielded a gum of a deep yellow green. The only roots they met with were yams and sweet potatoes, though the soil appears very proper for producing every species of vegetables.

Sailing to the northward, they fell in with a small island about a mile distant from the north-east point of the main, and this being the most eastern part of it, the captain named it *East Cape*, and the island *East Island*, it was but small, and appeared barren. The cape is in latitude, 37° 42′ 30″ south. There are many small bays from Tolaga Bay to East Cape. When the Endeavour had doubled the cape, many villages presented themselves to view, and the adjacent land appeared cultivated. In the evening of the 30th, Lieutenant Hicks discovered a bay to which his name was given. Next morning, about nine, several canoes came off from shore with a number of armed men, who appeared to have hostile intentions. Before these had reached the ship, another canoe, larger than any that had yet been seen, full of armed Indians, came off, and made towards the Endeavour with great expedition. The captain now judging it expedient to prevent, if possible, their attacking him, ordered a gun to be fired over their heads. This not producing the desired effect, another gun was fired with ball, which threw them into such consternation that they immediately returned much faster than they came. This precipitate retreat, induced the captain to give the cape, off which it happened, the name of *Cape Runaway*; it lies in latitude 37° 32′ south, and longitude 181° 48′ west. East-Island.

At day-break the next morning between 40 and 50 canoes were seen, several of which came off as before, threatening to attack the English. There was one of their chiefs who flourished his pike, and made several harangues, seeming to bid defiance to those on board the vessel. At last, after repeated invitations, they came close along-side; but instead of shewing a disposition to trade, the haranguing chief uttered a sentence, and took up a stone which he threw against the ship, and immediately after they seized their arms. They were informed by Tupia, of the dreadful consequences of commencing hostilities; but this admonition they seemed little to regard. A piece of cloth, however, happening to attract their eyes, they began to be more mild and reasonable. A quantity of cray fish, muscles, and conger eels was now purchased by the gentlemen. No fraud was attempted by this company of Indians, but some others that came after them, took goods from the vessel without making proper returns. As one of them that had rendered himself remarkable for these practices, and seemed proud of his skill in them, was putting off with his canoe, a musquet was fired over his head, which circumstance produced good order for the present. Yet when these savages began to traffic with the sailors, they renewed their frauds; and one of them was bold enough to seize some linen that was hung to dry, and run away with it. In order to induce him to return, a musquet was first fired over his head, but this not answering the end, he was shot in the back with small shot, yet he still persevered in his design. This being perceived by his countrymen, they dropped a-stern, and set up the song of defiance. In consequence of their behaviour, though they made no preparations to attack the vessel, the captain gave orders to fire a four pounder, which passed over them; but its effect on the water terrified them so much, that they retreated with precipitation to the shore.

A high

A high island was seen to the westward in the afternoon, and other rocks and islands appearing in the same quarter, the ship not being able to weather them before night-fall, bore up between them and the main land. In the evening a double canoe, built after the same fashion as those of Otaheite, came up, when Tupia entered into a friendly conversation with them, and was told that the island, close to which the Endeavour lay, was called *Mowtohera*; it was but a few miles from the main land, pretty high, but of no great extent. When it was dark, these Indians began their usual salute, poured a volley of stones into the ship, and then retreated. A high round mountain was seen S. W. by W. of Mowtohera, which was called Mount Edgecumbe by Captain Cook. Many of the Indian canoes appeared the next morning, and one which appeared to be the same that had given the salute the preceeding night, came up. They once more entered into a peaceable conversation with Tupia, which lasted about an hour, but afterwards discharged another volley of stones at the Endeavour; in consequence of which insult, a musquet was fired, and they took to their paddles with precipitation.

Mowtohera.

The ship sailed in the afternoon of the same day, between a low flat island and the main. The villages on the latter were more extensive than any that they had yet discovered. They were upon the high land next the sea, and were surrounded by a ditch and a bank with rails on the top of it. Some of the inclosures here resembled a rude sort of fortification, and the whole had the appearance of a number of places calculated for defence. The name of *The Court of Aldermen* was given, on the 3d, to several small islands that lay in the neighbourhood, being distant about twelve miles from the main, between which were many other high islands which were mostly barren, as indeed the main land here appeared to be; and the whole seemed but thinly inhabited. Teratu was the name of the chief that governed the district from Cape Turn-again to this coast.

The Court of Aldermen.

Three canoes built differently from those abovementioned came along-side the English vessel on Friday. They were formed of the trunks of whole trees, rendered hollow by burning, which were not ornamented or carved at all. The people on board were of a darker complexion than the others; they were hostile, and their manner of defiance was much the same as that of the other Indians already described.

Captain Cook sailed afterwards towards an inlet, that had been discovered, and anchoring in seven fathoms water, the ship was surrounded soon after by a number of canoes, the crews of which did not seem disposed to commit any act of hostility. A bird being shot by one of the English, the Indians, without shewing any surprise brought it on board, and were rewarded with a piece of cloth for their pains. It might be imagined that this circumstance would have tended to conciliate the affections of those people; but it happened otherwise: as soon as it was dark, they sang one of their songs of defiance, and endeavoured to carry off the buoy of the anchor. Though some musquets were fired at them upon this occasion, they seemed rather to be irritated than frightened, and threatened to return in greater numbers, the next morning. Instead of this, they came back about eleven on the Sunday night, but retired when they found that the ship's crew were upon their guard.

A great number of canoes came off, on the 4th in the morning, on board of which were near 200 men, armed with lances, spears, and stones, who seemed determined to attack the ship and would have boarded her, had they known on what quarter they could best make their attack.

While the crew were watching their motions in the rain, Tupia took all possible pains to dissuade the Indians from attempting any thing against the English; but his arguments had not so good an effect as those that came from the mouths of the musquets, which frightened them effectually, and induced them to begin trading again; yet they could not leave off their fraudulent practices. They sold two of their weapons; but a third, for which they had received cloth, they would not deliver, and only laughed at those who demanded an equivalent. The offender was wounded; but his countrymen did not seem disposed to take notice of him; and another canoe was hit with shot, the natives behaving in the same manner. The people paddled away whilst a round shot was fired over them. 1769

Searching for an anchoring place, the captain saw a fortified village on a high point near the head of the bay, and came to an anchor when he had found a village fortified like those already noticed. Some Indians came off who behaved better than those that had been on board before. An old man in particular, whose name was Tojava, came with another Indian to whom the captain presented some nails. Being informed that the English had no ill designs, this man said they were often visited by freebooters, from the north, who stripped them of all they could lay their hands on, and often made captives of their children and wives; and that being ignorant who the English were upon their first arrival, the natives had taken the alarm upon the ship's appearing off the coast, but were now satisfied of their good intent. He added, That to secure themselves from these plunderers, their houses were built contiguous to the tops of rocks, where they were more able to defend themselves. Probably their poverty and misery may be ascribed to the ravages of this banditti, who often stript them of every necessary of life. Whilst they were fishing for mullets in the bay, the Indians who came upon the banks testified their friendship by every possible means, and gave them an invitation to come on shore. The assurances of friendship, which they had received from the gentlemen on board, seemed to have a proper influence upon the natives, who were now very tractable and submissive, and behaved with much civility to the people in the long-boat, which was again dispatched into the bay to fish, but with little success: the Indians, however, brought great quantities of fish dressed and dried; and though they were indifferent, they were purchased, that trade might not be discouraged. In a word, the natives treated the English with great hospitality, supplied them with wood and good water, and the ship being very foul-keeled, scrubbed her bottom in the bay.

On the 8th of November they were visited by several canoes, in one of which was Tojava, who perceiving two strange canoes paddling from the opposite shore, suddenly turned about and acquainted the captain that he was under apprehensions the people in them were freebooters, but soon found his mistake, and returned to the ship. The Indians supplied the ship's crew with as much excellent fish, resembling mackarel, as was sufficient for all their dinners, for which they gave them some pieces of cloth. A great variety of plants was this day collected by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, who had never observed any of the kind before. These gentlemen remained on shore till near dark, when they observed the manners of the natives disposing of themselves during the night. They lay under some bushes; the men nearest the sea in a semicircular form, and the women and children most distant from it: their arms were placed against trees, very near them to defend themselves in case of a surprise from the freebooters. They had no king whose sovereignty they acknowledged, which was a circumstance unparallelled on any other parts of the coast.

Early in the morning of the 19th several canoes brought a prodigious quantity of mackarel, one sort of which was no way different from the mackarel caught on our coast. These canoes were succeeded by many others, equally loaded with the same sort of fish; and the cargoes purchased were so great, that when salted, they might be considered as a month's provision for the whole ship's company. This being a very clear day, the astronomer (Mr. Green) and the other gentlemen landed to observe the transit of Mercury, and whilst the observation was making, a large canoe, with various

1769 various commodities on board, came along-side the ship; and Mr. Gore, the officer who had then the command, being desirous of encouraging them to traffic, produced a piece of Otaheitean cloth, of more value than any they had yet seen, which was immediately seized by one of the Indians, who obstinately refused either to return it, or give any thing in exchange: he paid dearly however for his temerity, being shot dead on the spot. The death of this young Indian alarmed all the rest; they fled with great precipitancy, and, for the present, could not be induced to renew their traffick with the English. But when the Indians on shore had heard the particulars related by Tojava, who greatly condemned the conduct of the deceased, they seemed to think that he had merited his fate. His name proved to be Otirreeonooe. This transaction happened, as has been mentioned, whilst the observation was making of the transit of Mercury, when the weather was so favourable, that the whole transit was viewed, without a cloud intervening. Mr. Green made the observation of ingress, whilst Captain Cook was engaged in ascertaining the time by taking the sun's altitude. The transit commenced seven hours, 20 min. 58 sec. By Mr. Green's observation the internal contact was at 12 hours, eight min. 57 sec. the external at 12 hours nine min. 54 sec. the latitude 39 deg. 48 min. five sec. In consequence of this observation having been made here, this bay was called *Mercury Bay*.

Mercury Bay.

On the 10th, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and the captain went in boats to inspect a large river that runs into the bay. They found it broader some miles within than at the mouth, and intersected into a number of streams, by several small islands, which were covered with trees. On the east side of the river the gentlemen shot some shags, which proved very good eating. The shore abounded with fish of various kinds, such as cockles, clams, and oysters; and here were also ducks, shags, and curlieus, with other wild fowl in great plenty.—At the mouth of the river there was good anchorage in five fathom water. The gentlemen were received with great hospitality by the inhabitants of a little village on the east side of the river. There are there the remains of a fort called Eppah, on a peninsula that projects into the river, and it was calculated for defending a small number against a greater force. From the remains, it nevertheless seemed to have been taken and partly destroyed.

The Indians sup before sun-set, when they eat fish and birds baked or roasted; they roast them upon a stick, stuck in the ground near the fire, and bake them in the manner the dog was baked, which the gentlemen eat at St. George's Island. A female mourner was present at one of their suppers; she was seated upon the ground, and wept incessantly, at the same time repeating some sentences in a doleful manner, but which Tupia could not explain; at the termination of each period she cut herself with a shell upon her breast, her hands, or her face; notwithstanding this bloody spectacle greatly affected the gentlemen present, yet all the Indians who sat by her, except one, were quite unmoved. The gentlemen saw some, who from the depth of their scars must, upon these occasions, have wounded themselves more violently.

On November the 11th great plenty of oysters were procured from a bed which had been discovered, and they proved exceedingly good. Next day the ship was visited by two canoes, with unknown Indians; after some invitation they came on board, and they all trafficked without any fraud.

Two fortified villages being deserted, the Captain, with Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander, went to examine them. The smallest was romantically situated upon a rock, which was arched; this village did not consist of above five or six houses, fenced round. There was but one path, which was very narrow, that conducted to it. The gentlemen were invited by the inhabitants to pay them a visit, but not having time to spare, took another route, after having made presents to the females. A body of men women and children now approached the gentlemen; these proved to be the inhabitants of another town, which they proposed visiting. They gave many testimonies of their friendly dispositions, among others they uttered the word Heromai, which according to Tupia's interpretation, implied peace, and appeared much satisfied, when informed the gentlemen intended visiting their habitations. Their town was named Wharnetouwa. It is seated on a point of land over the sea, on the north side of the bay; it was paled round, and defended by a double ditch. Within the ditch a stage is erected for defending the place in case of an attack; near this stage, quantities of darts and stones are deposited that they may always be in readiness to repel the assailants. There is another stage to command the path that leads to the town; and there were some outworks. The place seemed calculated to hold out a considerable time against an enemy armed with no other weapons than those of the Indians. It appeared however deficient in water for holding out a siege. Instead of bread, they ate fern root, which was here in great plenty, with dried fish. Very little of the land was cultivated, and sweet potatoes and yams were the only vegetables to be found. There are two rocks near the fort of this fortification, both separated from the main land; they are very small, nevertheless they are not without dwelling-houses and little fortifications. In their engagements they throw stones with their hands, being destitute of a sling, and those and lances are their only missible weapons; they have, besides the patoo-patoo, already described, a staff about five feet in length, and another shorter. The English sailed from this bay, after having taken possession of it in the name of the king of Great Britain, on the 15th of November. Tojava, who visited them in his canoe just before their departure, said he should prepare to retire to his fort as soon as the English were gone, as the relations of Otirreonooe had threatened to take his life, as a forfeit for that of the deceased. Tojava being judged partial in this affair to the English.

A number of islands of different sizes appeared towards the north-west, which were named *Mercury Islands*, Mercury Bay lies in latitude 36° 47′ south; longitude 184° 24′ west, and has a small entrance at its mouth. On account of the number of oysters found in the river, the Captain gave it the name of *Oyster River*: *Mangrove River* (which the captain so called from the great number of those trees that grew near it) is the most secure place for shipping, being at the head of the bay. The north-west side of this bay and river appeared much more fertile than the east side. The inhabitants, though numerous, have no plantations. Their canoes are very indifferently constructed, and are not ornamented at all. They lie under continual apprehensions of Terratu, being considered by him as rebels. Shore iron sand is to be found in plenty on this coast, which proves that there are mines of metal up the country, it being brought down from thence by a rivulet.

Mercury Islands.

Oyster River.

Mangrove River.

In the morning of the 18th, the Endeavour steered between the main, and an island which seemed very fertile, and as extensive as Ulietea. Several canoes filled with Indians, came along-side here, and the Indians sang their war song, but the Endeavour's people paying them no attention, they threw a volley of stones, and then paddled away; however they presently returned their insults. Tupia spoke to them, making use of his old argument, that inevitable destruction would ensue if they persisted; they answered by brandishing their weapons, intimating, that if the English durst come on shore, they would destroy them all. Tupia still continued in expostulating with them, but to no purpose; and they soon gave another volley of stones; but upon a musquet being fired at one of their boats, they made a precipitate retreat. Captain Cook cast anchor in 23 fathom water in the evening, and early the next morning he sailed up an inlet. Soon after two canoes came off, and

and some of the Indians came on board. They claimed an acquaintance with Tojava, and knew Tupia's name; and after they had received some presents, they retired peaceably. The Endeavour was now in the bay called by the natives Oraiaouragee, and Captain Cook, with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and others, went in boats to the bottom of the bay to examine it, and they did not return till next morning. They had been up a fresh-water river in three fathoms water, which would make a good harbour, and had met with an Indian town, and a hippah, or place of refuge, the inhabitants of which invited them to land, and gave them a friendly reception. At the entrance of a wood they met with a tree 98 feet high from the ground to the first branch, quite strait, and 19 feet in circumference; and they found still larger trees of the same kind as they advanced into the wood. The captain called this river *Thames*, as it resembled our river of that name. They also found several young cabbage-trees, and a new species of the palm-nut. They weighed anchor the same afternoon, sailing down the river with the tide, the wind blowing fresh from north-north-west. The next morning the flood obliged them to cast anchor again; and the captain, with Dr. Solander, went on shore to the westward, but made no observation worth relating. The ship at their departure from it, was surrounded with canoes, which induced Mr. Banks to remain on board, that he might trade with the Indians. The chief object of these people was paper, for which they exchanged their arms and cloaths, and took no unfair advantages. Though these traders were in general honest in their dealings, there was one amongst them who took a fancy to a half-minute glass, but was detected in secreting it, and he was punished with a cat of nine tails. The other Indians endeavoured to save him, but being opposed, they got their arms from the canoes, and some of the people in them attempted to get on board. Mr. Banks and Tupia now coming upon deck, the Indians applied to the latter, but he having no influence upon Mr. Hicks, the commanding officer, informed them of the nature of the offender's intended punishment, which pacified them, as they supposed that death would have been the consequence of his crime. However he received twelve lashes, and also a beating from an old man who was conceived to be his father, or some near relation. After this, the canoes went off, and the Indians said they should be afraid to return. Tupia, notwithstanding, prevailed on them to come back; but they seemed to have lost much of that confidence which they had before reposed in Captain Cook and his people. The wind continuing still unfavourable, the vessel was forced to go down the river with the tide on the 23d, and passed a point called *Point Rodney*, to the north-west. During a course of near 30 miles, as they could not approach the land, they had but a distant view of the main. Under the name of the River Thames, the captain comprehended the whole bay; and he gave the name of *Cape Colville* to the promontery at the north-easternmost extremity, in honour of Lord Colville. This cape is to be distinguished by a high rock, and lies in 36° 26′ of south latitude, longitude 194° 27′ west. The river runs south by east from the southern point of the cape. In some parts, it is three leagues over, for about fourteen leagues, after which it becomes narrower. Abundance of fish were supposed to lie in this river, as there appeared many instruments proper for carrying on a fishery.

Thames River.

Point Rodney.

Cape Colville.

In some places the water was 26 fathoms deep, and the depth diminished gradually, and the anchorage is good in all parts of the bay. Captain Cook gave the name of *Barrier Islands* to some isles which shelter it from the sea. The country seemed to be thinly inhabited. As to the natives they were a short and active people. Their bodies were painted all over with a red colour. Their canoes were well constructed, and ornamented with carved work.

Barrier Islands.

Captain Cook still continued steering along shore between the islands and the main, and anchored on the 12th in 14 fathom water, in an open bay, where a number of fish of the bream kind being taken, *Bream Bay* was the name given to it by our voyagers. It lies in 35° 46′ of south latitude, being about 17 leagues north-west of Cape Colville. A number of rocks were seen off this bay which they called the Hen and Chickens. The land extending for about 30 miles between Point Rodney and this place is low and woody. The English saw none of the natives, but concluded from the fires which they perceived at night, that this place was not uninhabited. Early in the morning the ship sailed out of the bay, keeping near the shore to the northward. Soon after they discovered some islands about three leagues to the north-north-east, where there were cultivated lands and a few towns that appeared to be fortified. To these they gave the appellation of *The Poor Knights*. A number of Indians approached the vessel towards night, and two of their chiefs coming on board, gave the English to understand that they were not ignorant of their arrival in that part of the world. Other Indians came, in order to trade after they were gone; but these beginning to pilfer, were fired upon, and retreated with precipitation.—

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Bream Bay.

The Poor Knights.

The English continued sailing slowly along to the northward; and on the 26th, some more of the Indians in two canoes, came on board, and carried on a fair traffic. They were followed by two larger canoes, the people on board of which, after having held a conference with them came along-side of the vessel. These last were adorned with carving. The people who seemed to be of the higher order were armed with various weapons. Their patoo-patoos, which were made of stone and whale-bone, were held in high estimation, and they were ornamented with dog's hair. The complexion of these people was darker than that of those to the south, and their faces were stained with amoco. They were given to pilfering, of which one of them gave an instance, pretending to barter a weapon for a piece of cloth, which latter he ran away with, without fulfilling his agreement, nor was he at all disposed to do, till a musquet being fired brought him back again.

The vessel passing a remarkable high point of land, it was called *Cape Brett*, in honour of the baronet of that name. There is a curious rocky island to the north-east by north, which is arched, and at a distance, has a pleasing effect. This is called Motuyogo by the natives, and lies in 35° 10′ 30″ south, and longitude 185° 23′ west. It forms a bay to the west, which contains many small islands, and Captain Cook named the point at the north-west entrance *Point Pococke*. There are many villages on the main as well as on the islands, which appeared well inhabited, and several canoes filled with Indians, made to the ship; and after coming along-side to trade, shewed the same desire of cheating as the others. One of the midshipmen was so nettled at being imposed upon, that he had recourse to a whimsical expedient by way of recovery: he took a fishing-line, and threw the lead with so much dexterity, that the hook caught the Indian who had imposed upon him by the buttocks, when the line breaking, the hook remained in his posteriors. These Indians were strong and well-proportioned; their hair was black, and tied up in a bunch stuck with feathers; the chiefs among them had garments made of fine cloth, ornamented with dog-skin; and they were tataowed like those who had last appeared. On the 27th the Endeavour was among a number of small islands, from which several canoes came off, but the Indians, from their frantic gestures, seemed disordered in their minds; they threw their fish into the ship by handfuls, without demanding any thing by way of barter. Some other canoes also came up, who saluted the ship with stones. One of the Indians, who was particularly active, threw a stick at one of the Endeavour's men. It was then judged time to bring them to reason, and a musquet with small shot was fired at him, when he fell in the canoe. A general terror was now spread among them, and they all

Cape Brett.

Point Pococke.

1769 all made a very precipitate retreat. Among the fish obtained from these canoes were *cavalles* in great plenty, and for this reason the captain called these islands by the same name. For several days the wind was so very unfavourable, that the vessel rather lost than gained ground. On the 29th, having weathered Cape Brett, they bore away to leeward, and got into a large bay, where they anchored on the south-west side of several islands, and suddenly came into four fathoms and a half water. Upon sounding, they found they had got upon a bank, and accordingly weighed and dropped over it, and anchored again in ten fathoms and a half, after which they were surrounded by thirty-three large canoes, containing near three hundred Indians all armed. Some of them were admitted on board, and Captain Cook gave a piece of broad cloth to one of the chiefs, and some small presents to the other. They traded peaceably for some time, being terrified at the fire-arms, with the effects of which they were not unacquainted; but whilst the captain was at dinner, on a signal given by one of the chiefs, all the Indians quitted the ship, and attempted to tow away the buoy; a musquet was now fired over them, but it produced no effect; small shot was then fired at them, but it did not reach them. A musquet loaded with ball, was therefore ordered to be fired, and Otegoowgoow (son of one of the chiefs) was wounded in the thigh by it, which induced them immediately to throw the buoy overboard. To complete their confusion, a round shot was fired, which reached the shore, and as soon as they landed, they ran in search of it. If these Indians had been under any kind of military discipline, they might have proved a much more formidable enemy; but acting thus, without any plan or regulation, they only exposed themselves to the annoyance of the fire-arms, whilst they could not possibly succeed in any of their designs. The Captain, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander, landed upon the island, and the Indians in the canoes soon after came on shore. The gentlemen were in a small cove, and they were presently surrounded by near 400 armed Indians; but the captain not suspecting any hostile design on the part of the natives, remained peaceably disposed. The gentlemen, marching towards them, drew a line, intimating that they were not to pass it: they did not infringe upon this boundary for some time; but at length, they sang the song of defiance, and began to dance, whilst a party attempted to draw the Endeavour's boat on shore, these signals for an attack being immediately followed by the Indians breaking in upon the line; the gentlemen judged it time to defend themselves, and accordingly the captain fired his musquet, loaded with small shot, which was seconded by Mr. Banks's discharging his piece, and two of the men followed his example. This threw the Indians into confusion, and they retreated, but were rallied again by one of the chiefs, who shouted and waved his patoo-patoo, The Doctor now pointed his musquet at this hero, and hit him: this stopped his career, and he took to flight with the other Indians. They retired to an eminence in a collected body, and seemed dubious whether they should return to the charge. They were now at too great a distance for a ball to reach them, but these operations being observed from the ship, she brought her broadside to bear, and by firing over them, soon dispersed them. The Indians had in their skirmish two of their people wounded, but none killed: peace being thus restored, the gentlemen began to gather celery and other herbs, but suspecting that some of the natives were lurking about with evil designs, they repaired to a cave, which was at a small distance. Here they found the chief, who had that day received a present from the Captain; he came forth with his wife and brother, and solicited their clemency. It appeared, that one of the wounded Indians was a brother of this chief, who was under great anxiety lest the wound should prove mortal, but his grief was in a great degree alleviated, when he was made acquainted with the different effects of small shot and ball; he was at the same time assured, that upon any farther hostilities being committed, ball would be used. This interview terminated very cordially, after some trifling presents were made to the chief and his companions. "The prudence of the gentlemen (says our author) cannot be much commended: for had these 400 Indians boldly rushed in upon them at once with their weapons, the musquetry could have done very little execution; but supposing twenty or thirty of the Indians had been wounded, as it does not appear their pieces were loaded with ball, but only small shot, there would have remained a sufficient number to have massacred them, as it appears they do not give any quarter, and none could have been expected upon this occasion. It is true, when the ship brought her broadside to bear, she might have made great havock amongst the Indians; but this would have been too late to save the party on shore.—Being in their boats, the English rowed to another part of the same island, when landing and gaining an eminence, they had a very agreeable and romantic view of a great number of small islands, well inhabited and cultivated."

The inhabitants of an adjacent town approached unarmed, and testified great humility and submission. Some of the party on shore who had been very violent for having the Indians punished for their fraudulent conduct, were now guilty of trespasses equally reprehensible, having forced into some of the plantations, and dug up potatoes. The captain, upon this occasion shewed strict justice in punishing each of the offenders with twelve lashes: one of them being very refractory upon this occasion, and complaining of the hardship, thinking an Englishman had a right to plunder an Indian with impunity, received six additional lashes for his reward.

As it was quite a dead calm on the 30th day of this month, two boats were sent to sound the harbour; when many canoes came up and traded with great probity; the gentlemen went again on shore and met with a very civil reception from the natives; and this friendly intercourse continued all the time they remained in the bay, which was several days. Being upon a visit to the old chief, he shewed them the instruments used in tataowing, which were very like those employed at Otaheite upon the like occasion. They saw the man who had been wounded by the ball, when the attempt was made to carry off the ship's buoy; and though it had gone through the fleshy part of his arm, it did not seem to give him the least pain or uneasiness. On Tuesday the 5th, in the morning, they weighed anchor, but were soon becalmed, and a strong current setting towards the shore, they were driven in with such rapidity, that they expected every moment to be run upon the breakers, which appeared above water not more than a cable's length distance, and they were so near the land, that Tupia, who was totally ignorant of the danger, held a conversation with the Indians, who were standing on the beach. They were happily relieved however, from this alarming situation by a fresh breeze suddenly springing up from the shore. The bay which they had left was called *The Bay of Islands*, on account of the numerous islands it contains; they caught but few fish while they lay there, but procured great plenty from the natives, who were extremely expert in fishing, and displayed great ingenuity in the form of their nets, which were made of a kind of grass; they were two or three hundred fathoms in length, and remarkably strong, and they have them in such plenty, that it is scarcely possible to go a hundred yards without meeting with numbers lying in heaps. These people did not appear to be under the government of any particular chief or sovereign, and they seemed to live in a perfect state of friendship, notwithstanding their villages were fortified. According to their observations upon the tides, the flood comes from the south, and there is a current from the west. December 7, several ca-

Bay of Islands.

noes

noes put off and followed the Endeavour, but a breeze arising, Captain Cook did not wait for them. On the 8th they tacked, and ſtood in for the ſhore, and on the 9th they were about ſeven leagues to the weſtward of the Cavalles, and ſoon after came to a deep
Doubtleſs Bay bay, which the captain named *Doubtleſs Bay*. The wind prevented their putting in here, and being ſoon after becalmed, they were viſited by ſeveral canoes from ſhore, with whom they trafficked. From theſe Indians they learned, that they were about two days ſail from *Moore Whennua*, where the land changed its ſhape, and inſtead of extending to the weſtward, turned to the ſouth; and that to the north-north-weſt there was an extenſive country, named *Ulimaroah*, where the inhabitants lived upon hogs, which they called *Booah*, which was the ſame name given them by the inhabitants of the iſlands in the South Seas. They ſaw upon the coaſt ſeveral plantations of the Eaowte, or cloth trees, and ſome of the Koomarra. They beat to windward four days, and made but little way.

On the 10th, the land appeared low and barren, but was not deſtitute of inhabitants; the next morning they ſtood in with the land, which forms a peninſula, and which the Captain named *Knuckle Point*.
Knuckle Point
Another bay, that lies contiguous, Captain Cook called *Sandy Bay*, in the middle of it is a high mountain, which was named *Mount Camel*, on account of its reſembling that animal; ſeveral canoes put off, but could not reach the ſhip, which now tacked and ſtood to the northward, till the afternoon of the 12th, when ſhe ſtood to the north-eaſt. Towards night it began to rain and blow, and in the morning it was ſo tempeſtuous as to ſplit the main-top ſail, and the fore-mizen-top ſails. Early in the morning of the 14th they ſaw land to the ſouthward, and on the 15th they tacked and ſtood to the weſtward; next day they diſcovered land from the maſt-head to the ſouth-ſouth-weſt, and on the 16th came off the northern extremity of New Zealand, which the captain called *North Cape*. It lies in lat. 34° 22′ ſouth, and long. 186° 55′ weſt, and forms the north point of Sandy Bay. Their ſituation varied but little till the 24th, when they diſcovered land, which they judged to be the iſlands of *The Three Kings*, though they did not reſemble the deſcription of them in Dalrymple's account. The chief iſland is in lat. 34° 12′ ſouth, and long. 187° 48′ weſt, between 14 and 15 leagues from North Cape. Mr. Banks went out in the ſmall boat, and caught ſome birds that greatly reſembled geeſe, and they were very good eating. On the 27th it blew very hard from the eaſt all day, accompanied with heavy ſhowers of rain, and they brought the ſhip under a reefed main-ſail. On the 30th they ſaw land, bearing north-eaſt, which was thought to be Cape Maria Van Diemen, but the ſea being very boiſterous, they did not venture to approach it, but tacked about and ſtood to the north-weſt.
Sandy Bay.
Mount Camel.
North Cape.

January 1ſt, 1770, they tacked and ſtood to the eaſtward, and on the 3d they ſaw land again; it was high and flat, and tended away to the ſouth-eaſt, beyond the reach of the naked eye. It is remarkable, that the Endeavour was three weeks in making ten leagues to the weſtward, and that ſhe met with a violent gale of wind in lat. 35° ſouth, at Midſummer. On the morning of the 4th they ſtood along the ſhore, the coaſt appeared ſandy and barren, dreary and inhoſpitable. Steering northward on the 6th they ſaw land again, which they imagined to be Cape Maria: on the 7th they had light breezes, and were ſometimes becalmed, when they ſaw a ſun-fiſh, ſhort and thick in figure, with two large fins, but ſcarcely any tail, reſembling a ſhark in colour and ſize. They continued ſteering eaſt till the 9th, when they perceived land, and were ſoon after abreaſt off a point,
Woody Head. which Captain Cook named *Woody Head*. From the ſouth-weſt there is a ſmall iſland, which the captain
Gannet Iſland. called *Gannet Iſland*. Another point remarkably high to the eaſt-north-eaſt, the captain named *Albetroſs*
Albetroſs Point. *Point*, on the north-ſide of which a bay is formed that promiſes good anchorage. At about two leagues diſtance from Albetroſs Point, to the north-eaſt they diſcovered a remarkable high mountain, equal in height to that of Teneriffe, the ſummit of which was covered with ſnow, and it was named Mount Egmont. It is in lat. 39° 16′ ſouth, and long. 185° 15′ weſt, and the country round it is pleaſant, preſenting an agreeable verdure, interſected with woods. The coaſt forms an extenſive cape, which the captain likewiſe called *Cape Egmont*, in honour of the noble- Cape Egmont.
man of that name. It is about 27 leagues to the ſouth-ſouth-weſt point of Albetroſs Point, having two ſmall iſlands to the north, near a very high point of a conic figure. This day ſome very heavy ſhowers of rain fell, accompanied with thunder and lightening. 1770

"The captain (ſays my author) propoſed careening the ſhip here, and taking in wood and water, and accordingly, on the 15th ſteered for an inlet, when it being almoſt a calm, the ſhip was carried very near the ſhore, but got clear with the aſſiſtance of the boats. Whilſt this was doing, a ſea-lion made its appearance; a very curious creature, and anſwering the deſcription given of it in Lord Anſon's voyage. The captain ſent the pinnace to examine a ſmall cove that appeared, but ſoon after recalled her, on ſeeing the natives launch and arm their canoes. The Endeavour anchored in a commodious part of the bay. In ſailing towards this ſpot an Indian town was deſcried; when the inhabitants waved their hands, ſeemingly to invite the Endeavour's people to land. In paſſing the point of the bay, they obſerved an armed centinel on duty, who was twice relieved. Four canoes came from the ſhore to viſit the ſhip, but none of the Indians would venture on board, except an old man, who ſeemed of elevated rank; his countrymen took great pains to prevent his coming on board, but they could not divert him from his purpoſe, and he was received with the utmoſt civility and hoſpitality. Tupia and the old man joined noſes, according to the cuſtom of the country, and after receiving ſeveral preſents, he returned to his aſſociates, when they began to dance and laugh, and ſoon after retired. The captain and the other gentlemen now went on ſhore, where they met with plenty of wood and water, and were very ſucceſsful in fiſhing, catching ſome hundred weight in a ſhort time.

"On the 16th the Endeavour's people were engaged in careening her, when three canoes came off with a great number of Indians, and brought ſeveral of their women with them. This circumſtance was judged a favourable preſage of their peaceable diſpoſition, but they ſoon gave proofs of the contrary, by attempting to ſtop the long-boat that was ſent on ſhore for water, when Captain Cook had recourſe to the old expedient of firing ſome ſhot, which intimidated them for the preſent; but they ſoon gave freſh proofs of their inſidious deſigns. One of them ſnatched ſome paper from the Endeavour's people, who were trading with them, and brandiſhing his patoo-patoo, put himſelf in a threatening poſture, upon which it was judged expedient to fire ſome ſhot at him, which wounded him in the knee. This ſtep put an end to the correſpondence with regard to trade; but Tupia ſtill continued converſing with them, and making enquiries concerning the curioſities of New Zealand; he alſo aſked them, if they had ever before ſeen a ſhip as large as the Endeavour, to which they replied, they had not, nor ever heard ſuch a veſſel had been upon the coaſt: though Taſman certainly touched here, which was only fifteen miles ſouth of Murderer's Bay. There is great plenty of fiſh in all the coves of this bay, among others here are cuttle-fiſh, large breams, ſmall grey breams, ſmall and large baracootas, flying gurnard, horſe mackrel, dog-fiſh, ſoles, dabs, mullets, drums, ſcorpenas, or rock-fiſh, cole-fiſh, ſhags, chimeras, &c. The inhabitants catch their fiſh as follows: their net is cylindrical; extended by ſeveral hoops at the bottom, and contracted at the top; the fiſh going in to feed upon what is put into the net, are caught in great abundance; there are alſo birds of various kinds, and in great numbers, particularly parrots, wood-

1770 pigeons, water hens, hawks, and many different ſinging birds. An herb, a ſpecies of *Philadelphus*, was uſed here inſtead of tea, and a plant called Teegoomme, reſembling rug-cloaks, ſerved the natives for garments. The environs of the cove where the Endeavour lay is covered entirely with wood, and the ſupple jacks are ſo numerous, that it is with difficulty that paſſengers can purſue their way; here is a numerous ſand fly, that is very diſagreeable. The tops of many hills were covered with fern. The air of the country is very moiſt, and has ſome qualities that promote putrefaction, as birds that had been ſhot but a few hours were found with maggots in them. The women who accompanied the men in the canoes, wore a head-dreſs, which the gentlemen had no where met with before, it was compoſed of black feathers, tied in a bunch on the top of the head, which greatly increaſed its height. The manner of their diſpoſing of their dead is very different to what is practiſed in their ſouthern iſlands, they tie a large ſtone to the body, and throw it into the ſea. The gentlemen ſaw the body of a woman which had been diſpoſed of this way, but which, by ſome accident had diſengaged itſelf from the ſtone, and was floating upon the water. The Captain, Mr. Banks, and the Doctor viſited another cove, about two miles from the ſhip. There was a family of Indians who were greatly alarmed at the approach of theſe gentlemen, all running away except one; but upon Tupia's converſing with him, the others returned. They found, by the proviſions of this family, that they were canibals, here being ſeveral human bones that had been lately dreſſed and picked, and it appeared that a ſhort time before, ſix of their enemies having fallen into their hands, they had killed four and eaten them, and that the other two were drowned in endeavouring to make their eſcape. They made no ſecret of this abominable cuſtom, but anſwered Tupia, who was deſired to aſcertain the fact, with great compoſure, that his conjectures were juſt, that they were the bones of a man, and teſtified by ſigns, that they thought human fleſh delicious food. Upon being aſked, Why they had not eaten the body of the woman that had been floating upon the water? they anſwered, She died of a diſorder, and that moreover ſhe was related to them, and they never ate any but their enemies. Upon Mr. Banks ſtill teſtifying ſome doubts concerning the fact, one of the Indians drew the bone of a man's arm through his mouth, and this gentleman had the curioſity to bring it away with him. There was a woman in this family whoſe arms and legs were cut in a ſhocking manner, and it appeared ſhe had thus wounded herſelf becauſe her huſband had lately been killed and eaten by the enemy. Some of the Indians brought four ſkulls one day to ſell, which they rated at a very high price. The brains had been taken out, and probably eaten, but the ſkull and hair remained. They ſeemed to have been dried by fire, in order to preſerve them from putrefaction. The gentlemen likewiſe ſaw the bail of a canoe, which was made of a human ſkull. On the whole their ideas were ſo horrid and brutiſh, that they ſeemed to pride themſelves upon their cruelty and barbarity, and took a particular pleaſure in ſhewing the manner in which they killed their enemies, it being conſidered as very meritorious to be expert at this deſtruction. The method uſed was to knock them down with their patoo-patoos, and then rip up their bellies.

"Great numbers of birds uſually began their melody about two o'clock in the morning, and ſerenaded the gentlemen till the time of their riſing. This harmony was very agreeable, as the ſhip lay at a convenient diſtance from the ſhore to hear it. Theſe feathered choriſters, like the Engliſh nightingales, never ſing in the day-time.

"On the 17th, the ſhip was viſited by a canoe from the hippah, or village; it contained, among others, the aged Indian, of ſuperior diſtinction, who had firſt viſited the Engliſh upon their arrival. In a conference which Tupia had with him, he teſtified his apprehenſions, that their enemies would very ſoon viſit them, and repay the compliment, for killing and eating the four men. On the 18th they received no viſit from the Indians; but going out in the pinnace to inſpect the bay, they ſaw a ſingle man in a canoe fiſhing, in the manner already deſcribed. It was remarkable, that this man did not pay the leaſt attention to the people in the pinnace, but continued to purſue his employment even when they came along-ſide of him, without once looking at them. Some of the Endeavour's people being on ſhore, found three human hip bones, cloſe to an oven; theſe were brought on board, as well as the hair of a man's head, which was found in a tree. The next day a forge was ſet up to repair the iron-work; and ſome Indians viſited the ſhip with plenty of fiſh, which they bartered very fairly for nails.

"On the 20th, Mr. Banks purchaſed of the old Indian a man's head, which he ſeemed very unwilling to part with; the ſkull had been fractured by a blow, and the brains were extracted, and like the others, it was preſerved from putrefaction. From the care with which they kept theſe ſkulls, and the reluctance with which they bartered any, it was imagined they were conſidered as trophies of war, and teſtimonials of their valour. In this day's excurſion they did not meet with a ſingle native; the ground on every ſide was quite uncultivated; but they diſcovered a very good harbour. The ſucceeding day the ſhip's company were allowed to go on ſhore for their amuſement, and the gentlemen employed themſelves in fiſhing, in which they were very ſucceſsful. Some of the company in their excurſion met with fortifications that had not the advantage of an elevated ſituation, but were ſurrounded by two or three wide ditches, with a draw-bridge, ſuch as, though ſimple in its ſtructure, was capable of anſwering every purpoſe againſt the arms of the natives. Within theſe ditches is a fence, made with ſtakes, fixed in the earth. A deciſive conqueſt or victory over the beſieged, occaſions an entire depopulation of that diſtrict, as the vanquiſhed, not only thoſe who are killed, but the priſoners likewiſe are devoured by the victors.

The 22d was employed by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, in collecting of plants, whilſt Captain Cook made ſome obſervations on the main land on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the inlet, which conſiſted of a chain of high hills, and formed part of the ſouth-weſt ſide of the ſtreight; the oppoſite ſide extended far to the eaſt. He alſo diſcovered a village, and many houſes that had been deſerted, and another village that appeared to be inhabited. There were many ſmall iſlands round the coaſt, that ſeemed entirely barren, and what few inhabitants were upon them lived principally upon fiſh. On the 24th they viſited a hippah, which was ſituated on a very high rock, hollow underneath, forming a fine natural arch, one ſide of which joined to the land, and the other roſe out of the ſea. The inhabitants received the gentlemen with great civility, and very readily ſhewed them every thing that was curious. This hippah was partly ſurrounded with paliſadoes, and it had a fighting ſtage, like that already deſcribed. Here they met with a croſs reſembling a crucifix, which was erected as a monument for a deceaſed perſon; but they could not learn how his body was diſpoſed of. From a converſation that Tupia had with theſe people, a diſcovery was made that an officer being in a boat near this village, and ſome canoes coming off, made him imagine they had hoſtile deſigns, and he fired upon them with ball, which made them retire with much precipitation, but they could not effect their retreat, before one of them was wounded. What made this raſh action the more to be lamented was, that the Indians gave afterwards every poſſible aſſurance that their intentions upon this occaſion were entirely friendly. On the 25th the captain, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander, went on ſhore to ſhoot, when they met with a numerous family, who were among the creeks catching fiſh: they behaved very civilly, and received ſome trifling preſents

ſents from the gentlemen. The next day they went to take a view of the ſtreight, that paſſed between the eaſtern and weſtern ſeas, they accordingly attained the ſummit of a hill, but it being cloudy weather, they could not ſee at a conſiderable diſtance. Here, however, they erected a pile, leaving in it muſquet balls, ſmall ſhot, beads, &c. as a teſtimonial of this place having been viſited by Europeans. Upon their return they met with another Indian family, who behaved to them very reſpectfully, and aſſiſted in procuring them water. They alſo viſited another hippah upon a rock that was almoſt inacceſſible: it conſiſted of about 90 houſes, and a fighting ſtage. The gentlemen made the inhabitants ſome ſmall preſents, and they in return furniſhed them with dried fiſh.

"The ſhip's company were, on the 27th and 28th engaged in making neceſſary repairs, and getting her ready for ſea. The next day they were viſited by Topoa, their old friend, and ſome other Indians. They ſaid, That the man who had received a wound from the officer near the hippah, was dead; but this aſſertion proved afterwards groundleſs. The Doctor and Mr. Banks often went on ſhore whilſt the ſhip was preparing for ſea, and made ſeveral obſervations on the coaſt to the north-weſt; they perceived an iſland at about 10 leagues diſtance, between which and the main there were ſeveral ſmaller iſlands. The captain alſo went on ſhore, and erected another pyramid of ſtones, in which he put ſome bullets, beads, &c. as before, with the addition of a piece of ſilver coin, and placed part of an old pendant on the top, to diſtinguiſh it. Some of the people who had been ſent out to gather celery, met with ſeveral of the natives, among whom were ſome women, whoſe huſbands had lately fallen into the hands of the enemy, and they were cutting many parts of their bodies in a moſt ſhocking manner with ſharp ſtones, in teſtimony of their exceſſive grief. What made this ceremony appear ridiculous as well as ſhocking, was, that the male Indians, who were with them, paid not the leaſt attention to it, but with the greateſt unconcern imaginable employed themſelves in repairing ſome empty huts upon the ſpot.

"On Thurſday the 30th, two poſts were erected, inſcribed with the ſhip's name, &c. as uſual, one was placed at the watering place, with the union flag upon it; and the other in the ſame manner as on the iſland of Motuara; and the inhabitants being informed, that theſe poſts were meant as memorials of the Endeavour's having touched at this place, promiſed never to deſtroy them. The captain then named this inlet *Queen Charlotte's Iſland*; and took poſſeſſion of it in the name, and for the uſe of his majeſty, and a bottle of wine was drank to the queen's health.

Queen Charlotte's Iſland.

"The captain made the old man ſome preſents: among others there were a ſilver three-pence, and ſome ſpike-nails, with the broad arrow upon them. Topoa being queſtioned concerning a paſſage into the eaſtern ſea, anſwered, that there was certainly ſuch a paſſage; and he alſo informed the captain, that the land to the ſouth-weſt of the ſtreight, where he then was, conſiſted of two iſlands named Tovy Poennammoo, and that it would take about two days to ſail round them; he added, that there was a third iſland to the eaſt, Eaheinomauwee, which was of a conſiderable extent, and that the land contiguous to this inlet was called Tiera Witte. Towards night, on the 31ſt, a briſk gale aroſe, attended with heavy ſhowers, and the next morning the weather was ſo very tempeſtuous, that the Endeavour had her hawſer broke, and ſeveral caſks of water that had been left on ſhore were waſhed away with the rain. The 2d, 3d, and 4th of February, were chiefly ſpent in preparing for their departure, and purchaſing fiſh of the natives, who confirmed the accounts that Topoa had given, reſpecting an eaſtern paſſage, and the adjacent iſlands. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were in the mean while chiefly engaged in collecting ſeeds and ſhells of different kinds. They got under ſail the 5th, but the wind not continuing, they came again to anchor. Topoa viſited the gentlemen again, to bid them farewell, and being queſtioned, whether he had ever heard that ſuch a veſſel as the Endeavour had touched there, he anſwered in the negative; and added, there was a tradition of a ſmall veſſel coming from a place called Ulimaroa, (a diſtant country to the north) that there were only four men in her, and that they were all put to death. 1770

"Mr. Banks and the Doctor went again on ſhore in ſearch of natural curioſities, when they met with a very amiable family of Indians, among whom was a widow and a pretty youth about ten years of age. She had juſt loſt her huſband, and was performing the ceremony of the country upon the occaſion. They behaved with the utmoſt hoſpitality and courteſy, and endeavoured to prevail with the gentlemen to ſtay all night, but they expecting the ſhip to ſail, could not accept the invitation. This family ſeemed the moſt inlightened and intelligent ſet of Indians the gentlemen had as yet met with, which made them regret they had not fallen into their company before, as they would probably have derived much information from them. On the 6th of February in the morning, the Endeavour ſailed out of the bay, which the ſhip's company, from an abhorrence of the brutiſh cuſtom that prevails here of eating men, called *Canibal Bay*. They bent their courſe to an opening to the eaſt, in the evening; being in the mouth of the ſtreights, they were becalmed in latitude 41° ſouth, longitude 184° 45′ weſt. The two points which form this entrance, were named Cape Koomaroo, and Point Jackſon. The natives called the land about it, Totarranue, and the harbour, which the captain named *Ship Cove*, is very ſafe and commodious; a ſhip may enter it either between Motuara and the iſland of Hamote, or between the weſtern ſhore and Motuara. Care, however, muſt be taken to attend to the tides, when there is a little wind they flow about nine or ten o'clock at the full change of the moon, and riſe and fall about ſeven feet and a half, paſſing through the ſtreight from the ſouth-eaſt."

Canibal Bay.

Cape Koomaroo and Point Jackſon.

Ship Cove.

About this ſound the number of the natives did not ſeem to be above four hundred, who lived on fern-root and fiſh, and are ſcattered along the coaſt. Fiſh, which was the only commodity that they traded in, they bartered for nails, often giving them the preference to any other things that were preſented them. When they found that paper was not water-proof, they ſoon rejected that article, nor did they ſet much value upon the cloth of Otaheite, but were well pleaſed with that of Engliſh manufacture. Very good timber was found here, fit for almoſt every purpoſe but that of making maſts. They found abundance of wild fowl in theſe parts.

Leaving the ſound, the Endeavour ſteered eaſtward, and her people were carried by the current very cloſe to one of the two iſlands that lie off Cape Hoamaroe, at the entrance of the ſound. At this time the veſſel was in the greateſt danger; ſo that they expected nothing but deſtruction. However, after veering out 160 fathoms of cable, ſhe was brought up when the rocks were not above two cables length from them. Thus ſituated, they were obliged to wait for the tide's ebbing, which did not take place till after midnight. They weighed anchor at eight o'clock in the morning, and a freſh breeze afterwards carried them through the ſtreight with great ſwiftneſs. There is a ſmall iſland at the mouth of it, which the Engliſh called *Engliſh Iſland*; and to the narroweſt part of this ſtreight between Cape Tierrawitte and Cape Koomaroo, they gave the name of *Cook's Iſland*, which was about thirteen miles broad, and fourteen long. The former of theſe lies in 41° 44′ of ſouth latitude, and 183° 45′ of weſt longitude, and the latter in 41° 34′ ſouth, and 183° 30′ weſt longitude. They were now facing a deep bay, which was called *Cloudy Bay*, at the diſtance of about three leagues from land.

Engliſh Iſland.

Cook's Iſland.

Cloudy Bay.

As ſome of the gentlemen doubted whether Eaheinomauwee were an iſland, the veſſel ſteered ſouth-eaſt, in order to clear up this doubt. The wind ſhifting,

1770 she ſtood eaſtward, and ſteered north-eaſt by eaſt all night. The next morning they were off Cape Pallifer, and found that the land ſtretched away to the north-eaſtward of Cape Turnagain. In the afternoon, three canoes came off, having ſeveral Indians on board. Theſe made a good appearance, and were ornamented like thoſe on the northern coaſt. There was no difficulty in perſuading them to come on board, where they demeaned themſelves very civilly, and a mutual exchange of preſents took place. As they aſked for nails it was concluded that they heard of the Engliſh by means of the inhabitants of ſome of the other places at which they had touched.

Their dreſs reſembled that of the natives of Hudſon's Bay. One old man was tatooed in a very particular manner, he had likewiſe a red ſtreak acroſs his noſe; and his hair and beard were remarkable for their whiteneſs. The upper garment that he wore was made of flax, and had a wrought border: under this was a ſort of petticoat of a cloth called Aooree Waow. Teeth and green ſtones decorated his ears: he ſpoke in a ſoft and low key, and it was concluded, from his deportment, that he was a perſon of diſtinguiſhed rank among his countrymen, and theſe people withdrew greatly ſatisfied with the preſents that they had received.

Captain Cook having parted from them, ſteered coaſtwiſe, till on the 9th in the morning they diſcovered that Eahienomauwee was really an iſland. About ſixty Indians in four double canoes came within a ſtone's throw of the ſhip, on the 14th of February. As they ſurveyed her with ſurpriſe, Tupia endeavoured to perſuade them to come nearer, but this they could not be prevailed on to do. On this account the iſland was denominated *The Iſland of Lookers on.* Five leagues diſtant from the coaſt of Tovy Poenamoo, they ſaw an iſland which was called after Mr. Banks's name; a few Indians appeared on it, and in one place they diſcovered a ſmoke, ſo that it was plain the place was inhabited. Mr. Banks going out in his boat for the purpoſe of ſhooting, killed ſome of the Port Egmont hens, which were like thoſe found on the iſle of Faro, and the firſt that they had ſeen upon this coaſt. A point of land was obſerved on Sunday the 25th in lat. 45° 35 ſouth, to which Captain Cook gave the name of *Cape Saunders*, in honour of Admiral Saunders. They kept off from the ſhore, which appeared to be interſperſed with trees, and covered with green hills, but no inhabitants were diſcovered.

The Iſland of Lookers on.

Cape Saunders.

On the 4th of March, ſeveral whales and ſeals were ſeen; and, on the 9th they ſaw a ledge of rocks, and ſoon after another ledge at three leagues diſtance from the ſhore, which they paſſed in the night to the northward, and at day-break obſerved the others under their bows which was a fortunate eſcape; and in conſideration of their having been ſo nearly caught among theſe, they were denominated the *Traps*. They called the ſouthernmoſt point of land, the *South Cape*, and found it to be the ſouthern extremity of the whole coaſt. Proceeding northward, the next day they fell in with a barren rock about fifteen miles from the main land, which was very high, and appeared to be about a mile in circumference; and this they denominated Solander's Iſland.

Traps.

South Cape.

They diſcovered a bay containing ſeveral iſlands, on the 13th where they concluded if there was depth of water, ſhipping might find ſhelter from all winds. *Duſky Bay* was the appellation given to it by the captain, and five high peaked rocks, for which it was remarkable, cauſed the point to be called *Five Fingers*. The weſternmoſt point of land upon the whole coaſt, to the Southward of Duſky Bay, they called *Weſt Cape*. The next day they paſſed a ſmall narrow opening, where there ſeemed to be a good harbour formed by an iſland, the land behind which exhibited a proſpect of mountains covered with ſnow. They paſſed a point on the 16th which conſiſted of high, red cliffs, and received the name of *Caſcade Point*, on account of ſeveral ſmall ſtreams which fell down it. In the morning of the 18th the valleys were obſerved covered with

Duſky Bay.

Five Fingers.

Weſt Cape.

Caſcade Point.

ſnow as well as the mountains, which ſeemed to have fallen the night before, when they had rain at ſea. Thus they paſſed the whole north-weſt coaſt of Tovy Poenamoo, which had nothing worth the obſervation of our voyagers but a ridge of naked and barren rocks covered with ſnow, ſome of which they conjectured might probably have remained there ever ſince the creation. As far as the eye could reach, the proſpects were in general wild, craggy, and deſolate; ſcarcely any thing but rocks to be ſeen, the moſt of which Dr. Hawkeſworth deſcribes as having nothing but a kind of hollows, and dreadful fiſſures inſtead of valleys between them. From this uncomfortable country they determined to depart, having ſailed round the whole country, by the 27th of this month. Captain Cook therefore went on ſhore in the long-boat, and having found a place proper for mooring the ſhip, and a good watering-place, the crew began to fill their caſks, while the carpenter was employed in cutting wood. The captain, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander, went in the pinnace to examine the bay, and the neighbouring country. Landing there, they found ſeveral plants of a ſpecies which was before unknown to them; no inhabitants appeared; but they ſaw ſeveral huts which ſeemed to have been deſerted a long time before: all the wood and water being taken on board, the veſſel was ready to ſail by the time that they returned in the evening, and it was now reſolved at a council of war to ſteer for the coaſt of New Holland, in the courſe of their return by the way of the Eaſt Indies.

They took their departure on the 31ſt of March, from an eaſtern point of land, to which they gave the name of *Cape Farewel*, denominating the bay out of which they ſailed, *Admiralty Bay*, and two capes *Cape Stephens*, and *Cape Jackſon*, (the names of the two ſecretaries of the Admiralty board.) They called a bay between the iſland and Cape Farewel, *Blind Bay*, which was ſuppoſed to have been the ſame that was called Murderers Bay, by Taſman, the firſt diſcoverer of New Zealand, but though he named it Staten Iſland, wiſhing to take poſſeſſion of it for the States General, yet being attacked here by the Indians he never went on ſhore to effect his purpoſe. Of this coaſt, now more accurately examined by our Engliſh voyagers and diſcovered to conſiſt of two iſlands,* we have the following account.

Cape Farewel.

Admiralty Bay.

Cape Stephens

Cape Jackſon.

Blind Bay.

"They are ſituate between the 34th and 48th deg. of ſouth latitude, and between 181° and 194° weſt longitude. The northern iſland is called Eahienomauwee, and the ſouthern is named Tovy Poenamoo, by the natives.

"The former, though mountainous in ſome places, is ſtored with wood, and in every valley there is a rivulet. The ſoil in thoſe valleys is light, but fertile and well adapted for the plentiful production of all the fruits, plants and corn of Europe. The ſummer, though not hotter, is in general of a more equal temparature than in England; and from the vegetables that were found here it was concluded, that the winters were not ſo ſevere. The only quadrupedes that were diſcovered were dogs and rats, and of the latter very few, but the former the inhabitants (like thoſe of Otaheite) breed for food. There are ſeals and whales on the coaſts, and the Engliſh once ſaw a ſea-lion. The birds are hawks, owls, quails, and ſome melodious ſong birds. There are ducks, and ſhags of ſeveral ſorts, like thoſe of Europe, and the gannet, which is of the ſame ſort. Albetroſſes, ſheerwaters, penguins, and pintados, alſo viſit the coaſt. The inſects found here are, butterflies, fleſh-flies, beetles, ſand-flies, and muſquitos.

"Tovey Poenamoo is barren and mountainous, and appeared to be almoſt deſtitute of inhabitants.

"The ſea that waſhes theſe iſlands abounds with delicate and wholeſome fiſh. Whenever the veſſel came

* It was before thought to be a part of the ſouthern continent ſo much ſought after.

came to an anchor, enough were caught with hook and line only, to ſupply the whole ſhip's company; and when they fiſhed with nets, every meſs in the ſhip, where the people were induſtrious, ſalted as much as ſupplied them for ſeveral weeks. There were many ſorts of fiſh here which they had never before ſeen, and which the ſailors named according to their fancies. They were ſold on moderate terms to the crew: among the reſt, fiſh like the ſkate, eels, congers, oyſters, flat-fiſh reſembling ſoles and flounders, cockles, and various ſorts of mackarel were found in abundance upon the coaſt. 1770

"Here are foreſts abounding with trees producing large, ſtrait and clean timber. One tree, about the ſize of our oak, was diſtinguiſhed by a ſcarlet flower, compoſed of ſeveral fibres, and another which grows in ſwampy ground, very ſtrait and tall, bearing ſmall bunches of berries, and a leaf reſembling that of the yew-tree. About 400 ſpecies of plants were found, all of which are unknown in England, except garden night-ſhade, ſow-thiſtle, two or three kinds of fern, and one or two ſorts of graſs. They found wild celery, and a kind of creſſes, in great abundance, on the ſea-ſhore; and of eatable plants raiſed by cultivation, only cocoas, yams, and ſweet potatoes. There are plantations of many acres of theſe yams and potatoes. The inhabitants likewiſe cultivate the gourd; and the Chineſe paper mulberry-tree is to be found, but in no abundance.

"There is only one ſhrub or tree in the country which produces fruit, which is a kind of berry almoſt taſteleſs; but they have a plant which anſwers all the uſes of hemp and flax. There are two kinds of this plant, the leaves of one of which are yellow, and the other a deep red, and both of them reſemble the leaves of flags. Of theſe leaves they make lines and cordage, and much ſtronger than any thing of the kind in Europe. Theſe leaves they likewiſe ſplit into breadths, and tying the ſlips together, form their fiſhing nets. Their common apparel, by a ſimple proceſs, is made from the leaves, and their finer, by another preparation, is made from the fibres. This plant is found both in high and low ground, in dry mould and in deep bogs; but as it grows largeſt in the latter, that ſeems to be its proper ſoil.

"The natives here are as large as the largeſt Europeans. Their complexion is brown, but little more ſo than that of a Spaniard. They are full of fleſh, but not lazy and luxurious; and are ſtout and well ſhaped. The women poſſeſs not that delicacy, which diſtinguiſhes the European ladies; but their voice chiefly diſtinguiſhes them from the men. The men are active in a high degree; their hair is black, and their teeth are white and even. The features of both ſexes are regular; they enjoy perfect health, and live to an advanced age. It is ſaid they appeared to be of a gentle diſpoſition, and treat each other with the utmoſt kindneſs: but they are perpetually at war, every little diſtrict being at enmity with all the reſt. This is owing moſt probably, to the want of food in ſufficient quantities at certain times. As they have neither black cattle, ſheep, hogs, nor goats; ſo their chief food was fiſh, which being not always to be had, they are in danger of dying through hunger. They have a few dogs; and when no fiſh is to be gotten, they have only vegetables, ſuch as yams and potatoes, to feed on; and if by any accident theſe fail them, their ſituation muſt be deplorable. Notwithſtanding the cuſtom of eating their enemies, the circumſtances and temper of theſe people is deſcribed to be in favour of thoſe who might ſettle among them as a colony.

"The inhabitants of New Zealand, are as modeſt and reſerved in their behaviour and converſation as the moſt polite nations of Europe. The women, indeed, were not dead to the ſofter impreſſions; but their mode of conſent was in their idea as harmleſs as the conſent to marriage with us, and equally binding for the ſtipulated time. If any of the Engliſh addreſſed one of their women, he was informed, that the conſent of her friends muſt be obtained, which uſually followed, on his making a preſent. This done he was obliged to treat his temporary wife as delicately as we do in England. A gentleman who ſailed in the Endeavour, having addreſſed a family of ſome rank, received an anſwer, of which the following is an exact tranſlation. "Any of theſe young ladies will "think themſelves honoured by your addreſſes, but "you muſt firſt make me a preſent, and you muſt "then come and ſleep with us on ſhore, for day-"light muſt by no means be a witneſs of what paſſes "between you."

"Theſe Indians anoint their hair with oil melted from the fat of fiſh or birds. The poorer people uſe that which is rancid, ſo that they ſmell very diſagreeable; but thoſe of ſuperior rank make uſe of that which is freſh. They wear combs both of bone and wood, which is conſidered as an ornament when ſtuck upright in the hair. The men tie their hair in a bunch on the crown of the head, and adorn it with feathers of birds, which they likewiſe ſometimes place on each ſide of the temples. They commonly wear ſhort beards. The hair of the women ſometimes flows over the ſhoulders, and ſometimes is cut ſhort. Both ſexes, but the men more than the women, mark their bodies with black ſtains, called Amoco. In general the women ſtain only the lips, but ſometimes mark other parts with black patches: the men on the contrary put on additional marks from year to year, ſo that thoſe who are very ancient are almoſt covered. Excluſive of the amoco, they mark themſelves with furrows. Thoſe furrows make a hideous appearance, the edges being indented, and the whole quite black. The ornaments of the face are drawn in the ſpiral form with equal elegance and correctneſs, both cheeks being marked exactly alike; while paintings on their bodies reſemble fillagree work, and the foliage in old chaſed ornaments; but no two faces or bodies are painted exactly after the ſame model. The people of New Zealand frequently left the breech free from theſe marks; which the inhabitants of Otaheite adorned beyond any other. Theſe Indians likewiſe paint their bodies by rubbing them with red oker, either dry or mixed with oil.

"Their dreſs is formed of the leaves of the flag ſplit into ſlips, which are interwoven and made into a kind of matting, the ends, which are ſeven or eight inches in length, hanging out on the upper ſide. One piece of this matting being tied over the ſhoulders, reaches to the knees: the other piece being wrapped round the waiſt falls almoſt to the ground. Theſe two pieces are faſtened to a ſtring, which by means of a bodkin of bone is paſſed through, and tacks them together. The men wear the lower garment only at particular times.

"They have two kinds of cloth beſides the coarſe matting or ſhag above-mentioned; one of which is as coarſe, but beyond all proportion ſtronger than the Engliſh canvas; the other which is formed of the fibres of a plant, drawn into threads which croſs and bind each other, reſembles the matting on which we place our diſhes at table.

"They make borders of different colours to both theſe ſorts of cloth, reſembling girls ſamplers, and finiſhed with great neatneſs and elegance. What they conſider as the moſt ornamental part of their dreſs is the fur of dogs, which they cut into ſtripes, and ſew on different parts of their apparel. As dogs are not plenty, they diſpoſe theſe ſtripes with œconomy. They have a few dreſſes ornamented with feathers; and one man was ſeen covered wholly with thoſe of the red parrot.

"The women never tie their hair on the top of their head, nor adorn it with feathers; and are leſs anxious about dreſs than the men. Their lower garment is bound tight round them, except when they go out fiſhing, and then they are careful that the men ſhall not ſee them. It once happened that ſome of the ſhip's crew ſurpriſed them in this ſituation, when ſome of them hid themſelves among the rocks, and

1770 the reſt kept their bodies under water till they had formed a girdle and apron of weeds; and their whole behaviour manifeſted the moſt refined ideas of female modeſty.

"The ears of both ſexes were bored, and the holes ſtretched ſo as to admit a man's finger. The ornaments of their ears are feathers, cloth, bones, and ſometimes bits of wood; a great many of them made uſe of the nails which were given them by the Engliſh, for this purpoſe, and the women ſometimes adorned their ears with white down of the albetroſs, which they ſpread before and behind the hole in a large bunch. They likewiſe hung to their ears by ſtrings, chiſſels, bodkins, the teeth of dogs, and the teeth and nails of their deceaſed friends. The arms and ancles of the women are adorned with ſhells and bones, or any thing elſe through which they can paſs a ſtring. The men wear a piece of green talc or whalebone, with the reſemblance of a man carved on it, hanging to a ſtring round the neck. They ſaw one man who had the griſtle of his noſe perforated, and a feather paſſed through it, projecting over each cheek.

"Theſe people ſhew leſs ingenuity in the ſtructure of their houſes, than in any thing elſe belonging to them; they are from ſixteen to twenty-four feet long, ten or twelve wide, and ſix or eight in height. The frame is of ſlight ſticks of wood, and the walls and roof are made of dry graſs pretty firmly compacted. Some of them are lined with bark of trees, and the ridge of the houſe is formed by a pole which runs from one end to the other. The door is only high enough to admit a perſon crawling on hands and knees, and the roof is ſloping. There is a ſquare hole near the door, ſerving both for window and chimney, near which is the fire-place. A plank is placed over the door, adorned with a ſort of carving, and this they conſider as an ornamental piece of furniture. The ſide-walls and roof projecting two or three feet beyond the walls at each end form a ſort of portico where benches are placed to ſit on. The fire is made in the middle of a hollow ſquare in the floor, which is incloſed with wood or ſtone. They ſleep near the walls, where the ground is covered with ſtraw for their beds. Some who can afford it, whoſe families are large, have three or four houſes, incloſed in their court-yard. Their clothes, arms, feathers, ſome ill-made tools, and a cheſt, in which all theſe are depoſited, form all the furniture of the inſide of the houſe. Their hammers to beat fern-root, gourds to hold water, and baſkets to contain proviſions, are placed without the houſe. One houſe was found near 40 feet long, 20 wide, and 14 high. Its ſides were adorned with carved planks of workmanſhip ſuperior to the reſt; but the building appeared to have been left unfiniſhed."

Though the people ſleep warm enough at home, they ſeem to deſpiſe the inclemency of the weather, when they go in ſearch of fiſh or fern-roots. Sometimes, indeed, they place a ſmall defence to windward, but frequently ſleep undreſſed with their arms placed round them, without the leaſt ſhelter whatever.

Beſides the fern-root, which ſerves them for bread, they feed on albetroſſes, penguins, and ſome other birds. Whatever they eat is either roaſted or baked, as they have no veſſel in which water can be boiled. The Engliſh ſaw no plantations of cocoas, potatoes, and yams, to the ſouthward, though there were many in the northern parts. The natives drink no other liquor than water, and enjoy perfect and uninterrupted health. When wounded in battle, the wound heals in a very ſhort time without the application of medicine; and the very old people carry no other mark of decay about them than the loſs of their hair, and teeth, and a failure of their muſcular ſtrength:—but enjoy an equal ſhare of health and chearfulneſs with the youngeſt.

The canoes of this country are not unlike the whale-boats of New-England, being long and narrow. The larger ſort ſeem to be built for war, and will hold from 30 to 100 men. One of theſe at Tolaga meaſured near 70 feet in length, ſix in width, and four in depth. It was ſharp at the bottom, and conſiſted of three lengths, about two or three inches thick, and tied firmly together with ſtrong plaiting; each ſide was found of one entire plank, about twelve inches broad, and about an inch and a half thick, which was fitted to the bottom part with equal ſtrength and ingenuity. Several thwarts were laid from one ſide to the other, to which they were ſecurely faſtened, in order to ſtrengthen the canoes.

Some few of their canoes at Mercury-Bay and Opoorage, are all made entirely of one trunk of wood, which is made hollow by fire; but by far the greater part are built after the plan above deſcribed. The ſmaller boats which are uſed chiefly in fiſhing, are adorned at head and ſtern with the figure of a man, the eyes of which are compoſed of white ſhells:—a tongue of enormous ſize, is thruſt out of the mouth, and the whole face a picture of the moſt abſolute deformity. The grander canoes, which are intended for war, are ornamented with open work, and covered with fringes of black feathers, which gives the whole an air of perfect elegance; the ſide-boards which are carved in a rude manner, are embelliſhed with tufts of white feathers.

Theſe veſſels are rowed with a kind of paddles, between five and ſix feet in length, the blade of which is a long oval, gradually decreaſing till it reaches the handle; and the velocity with which they row with theſe paddles is very ſurpriſing. Their ſails are compoſed of a kind of mat or netting, which is extended between two upright poles, one of which is fixed on each ſide. Two ropes, faſtened to the top of each pole, ſerve inſtead of ſheets. The veſſels are ſteered by two men having ſuch a paddle, and ſitting in the ſtern; but they can only ſail before the wind, in which direction they move with conſiderable ſwiftneſs.

Theſe Indians uſe axes, adzes, and chiſſels, with which laſt they likewiſe bore holes. The chiſſels are made of jaſper, or of the bone of a man's arm; their axes and adzes of a hard black ſtone. They uſe their ſmall jaſper tools till they are blunted, and then throw them away, having no inſtrument to ſharpen them with. The Indians at Tolaga having been preſented with a piece of glaſs, drilled a hole through it, and hung it round the neck. A ſmall bit of jaſper was thought to have been the tool they uſe in drilling it.

Their tillage of the ground is excellent, owing to the neceſſity they are under of cultivating or running the riſque of ſtarving. At Tegadoo their crops were juſt put into the ground, and the ſurface of the field was as ſmooth as a garden, the roots were ranged in regular lines, and to every root there remained a hillock. A long narrow ſtake, ſharpened to an edge at bottom, with a piece fixed acroſs a little above it, for the convenience of driving it into the ground with the foot, ſupplies the place both of plough and ſpade. The ſoil being light, their work is not very laborious, and with this inſtrument alone they will turn up ground of ſix or ſeven acres in extent.

The ſeine, the large net which has been already noticed, is produced by the united labour, and is probably the joint property of a whole town. Their fiſh-hooks are of ſhell or bone; and they have baſkets of wicker-work to hold the fiſh. Their warlike weapons are ſpears, darts, battle-axes, and the patoo-patoo. The ſpear, which is pointed at each end, is about ſixteen feet in length, and they hold it in the middle, ſo that it is difficult to parry a puſh from it. Whether they fight in boats or on ſhore the battle is hand to hand, ſo that they muſt make bloody work of it. They truſt chiefly in the patoo-patoo, which is faſtened to their wriſts, by means of a ſtrong ſtrap, that it may not be wreſted out of their hands. Theſe are worn in the girdles of people of a ſuperior rank, as a military ornament. They have a kind of ſtaff of diſtinction, which is carried by the principal warriors. It is formed of a whale's rib, is quite white, and

and adorned with carving, feathers, and the hair of their dogs; and they sometimes carried a stick six feet long, inlaid with shells, and otherwise adorned like the military staff. This honourable mark of distinction was commonly borne by the old men.

When they came to attack the English, there was usually one or more thus distinguished in each canoe. It was their custom to stop at about 50 or 60 yards distance from the ship, when the commanding officer arising, and putting on a dog-skin garment, used to direct them how to proceed. When they were too far from the ship to reach it with stones or lances, they used to cry out in their language, "Come on shore to us, and we will kill you all with our patoo-patoos."

While they threatened thus, they approached the vessel, yet talking in a peaceable manner at intervals; but afterwards, supposing the English to be afraid of them, they renewed their menaces, and an engagement generally terminated the matter, in which they were repulsed by the superior arms of their European adversaries.

When these savages exhibit their war dance, all their limbs are distorted, and their faces drawn into various contortions. Their tongues hang out of their mouths, and their eye-lids are drawn in such a manner as to form a circle round the eye. At the same time they shake their darts, brandish their spears, and wave their patoo-patoos. A song accompanies this dance, which song is sung in concert, a deep sigh ending every stanza. In this dance they are very active; and it is generally observed that they have just ideas of keeping time to music; as an instance of which, we are told that sixty or eighty paddles will strike at once against the sides of their canoes, and like the firing of regular soldiers, one report only will be heard from the whole number. In times of peace they sometimes sing the war song; but the dance is omitted: the women sing likewise in a melodious but mournful strain. A shell which produces a sound resembling that of the common horn, and a pipe of no more compass than a child's whistle, are their instruments of music. The following description will conduce to give the reader a just idea of these people.—

Their hippahs or villages, of which there are several between the bay of Plenty and Queen Charlotte's Sound, are all fortified. It is in these that the inhabitants of those parts constantly reside, but near Tolaga, Hawk's Bay, and Poverty Bay, there are no towns, only single houses being seen, at a considerable distance from each other. On the sides of the hills were discovered long stages, supplied with darts and stones; and these were concluded to be intended for retreats in time of danger, as it appeared that from such places they could combat their enemies to great advantage. A sort of magazine of provisions, consisting of dried fish, and fern roots, was found in these fortifications.

It appeared that the inhabitants of this part of the country were subject to Teratu, who resided near the Bay of Plenty, and being thus united under a single chief, they enjoyed a security unknown to the inhabitants of the other parts of the country. There were several inferior governors in Teratu's dominions, to whom the most implicit obedience was paid. One of the inhabitants having robbed the English, complaint was made to a chief, who chastised him by kicking and striking him, while the thief bore his punishment with unresisting humility.

The inhabitants of the southern parts appeared to be co-partners in their fishing-nets and fine apparel. The latter, which probably was obtained in war, were kept in a little hut, destined for that use, in the centre of the town, and the several parts of the nets, being made by different families, were afterwards joined together for the common use. The gentlemen imagined that the employment of the men consisted in cultivating the ground, making nets, catching birds, and fishing, while the women were engaged in weaving cloth, procuring fern roots, and shell fish, and dressing food. With regard to religion, they acknowledged one superior being, and several subordinate. Their mode of worship could not be learned; nor was any place proper for that purpose to be seen. There was indeed, a small square area, encompassed with stones, in the middle of which hung a basket of fern roots on one of their spades. This they said was offered to the gods, in hopes of a plentiful crop of provisions. The inhabitants of the southern district said they disposed of their dead by throwing them into the sea; but those of the northward, buried them in the ground. Our adventurers however saw not the least sign of any grave or monument; but the body of almost every inhabitant bore the marks of wounds which they had given themselves, in token of grief for the loss of their friends and relations. Some of the scars were newly made, which is a proof that their friends had died while the ship's crew were there; yet no one saw any thing like a funeral, as those islanders conceal every thing respecting the dead, with the utmost caution. A great similitude was observed between the dress, furniture, boats, and nets, of the New Zealanders, and those of the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, which furnished a strong proof that the common ancestors of both were natives of the same country. Indeed the inhabitants of these different places have a tradition, that their ancestors originated from another country many years since; and they both agree, that this country was called *Hiawige*. But perhaps a yet stronger proof that their origin was the same, will arise from the similitude of their language, of which the following is a specimen.

New Zealand.	*Otaheite.*	
Whahine,	Aheine,	*A woman.*
Taata,	Tata,	*People.*
Hcoo-oo,	Eroowroo,	*The hair.*
Erai,	Irai,	*The brow.*
Mata,	Matau,	*The Eyes.*
Aheioh,	Eahoo,	*The nose.*
Paparinga,	Paparea,	*The cheeks.*
Ateraboo,	Eobo,	*The belly.*
Apeto,	Pito,	*The navel.*
Hcromai,	Harremai,	*Come hither.*
Taro,	Taro,	*Cocoas.*
Tahai,	Tohe,	*One.*
Rua,	Rooa,	*Two.*
Torou,	Torhoo,	*Three.*
Ha,	Ha,	*Four.*
Etu,	Hitoo,	*Seven.*
Ioa,	Ioa,	*Nine.*
Henoaho,	Eneeho,	*The teeth.*

The vessel left Cape Farewell on the 31st of March, 1770, and had fine weather and a fair wind, till the 9th of April, when they saw a tropic bird, in the latitude of 38° 29' south, a sight very unusual in so high a latitude. On the 15th, they saw an egg bird, and a gannet; and on the following day a small land-bird perched on the rigging, from which they concluded they were near the land; but they found no ground at 120 fathom. On the 18th, in the morning, they saw a Pintado bird, and some Port-Egmont hens, an infallible sign that land was not very distant; at six o'clock in the morning of the 19th, they discovered land four or five leagues distant, the southernmost part of which was called *Point Hicks*, in compliment to Mr. Hicks, the first lieutenant, who made the discovery of it. At noon they discovered another point of the same land, rising in a round hillock, extremely like the Ram-Head at the entrance of Plymouth Sound, for which reason Captain Cook gave it the same name. What they had yet seen of the land was low and even, and the inland parts were green, and covered with wood. They now saw three water spouts at the same time, one of which continued a quarter of an hour; at six in the evening the northernmost point of the main land, which was distant about two leagues, was named *Cape Howe*. On the following day they had a distant view of the country,

1770

Point Hicks.

Ram Head.

Cape Howe.

1770

try, which was in general covered with wood, and interſperſed with ſeveral ſmall lawns. It appeared to be inhabited, as ſmoke was ſeen in ſeveral places. At four 'clock the next morning they ſaw a high mountain, which, from its ſhape, they called *Mount Dromedary*, under which there is a point which received the name of *Point Dromedary*. In the evening they were oppoſite a point of land which roſe perpendicular, and was called *Point Upright*. On Sunday the 22d, they were ſo near the ſhore, as to ſee ſeveral of the inhabitants on the coaſt, who were of a very dark complexion, if not perfect negros. At noon they ſaw a remarkably peeked hill, to which the captain gave the name of the *Pigeon-Houſe*, from its reſemblance of ſuch a building. The trees on this iſland were both tall and large, but they ſaw no place fit to give ſhelter even to a boat.

Mount Dromedary.

Point Dromedary.

Point Upright

Pigeon-Houſe

"The captain, (ſays our author) gave the name *Cape George* to a point of land diſcovered on St. George's day, two leagues to the north of which the ſea formed a bay, which, from its ſhape, was called *Long-Noſe*; eight leagues from which lies *Red Point*, ſo called from the colour of the ſoil in its neighbourhood. On the 27th they ſaw ſeveral of its inhabitants walking along the ſhore, four of them carrying a canoe on their ſhoulders, but as they did not attempt to come off to the ſhip, the Captain took Meſſrs. Banks and Solander, and Tupia in the yawl, and employed four men to row them to that part of the ſhore where they ſaw the natives, near which four ſmall canoes laid cloſe in land. The Indians ſat on the rocks till the yawl was a quarter of a mile from the ſhore, and then they ran away into the woods. The ſurf beating violently on the beach, prevented the boat from landing; the gentlemen were therefore obliged to make what obſervations they could at a diſtance. The canoes reſembled generally the ſmaller ſort of thoſe of New Zealand. They ſaw a great number of cabbage trees on ſhore; the other trees were of the palm kind, and there was no underwood among them. At five in the evening they returned to the ſhip, and a light breeze ſpringing up, they ſailed to the northward, where they diſcovered ſeveral people on ſhore, who, on their approach, retired to an eminence, ſoon after which two canoes arrived on the ſhore, and four men, who came in them, joined the others. The pinnace having been ſent a-head to ſound, arrived near the ſpot where the Indians had ſtationed themſelves, on which one of them hid himſelf among the rocks near the landing-place, and the others retreated farther up the hill. The pinnace keeping along ſhore, the Indians walked near in a line with her; they were armed with long pikes, and a weapon reſembling a ſcymitar, and, by various ſigns and words, invited the boat's crew to land; thoſe who did not follow the boat, having obſerved the approach of the ſhip, brandiſhed their weapons, and threw themſelves into threatening attitudes. The bodies, thighs, and legs of two of theſe, were painted with white ſtreaks, and their faces were almoſt covered with a white powder. They talked together with great emotion, and each of them held one of the above-mentioned weapons. The ſhip having come to an anchor, they obſerved a few huts, in which were ſome of the natives; and ſaw ſome canoes, in each of which was a man employed in ſtriking fiſh with a kind of ſpear. They had anchored oppoſite a village of about eight houſes, and obſerved an old woman and three children come out of a wood, laden with fuel for a fire; they were met by three ſmaller children, all of whom, as well as the woman, were quite naked. The old woman frequently looked at the ſhip with the utmoſt indifference, and, as ſoon as ſhe had made a fire, the fiſhermen brought their canoes on ſhore, and they ſet about dreſſing their dinner with as much compoſure, as if a ſhip had been no extraordinary ſight. Having formed a deſign of landing, they manned the boats, and took Tupia with them, and they had no ſooner come near the ſhore, than two men advanced, as if to diſpute their ſetting foot on land. They were each of them armed with different kinds of weapons. They called out aloud in a harſh tone, *toarra toarra wai!* the meaning of which Tupia did not underſtand. The captain threw them beads, nails, and other trifles, which they took up, and ſeemed very well pleaſed with. He then made ſignals that he wanted water, and uſed every poſſible means to convince them that no injury was intended. They made ſigns to the boat's crew to land, on which they put the boat in, but they had no ſooner done ſo, than the two Indians came again to oppoſe them. A muſquet was now fired between them, on the report of which, one of them dropped a bundle of lances, which he immediately ſnatched up again in great haſte. One of them then threw a ſtone at the boat, on which the captain ordered a muſquet loaded with ſmall ſhot to be fired, which wounding the eldeſt of them on the legs, he retired haſtily to one of the houſes, that ſtood at ſome litttle diſtance. The people in the boats now landed, imagining that the wound which this man had received would put an end to the conteſt. In this, however, they were miſtaken, for he immediately returned with a kind of ſhield, of an oval figure, painted white in the middle, with two holes in it to ſee through. They now advanced with great intrepidity, and both diſcharged their lances at the boat's crew, but did not wound any of them. Another muſquet was fired at them, on which they threw another lance, and then took to their heels. The Engliſh now went up to the huts, in one of which they found the children, who had ſecreted themſelves behind ſome bark. They looked at them, but left them without its being known they had ſeen them, and having thrown ſeveral pieces of cloth, ribbands, beads, and other things into the hut, they took ſeveral of their lances, and then reimbarked in the boat. The canoes on this coaſt were about 13 feet in length, each made of the bark of a ſingle tree, tied up at the ends, and kept open in the middle by the means of ſticks placed acroſs them; their paddles were very ſmall, and two were uſed at a time.

Cape George.

Long-Noſe.

Red Point.

"They now ſailed to the north point of the bay, where they found plenty of freſh water. On taking a view of the hut where they had ſeen the children, they had the mortification to find that every Indian was fled, and that they had left all the preſents behind them. The captain now went in the pinnace to inſpect the bay, and ſaw ſeveral of the natives, who all fled as he approached them. Some of the men having been ſent to get wood and water, they no ſooner went on board to dinner, than the natives came down to the place, and examined the caſks with great attention, but did not offer to remove them. When the people were on ſhore in the afternoon, about 20 of the natives, all armed, advanced within a trifling diſtance of them, and then ſtopped, while two of their number approached ſtill nearer. Mr. Hicks, the commanding officer on ſhore, went towards them, with preſents in his hands, and endeavoured, by every poſſible means to aſſure them of his friendly intentions, but to no purpoſe, for they retired before he came up to them. In the evening, Meſſrs. Banks and Solander, went with the captain to a cove north of the bay, where they caught between three and four hundred weight of fiſh, at four hauls.

"On Monday the 30th, the natives came down to the huts before it was light, and were repeatedly heard to ſhout very loud, and ſoon after day-break they were ſeen on the beach, but quickly retired about a mile, and kindled ſeveral fires in the woods. This day ſome of the ſhip's crew being employed in cutting graſs at a diſtance from the main body, while the natives purſued them, but ſtopping within fifty of ſixty yards of them, they ſhouted ſeveral times, and retreated to the woods. In the evening they behaved exactly in the ſame manner, when the captain followed them alone and unarmed for ſome time, but they ſtill retired as he approached. On Tueſday, May the firſt, the ſouth point of the bay was named *Sutherland Point*, one of the ſeamen, of the name of Sutherland, having died that day, who was buried on ſhore; and more preſents were

Sutherland Point.

were left in the huts, such as looking-glasses, combs, &c. but the former ones had not been taken away.—— Making an excursion about the country, they found it agreeably variegated with wood and lawn, the trees being strait and tall, and without underwood. The country might be cultivated without cutting down one of them. The grass grows in large tufts, almost close to each other, and there is a great plenty of it. In this excursion they met with many places where the inhabitants had slept without shelter, but they saw one man, who ran away the moment they beheld them. More presents were left in their huts, and at their sleeping-places, in hopes of producing a friendly intercourse. They saw the dung of an animal which fed on grass, and traced the foot-steps of another, which had claws like a dog, and was about the size of a wolf: they also discovered the track of a small animal, whose foot was like that of a pole-cat, and saw one animal alive, about the size of a rabbit. They found some wood that had been felled, and the bark stript off by the natives, and saw several growing trees, in which steps had been cut, for the convenience of ascending them. The woods abound with a vast variety of beautiful birds, among which were cockatooes, and parroquets, which flew in large flocks. The second lieutenant, Mr. Gore, having been with a boat in order to drudge for oysters, saw some Indians, who made signs for him to come on shore, which he declined: having finished his business, he sent the boat away, and went by land with a midshipman, to join the party that was getting water. In their way they met with more than 20 of the natives, who followed them so close as to come within a few yards of them; Mr. Gore stopped and faced them, on which the Indians stopped also, and when he proceeded again, they followed him; but they did not attack him, though they had each man a lance. The Indians coming in sight of the water-casks, stood at the distance of a quarter of a mile, while Mr. Gore and his companions reached their ship-mates in safety. Two or three of the waterers now advanced towards the Indians, but observing they did not retire, they very imprudently turned about, and retreated hastily; this apparent sign of cowardice inspired the savages, who discharged four of their lances at the fugitives, which flying beyond them, they escaped unhurt. They now stopped to pick up the lances; on which the Indians retired in their turn. At this instant the captain came up, with Messrs. Banks and Solander, and Tupia, advancing, made signs of friendship; but the poor natives would not stay their coming up to them. On the following day they went again on shore, where many plants were collected by Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks. They saw several parties of the Indians, who all ran away on their approach. Tupia having learnt to shoot, frequently stayed alone to shoot parrots, and the Indians constantly fled away from him with as much precipitation as from the English. On the 3d of May, fourteen or fifteen Indians, in the same number of canoes, were engaged in striking fish within half a mile of the watering-place. At this time, a party of the ship's crew were shooting near the fishermen, one of whom Mr. Banks observed to haul up his canoe on the beach, and approach the people who were shooting. He watched their motions unobserved by them, for more than a quarter of an hour, then put off his boat and returned to his fishing. At this time the captain, with Dr. Solander and another gentleman, went to the head of the bay to try to form some connection with the Indians. On their first landing they found several of the Indians on shore, who immediately retreated to their canoes, and rowed off. They went up the country, where they found the soil to be a deep black mould, which appeared to be calculated for the production of any kind of grain. They saw some of the finest meadows that were ever beheld, and met with a few rocky places, the stone of which is sandy, and seemed to be admirably adapted for building. In the woods they found a tree bearing cherries, if shape and colour may intitle them to that name, the juice of which was agreeably tart. 1769.
They now returned to their boat, and seeing a fire at a distance, rowed towards it; but the Indians fled at their coming near them. Near the beach they found seven canoes, and as many fires, from which they judged that each fisherman had dressed his own dinner. There were oysters lying on the spot, and some muscles roasting on the fire. They ate of these fish, and left them some beads and other trifles in return. They now returned to the ship, and in the evening Mr. Banks went out with his gun, and saw a great number of quails, some of which he shot, and they proved to be the same kind as those of England.

On the following day a midshipman having strayed from his companions, came suddenly to an old man and woman, and some children, who were sitting naked under a tree together: they seemed afraid of him but did not run away. The man wore a long beard, and both he and the woman were grey-headed; but the woman's hair was cut short. This day likewise, two of another party met with six Indians on the border of a wood, one of whom calling out very loud, a lance was thrown from a wood, which narrowly missed them. The Indians now ran off, and, in looking round they saw a youth descend from a tree, who had doubtless been placed there for the purpose of throwing the lance at them. This day the captain went up the country on the north side of the bay, which he found to resemble the moory grounds of England; but the land was thinly covered with plants about 16 inches high. The hills rise gradually behind each other, for a considerable distance, and between them is marshy ground. Those who had been sent out to fish this day, met with great success, and the second lieutenant struck a fish called the Stingray, which weighed near two hundred and fifty pounds. The next morning a fish of the same kind was taken, which weighed three hundred and fifty pounds. The name of *Botany Bay* was given to this place from the large number of plants collected by Messrs. Banks and Solander. This country produces two kinds of wood which may be deemed timber, one of which is tall and strait like the pine, and the other is hard, heavy, and dark-coloured, like *lignum vitæ*; it yields a red gum, like *dragon's blood*, and bears some resemblance of the English oak. There are mangroves in abundance, several kinds of palm, and a few shrubs. Among other kinds of birds, crows were found here, exactly like those of England. There is great plenty of water-fowls, among the flats of sand and mud; one of which is shaped like a pelican, is larger than a swan, and has black and white feathers. These banks of mud abound with cockles, muscles, oysters, and other shell-fish, which greatly contribute towards the support of the natives, who sometimes dress them on shore, and at other times in their canoes. They likewise caught many other kinds of fish with hooks and line. Botany Bay.

While the captain remained in the harbour, the English colours were displayed on shore, daily, and the name of the ship, with the date of the year, was carved on a tree near the place where they took in their water.

They sailed from Botany Bay on the 6th of May, 1770, at noon, when off a harbour, which they called *Port Jackson*, and in the evening, near a bay, to which they gave the name of *Broken Bay*. The next day at noon, the northernmost land in sight projected so as to justify the calling it *Cape Three Points*. On Wednesday the 9th, they saw two exceeding beautiful rainbows, the colours of which were strong and lively, and those of the inner one so bright, as to reflect its shadow on the water. They formed a complete semicircle, and the space between them was much darker than the rest of the sky. On Thursday they passed a rocky point, which was named *Point Stephens*. Next day they saw smoke in several places on shore, and in the evening they discovered three remarkably high hills near each other, which the captain named the *Three Brothers*. Port Jackson. Broken Bay. Cape Three Points. Point Stephens. Three Brothers.

1770

On Sunday the 13th, they saw the smoke of many fires on a point of land, which was therefore called *Smoky Cape*. And as they proceeded northward, from *Botany Bay*, the land appeared high and well covered with wood. On Tuesday morning, by the assistance of their glasses, they discovered about a score of the Indians, each loaded with a bundle, which they imagined to be palm-leaves, to thatch their houses. They traced them for more than an hour, during which time they took no notice of the ship: at length they left the beach, and were lost behind a hill, which they gained by a gentle ascent. At noon the captain discovered a high point of land, which he called *Cape Byron*. In the evening they perceived breakers at a considerable distance from the shore, so that they were obliged to tack, and get into deeper water, which having done, they lay with the head of the vessel to the land till the next morning, when they were astonished to find themselves farther to the southward than they had been the preceding evening, notwithstanding they had a southerly wind all night. In the morning they passed the breakers, near a peaked mountain, which was named *Mount Warning*, and the point off which they lay was called *Point Danger*. The next day they saw more breakers, near a point which was distinguished by the name of *Point Look out*, to the north of which lies a bay, which Captain Cook called *Moreton's Bay*, and the north point Captain Cook named *Cape Moreton*. Near this place are three hills, which were called *The Glass-Houses*, from the very strong resemblance they bore to such buildings.

Smoky Cape.

Cape Byron.

Mount Warning.

Point Danger.

Moreton's Bay.

Cape Moreton

Glass Houses.

On the 18th they descried a point so unequal, that it looks like two small islands lying under the land, and it was therefore called *Double Island Point*. At noon, by the help of the glasses, they discovered some sands, which lay in spots of several acres, which they observed were moveable, and that some of them had not long been in their present situation, as they saw trees half buried, and the tops of others still green, likewise the naked trunks of some that had been destroyed by the sands. At this time two beautiful water-snakes swam by the ship, which seemed to be distinguished from land-snakes, only by their broad and flat tails, which it was thought were useful to them in swimming. On the 19th they sailed by a point of land, on which a large number of Indians were assembled, from whence it was called *Indian Head*. They soon afterwards saw many more of the natives, and observed smoke in the day-time, and fire by night. The next day they saw a point, which was named *Sandy Cape*, from two large tracts of white sand that were on it. They next passed a shoal which was called *Break-Sea Spit*, because they had now smooth water, after having long encountered a high sea. They had for some days past, seen the sea-birds, called boobies, none of which they had met with before, and which, from half an hour before sun-rising, to half an hour after, were continually passing the ship in large flights, from which it was conjectured, that there was a river or inlet of shallow water to the southward, where they went to feed in the day, returning in the evening to some islands to the northward. In honour of Captain Harvey, this bay was called *Harvey Bay*.

Double Island Point.

Indian Head.

Sandy Cape.

Break Sea Spit

Harvey Bay.

On the 22d, by the help of their glasses, they discovered that the land was covered with palm-nut trees, none of which they had seen since they quitted the islands within the tropics. The next morning early, the Captain took a party of men, and being attended by Tupia and the several gentlemen on board, went on shore to examine the country. They landed a little within the point of a bay, that led into a large lagune, by the sides of which grows the mangrove, as it also does on some bogs, and swamps of salt-water, which they discovered. There were many nests of a singular kind of ant, as green as grass; when the branches of these mangroves were disturbed they came forth in great numbers, and bit the disturber most severely. These trees likewise afforded shelter for a great number of green caterpillars; their bodies were covered with hairs, which, on the touch, gave a pain similar to the sting of a nettle, but much more acute. These insects ranged themselves side by side on the leaves, thirty or forty together, in a very singular manner. They saw among the sand-banks, many birds larger than swans, which they imagined were pelicans, and they shot a kind of bustard, which weighed seventeen pounds. This bird proved very delicate food, and gave name to the place which was called *Bustard-Bay*. They likewise shot a duck of a most beautiful plumage, with a white back. They found vast numbers of oysters of various sorts, and, among the rest, some hammer oysters of a curious kind. While the English were in the woods, several of the natives came down and took a survey of the ship, and then departed. The gentlemen on shore saw fires in many places, and repairing to one of them, they found about a dozen of small fires burning near each other; but the people were gone, and had left some shells and bones of fish they had just eaten. They likewise saw several pieces of soft bark, about the length and breadth of a man, which they judged had been used as beds. This kind of encampment was in a thicket well defended from the wind; and, as the place was much trodden, and there was no appearance of a house, it was imagined that they spent their nights, as well as days, in the open air, even Tupia shook his head, and exclaimed, *Taata Enos!* "Poor wretches!" They sailed the next morning, and on the day following were a-breast of a point, which lying immediately under the tropic, the captain called *Cape Capricorn*, on the west side of which they saw an amazing number of large birds resembling the pelican, some of which were five feet high.

Bustard Bay.

Cape Capricorn.

On the 26th they stood between a range of almost barren islands, and the main land, which is mountainous. They had here very shallow water, and anchored in sixteen feet, which was not two feet more than the ship drew. Mr. Banks tried to fish from the cabin windows, but the water was too shallow. The ground, indeed, was covered with crabs, which greedily seized the bait, and held it till they were above water. These crabs were of two kinds, one of a very fine blue, with a very white belly, and the other marked with blue on the joints, and having three remarkable brown spots on the back. The captain having sent some men in a boat a-head to sound, they returned with an account, that there was not water enough for the ship to pass through; upon which they tacked about and stood back again. In the morning they sailed to the northward, and to the northernmost point of the land the captain gave the name of *Cape Manifold*, from the number of high hills appearing above it. Between this cape and the shore is a bay called *Keppel's Bay*, and some islands bearing the name of the same gentleman. On the 28th, being determined to keep the main-land close aboard, which continued to tend away to the west, they got among another cluster of islands; they were here again greatly alarmed, having on a sudden but three fathom water, in a ripling tide. They immediately put the ship about, and hoisted out the boats in search of deeper water, after which they stood to the west with an easy sail, and, in the evening, came to the entrance of a bay. On the 29th in the morning, the master sent two boats to sound the bay; and the ship was no sooner under sail than the boats made the signal, and the ship accordingly came to an anchor. As they observed the tide to flow and ebb considerably, they imagined this bay to be the entrance of a river that ran up the country. In this place the captain intended to lay the ship ashore, and clean her bottom; and accordingly landed in search of a proper place for that purpose.

Cape Manifold.

Keppel's Bay.

In this excursion, Messrs. Banks and Solander attended Captain Cook. They found walking extremely incommodious, the ground being covered with grass, the seeds of which were sharp, and bearded, so that they

they

they were continually ſticking in their cloaths, whence they worked forward to the fleſh, by means of the beard. They were likewiſe tormented with the perpetual ſtinging of the muſquitos. Several places were found convenient to lay the ſhip aſhore but they could meet with no freſh water; in the interior parts of the country they found gum-trees, on the branches of which were white ants neſts formed of clay, as big as a buſhel. On the other trees they found black ants, which formed their lodging in the body of it, after they had eaten away the pith, yet the trees were in a flouriſhing condition. They found butterflies in ſuch incredible numbers, that which ever way they looked, many thouſands were to be ſeen in the air, while every bough and twig was covered with multitudes. They likewiſe diſcovered on the ground, where it was ſuppoſed to have been left by the tide, a fiſh, about the ſize of a minnow having two ſtrong breaſt fins, with which it leaped away as nimbly as a frog, it did not appear to be weakened by being out of water, nor even to prefer that element to the land; for when ſeen in the water it leaped on ſhore, and purſued its way. It was likewiſe remarked, that where there were ſmall ſtones projecting above the water, it choſe rather to leap from one ſtone to another, than to ſwim through the water.

On the 30th, the captain went on ſhore very early, and having gained the ſummit of a hill took a ſurvey of the coaſt, and adjacent iſlands, which being done, he took Dr. Solander up an inlet which had been diſcovered the preceding day. The weather proving unfavourable, they returned early to the ſhip, having ſeen only two Indians, who followed the boat a conſiderable way along the ſhore, but the tide running ſtrong, they did not think it prudent to wait for them. This day Mr. Banks went with a party on ſhore, and having met with a piece of ſwampy ground, covered with mangroves, they reſolved to paſs it, which they did, up to the knees in mud, and ſometimes crawling on their hands, when they had ſlipt between branches of trees, which were interwoven on the ſurface of the ſwamp. Having performed this diſagreeable taſk, they arrived at a ſpot where the natives appeared to have ſlept on the graſs, and where there were the remains of a fiſh ſupper, which had been roaſted by four ſmall fires. The ſecond lieutenant, at another place, ſaw the track of a large animal, near a gulley of water; he likewiſe heard the voice of the Indians, but did not ſee any. Two turtles were ſeen at this place, ſome water-fowls, and a few ſmall land birds.

Thirſty Sound. As no water was to be found, the captain called the inlet *Thirſty Sound*, which they left on the 31ſt of May, and having ſailed round three ſmall iſlands, anchored in fifteen fathom water. On the firſt of June they got under ſail, having a number of iſlands in ſight, as far the eye could reach. On the 2d at noon they ſaw a high promontory, which was called Cape Hillſborough. *Cape Hillſborough*, and ſeemed to abound in wood and herbage, diſtributed on hills, plains, and valleys. There are numbers of ſmall iſlands in this neighbourhood, on ſome of which they ſaw ſmoke ariſing in different places. On Sunday the 3d, they diſcovered a point, which was named *Cape Conway*, and between that and Cape Hillſborough a bay, which took the name of *Repute Bay*. The land about Cape Conway is diverſified by hills and dales, lawns and woods, and forms a delightful appearance. By the help of their glaſſes they diſcovered three perſons on one of the iſlands, and a canoe, with an out-rigger, like thoſe of Otaheite; they this day named the iſlands *Cumberland Iſlands* in honour of the Duke, and a paſſage which they diſcovered, was called *Whitſunday's Paſſage*, from the day on which it was ſeen. At day-break, they were a-breaſt of a point, which took the name of *Cape Glouceſter*. Names were likewiſe given to three other places, viz. *Holborne Iſle*, *Edgecumbe Bay*, and *Cape Upſtart*, which latter was ſo called, becauſe it riſes abruptly from the low lands that ſurround it.

Cape Conway. Repute Bay. Cumberland Iſland. Whitſunday's Paſſage. Cape Glouceſter. Holborne Iſle, Edgecumbe Bay, Cape Upſtart.

On Tueſday, when near the ſhore, they ſaw very large columns of ſmoke riſing from the low lands. This day they gave name to *Cleveland Bay*, the eaſt point of which was called *Cape Cleveland*, and the weſt *Magnetical Iſle*, becauſe the compaſs did not traverſe well when they were near it. The points, as well as the main land within them, lie high, and form a barren, rugged, and rocky coaſt. On the afternoon of Thurſday they ſaw ſeveral large columns of ſmoke, likewiſe ſome canoes, and ſeveral natives, with ſome trees, that they thought were of cocoa-nut, in ſearch of which fruit Meſſrs. Banks and Solander went a-ſhore with Lieutenant Hicks; but they returned in the evening with a few plants, which they had gathered from the cabbage palm, and which had been miſtaken for the cocoa-tree. On Friday they gave the name of *Point Hillock* to a point of land, between which and Magnetic Iſle the ſhore forms *Halliſax Bay*, which affords ſhelter from all winds: at ſix this evening they were a-breaſt of a point of land which was named *Cape Sandwich*, near which lies *Rockingham Bay*. Hence they ranged northward along the ſhore, toward the cluſter of iſlands, on one of which about 40 men, women and children were ſtanding together, and looking at the ſhip with a curioſity never obſerved among theſe people before. The north point of Rockingham Bay was called *Dunk Iſle*, which is ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed from the ſhore, it lies ſo very near it. On Saturday morning they were a-breaſt of ſome ſmall iſlands which were named *Frankland's Iſles*, near which lie two places, which were called *Cape Grafton*, and *Green Iſland*. Here Meſſrs. Banks and Solander went aſhore with the captain, whoſe chief views were to procure water, which not being eaſy to be got, they ſoon returned on board, and the next day arrived near *Trinity Bay*, which was ſo called becauſe it was diſcovered on Trinity Sunday.

1770

Cleveland Bay. Cape Cleveland. Magnetical Iſle. Point Hillock. Halliſax Bay. Cape Sandwich. Rockingham Bay. Dunk Iſle. Frankland's Iſles. Cape Grafton. Green Iſland.

As no accident remarkably unfortunate had befallen our adventurers during a navigation of more than 1300 miles, along coaſts every where abounding with the moſt dangerous rocks and ſhoals, no name expreſſive of diſtreſs had hitherto been given to any cape or point of land which they had ſeen. But they now gave the name of *Cape Tribulation* to a point which they had juſt diſcovered, as they here became acquainted with misfortune. This cape is in 16° 6′ ſouth lat. and 214° 39′ weſt long.

Cape Tribulation.

At ſix in the evening they ſhortened ſail, to avoid the danger of ſome rocks, which were ſeen a-head, and to obſerve whether any iſlands lay in the offing, as they were now near the latitude of thoſe iſlands ſaid to have been diſcovered by Quiros. They kept ſtanding off from ſix o'clock till near nine, with a fine breeze and bright moon. They had got from fourteen into twenty-one fathom water; when ſuddenly they fell into twelve, ten, and eight fathom, in a few minutes. Every man was inſtantly ordered to his ſtation, and they were on the point of anchoring, when, on a ſudden, they had again deep water, ſo that they thought all danger at an end, concluding they had ſailed over the tail of ſome ſhoals which they had ſeen in the evening. They had twenty fathom and upwards before ten o'clock, and this depth continuing ſome time, the gentlemen who had hitherto been upon duty, retired to reſt; but in leſs than an hour the water ſhallowed at once from twenty to ſeventeen fathom, and before ſoundings could be taken, the ſhip ſtruck againſt a rock, and remained fixed, but from the motion given her by the beating of the ſurge. Every one was inſtantly on deck, with countenances fully expreſſive of the agitation of their minds. As they knew they were not near the ſhore, they concluded they had ſtruck againſt a rock of coral, the points of which being ſharp, and the ſurface ſo rough as to grind away whatever is rubbed againſt it, though with a gentle motion, they had reaſon to dread the horror of their ſituation.

The ſails being taken in, and boats hoiſted out to examine the depth of water, they found that the ſhip had been carried over a ledge of the rock, and lay in a hollow within it. Finding the water was deepeſt a-ſtern,

1770 a-ſtern, they carried out the anchor from the ſtarboard quarter, and applied their whole force to the capſtern, in hopes to get the veſſel off, but in vain. She now beat ſo violently againſt the rock, that the crew could ſcarcely keep on their legs. The moon now ſhone bright, by the light of which they could ſee the ſheathing-boards float from the bottom of the veſſel, till at length the falſe keel followed, ſo that they expected inſtant deſtruction. Their beſt chance of eſcaping ſeemed now to be by lightning her, but as they had ſtruck at high water, they would have been out in their preſent ſituation after the veſſel ſhould draw as much leſs water as the water had ſunk; but their anxiety abated a little, on finding that the ſhip ſettled on the rocks as the tide ebbed. They, however, flattered themſelves, that if the ſhip ſhould keep together till next tide, they might have ſome chance of floating her. They therefore inſtantly ſtarted the water in the hold, and pumped it up. The decayed ſtores, oil-jars, caſks, ballaſt, ſix of their guns, and other things, were thrown over-board, in order to get at the heavier articles; and in this buſineſs they were employed till day-break, during all which time not an oath was ſworn, ſo much were the minds of the ſailors impreſſed with a ſenſe of their danger. At day-light they ſaw land at eight leagues diſtance, but not a ſingle iſland between them and the main, on which part of the crew might have been landed, while the boat went on ſhore with the reſt; ſo that the deſtruction of the greater part of them would have been inevitable had the ſhip gone to pieces. It happened that the wind died away to a dead calm before noon. As they expected high water about eleven o'clock, every thing was prepared to make another effort to free the ſhip, but the tide fell ſo much ſhort of that in the night, that ſhe did not float by 18 inches, though they had thrown over-board near fifty tons weight: they now, therefore, renewed their toil, and threw over-board every thing that could poſſibly be ſpared; as the tide fell, the water poured in ſo rapidly, that they could ſcarce keep her free by the conſtant working of two pumps. Their only hope now depended on the midnight tide, and preparations were accordingly made for another effort to get the ſhip off. The tide began to riſe at five o'clock, when the leak likewiſe encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that two pumps more were manned, but only one of them would work; three, therefore were kept going till nine o'clock, at which time the ſhip righted; but ſo much water had been admitted by the leak, that they expected ſhe would ſink as ſoon as the water ſhould bear her off the rock. Their ſituation was now deplorable beyond deſcription, almoſt all hope being at an end. They knew that when the fatal moment ſhould arrive, all authority would be at an end. The boats were incapable of conveying them all on ſhore, and they dreaded a conteſt for the preference, as more ſhocking than the ſhipwreck itſelf: yet it was conſidered, that thoſe who might be left on board, would eventually meet with a milder fate than thoſe who, by gaining the ſhore, would have no chance but to linger out the remains of life among the rudeſt ſavages in the univerſe, and in a country, where fire-arms would barely enable them to ſupport themſelves in a moſt wretched ſituation.

At twenty minutes after ten, the ſhip floated, and was heaved into deep water, when they were happy to find that ſhe did not admit more water than ſhe had done before; yet as the leak had for a conſiderable time gained on the pumps, there was now three feet nine inches water in the hold. By this time the men were ſo worn by fatigue of mind and body, that none of them could pump more than five or ſix minutes at a time, and then threw themſelves, quite ſpent, on the deck, amidſt a ſtream of water which came from the pumps. The ſucceeding man being fatigued in his turn, threw himſelf down in the ſame manner, while the former jumped up and renewed his labour, thus mutually ſtruggling for life, till the following accident had like to have given them up a prey to abſolute deſpair, and thereby inſured their deſtruction.

Between the inſide lining of the ſhip's bottom, which is called the cieling, and the outſide planking, there is a ſpace of about ſeventeen or eighteen inches. The man who had hitherto taken the depth of water at the well, had taken it no farther than the ceiling, but being now relieved by another perſon, who took the depth of the outſide plank, it appeared, by this miſtake, that the leak had ſuddenly gained upon the pumps, the whole difference between the two planks. This circumſtance deprived them of all hopes, and ſcarce any one thought it worth while to labour, for the longer preſervation of a life which muſt ſo ſoon have a period: but the miſtake was ſoon diſcovered: and the joy ariſing from ſuch unexpected good news inſpired the men with ſo much vigour, that before eight o'clock in the morning, they had pumped out conſiderably more water than they had ſhipped. They now talked of nothing but getting the ſhip into ſome harbour, and ſet heartily to work to get in their anchors; one of which, and the cable of another, they loſt; but theſe were now conſidered as trifles. Having a good breeze from ſea, they got under ſail at eleven o'clock, and ſteered for land. As they could not diſcover the exact ſituation of the leak, they had no proſpect of ſtopping it within ſide of the veſſel, but the following expedient, which one of the midſhipmen had formerly ſeen tried with ſucceſs, was adopted. They took an old ſtudding-ſail, and having mixed a large quantity of oakam and wool, chopped ſmall, it was ſtitched down in handfuls on the ſail, as lightly as poſſible, the dung of their ſheep and other filth being ſpread over it. Thus prepared, the ſail was hauled under the ſhip by ropes, which kept it extended till it came under the leak, when the ſuction carried in the oakham and wool from the ſurface of the ſail. This experiment ſucceeded ſo well, that, inſtead of three pumps, the water was eaſily kept under with one.

They had hitherto no farther view than to run the ſhip into ſome harbour, and build a veſſel from her materials, in which they might reach the Eaſt Indies; but they now began to think of finding a proper place to repair her damage, and then to purſue their voyage on its original plan. At ſix in the evening they anchored ſeven leagues from the ſhore; and found that the ſhip made 15 inches water an hour during the night; but as the pumps could clear this quantity, they were not uneaſy. At nine in the morning they paſſed two iſlands, which were called *Hope Iſlands*, becauſe the reaching of them had been the object of their wiſhes at the time of the ſhipwreck. In the afternoon the maſter was ſent out with two boats to ſound and ſearch for a harbour where the ſhip might be repaired. They anchored at ſun-ſet, in four fathoms water, two miles from the ſhore. One of the mates being ſent out in the pinnace, returned at nine o'clock, reporting, that he had found ſuch a harbour as was wanted, at the diſtance of two leagues.— Hope Iſlands.

At ſix o'clock the next morning they ſailed, having previouſly ſent two boats a-head, to point out the ſhoals that they ſaw in their way. They ſoon anchored about a mile from the ſhore, when the captain went out, and found the channel very narrow, but the harbour was better adopted to their preſent purpoſe, than any place they had ſeen in the whole courſe of their voyage. As it blew very freſh this day and the following night, they could not venture to run into the harbour, but remained at anchor during the two ſucceeding days, in the courſe of which they obſerved four Indians on the hills, who ſtopped and made two fires.

The men by this time began to be afflicted with the ſcurvy; and their Indian friend Tupia, was ſo ill with it, that he had livid ſpots on both his legs. Mr. Green the aſtronomer was likewiſe ill of the ſame diſorder; ſo that their being detained from landing was every way diſagreeable. The wind continued freſh till the 17th, but they then reſolved to puſh in for the harbour, and twice ran the ſhip a-ground;— the ſecond time ſhe ſtuck faſt, on which they took

Engraved for Moore's Voyages and Travels.

Capt.n Cook having been Shipwrecked in his Voyage round the World, has the
ENDEAVOUR repaired in an Harbour on one of the HOPE ISLANDS.

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took the booms, fore-yard, and fore-top maſts down, and made a raft on the ſide of the ſhip; and as the tide happened to be riſing, ſhe floated at one o'clock. She was now ſoon got into the harbour where ſhe was moored along the ſide of a beach, and the anchors, cables, &c. immediately taken out of her.

On Sunday morning they erected a tent for the ſick, ſeveral of whom were brought on ſhore as ſoon as it was ready for their reception. They likewiſe built a tent to hold the proviſions and ſtores which were landed the ſame day. Though the boat was diſpatched in queſt of fiſh for proviſion for the ſick, ſhe returned without ſucceſs; but Tupia employed himſelf in angling, and the ſick ſubſiſted on what he caught, and recovered very faſt. The high land up the country was ſtony and barren, and near the river over-run with mangroves, among which at every tide the ſalt-water came up. Mr. Banks in an excurſion ſaw the frames of ſeveral houſes, which appeared to have been ſome time abandoned.

The forge was now ſet up, and preparations were made for repairing the veſſel. And this day Mr. Banks, croſſing the river to view the country, found it to be little elſe but ſandy hills. He perceived vaſt flocks of pigeons and crows, and ſhot ſeveral of the former which proved moſt beautiful. The ſhip having ſprung a leak, it was thought neceſſary to carry her higher up the harbour, to find a ſtation proper for her to be laid in while this was ſtopped.

On examining her on the 22d, it appeared that the rocks had cut through four planks into the timbers, and that three other planks were damaged; but not a ſplinter was to be ſeen in all thoſe breaches, the whole being as ſmooth as if it had been cut with an inſtrument of iron. One of theſe holes was large enough to have ſunk her even with eight pumps going; but the fiſſure was in a great meaſure ſtopped by a fragment of the rock being left ſticking in it. Some pieces of oakum, wool, &c. having gotten between the timber had likewiſe contributed to ſtop ſeveral parts which the ſtone had left open. The veſſel was beſides otherwiſe damaged.

The carpenters continued working on the ſhip, while the ſmiths were buſied in making bolts and nails, and ſome went acroſs the river to ſhoot pigeons for the ſick. They found a ſtream of freſh water, ſaw ſeveral Indian houſes, and obſerved a mouſe-coloured animal that was very ſwift. As to fiſh, though they ſaw plenty, they caught but three of them. Many of the crew ſeeing the animal juſt mentioned, declared they had ſeen the devil, deſcribing this creature in the moſt terrible manner, ſuch as they apprehended muſt be the figure of the grand foe of mankind. It ſeems theſe men had ſeen a bat which had thus ſtruck them with fear and aſtoniſhment.

The repairs of the ſhip were now going forward, the carpenters began to work on her ſtarboard ſide on the 24th. Some palm cabbages and a bunch or two of wild plantains were obtained by Mr. Gore for the refreſhment of the ſick; and the captain and Mr. Banks ſaw the above-mentioned animal, which had a long tail that it carried like a grey-hound; the point of its foot reſembled that of a goat, and it leaped like a deer.—When the veſſel was examined abaft, it was found that ſhe had not received much injury in that quarter. The carpenters, however, continued their work whenever the tide would allow them. The veſſel was now in a poſition that threw all the water abaft, in conſequence of which, Mr. Banks's collection of plants which had been removed into the bread-room were found under. Some of them were totally ſpoiled, but the greater part were reſtored by proper care and attention. They now endeavoured to float the ſhip by throwing water-caſks under her bottom; but this not ſucceeding, they were obliged to wait till the next ſpring-tide. They now found more cabbage-trees, and a fruit of a deep colour, which was about the ſize of a golden pippin, and when kept a few days taſted like a damoſcen. And a plant was diſcovered which reſembled our Engliſh ſpinage. 1770

Some of the crew went up the country with Mr. Banks, on the 28th, who ſhewed them a plant that ſerv-for greens, which was of the ſort that the Weſt-Indians call Indian kale. They ſaw here a tree notched for climbing in the ſame manner as had been obſerved in Botany Bay. They alſo met with neſts of white ants, from the height of ſeven inches to five feet. Prints of mens feet, and the tracts of ſeveral animals were diſcovered up the country. The next day a wolf was ſeen ſimilar to thoſe found in America.

Fiſh were taken in ſuch a quantity the firſt day as to allow a pound and a half to each man.

The captain aſcended a hill on the 30th, in order to take a view of the ſea, which preſented no agreeable proſpect, as there were ſhoals and ſand banks, almoſt on every ſide, but as the wind blew conſtantly from the ſouth he thought he might get clear by a paſſage that appeared to open to the northward. This day Mr. Gore ſaw two animals of a ſtraw colour, ſhaped like a dog, but about the ſize of a hare. And now ſo much fiſh was taken, and ſuch a plenty of greens gathered, that the ſhips company had no reaſon to complain of their proviſions.

All the men were allowed to go on ſhore on the 1ſt of July one excepted from each meſs, who went on the fiſhing party, which ſucceeded very well. On Tueſday the maſter, who had been ſent in the pinnace to look for a channel, returned, and brought word that he had found a paſſage between the ſhoals. He found ſome cockles ſo large that one of them was ſufficient for two men, beſides plenty of ſhell-fiſh, and of theſe he brought a ſupply. In his return to the veſſel he landed in a bay where ſome Indians were at ſupper, who fled: they found ſome ſea eggs and a fire ready to dreſs them.

The attempt to float the ſhip ſucceeded this day, but finding that by the poſition ſhe had lain in ſhe had ſprung a plank, it was judged neceſſary to lay her aſhore, which was accordingly done on the 4th, and the next day ſhe was floated at high water, and moored off the beach, in order to receive the ſtores. Mr. Banks croſſed the harbour the ſame day, and found a great number of fruits, ſuch as they had not ſeen before, among which there was a cocoa-nut, that as Tupia ſaid, had been opened by a crab. All the vegetables picked up here were interſperſed with marine productions. This gentleman having taken a boat for the purpoſe went up the river on the 6th, and returned on the 8th. Having examined the country they found it little different from what they had already ſeen, and following the courſe of the river, found it to be at length contracted within a narrow channel which was bounded by ſteep banks adorned with beautiful trees, and the bark tree among the reſt. The land was low and covered with verdure, and ſeemed capable of cultivation. Several animals were ſeen, one of which they judged to be a wolf.

Strange animals.

"At night, ſays my author, they made a fire and took up their quarters on the bank of the river, but the night was rendered extremely diſagreeable by the ſtings of the muſquitos, which purſued them into the ſmoke and almoſt into the fire. At break of day they ſet out in ſearch of game, and ſaw four animals, two of which were chaſed by Mr. Banks's greyhound; but they greatly outſtripped him in ſpeed, by leaping over the long thick graſs, which incommoded the dog in running. It was obſerved of this animal, that he leaped or bounded forward on two legs, inſtead of running on four. Having returned to the boat, they proceeded up the river, till it contracted to a brook

* This poor fellow obſerved that he was as large as a gallon, and had horns and wings; "yet (added he) crept ſo ſlowly through the graſs that if I had not been afeard I might have touched him. As to the horns that exiſted only in his fancy which was juſt then filled with frightful images.

1770 of freſh water, but in which the tide roſe conſiderably. When they ſtopped for the night, they ſaw a ſmoke at a diſtance, on which three of them approached it, but the Indians were gone. They ſaw the impreſſions of feet on the ſand, below high-water mark, and found a fire ſtill burning in the hollow of an old tree. At a ſmall diſtance they ſaw ſeveral huts, and obſerved ovens dug in the ground: the remains of a recent meal were likewiſe apparent. They now retired to their reſting-place, and ſlept on plantain leaves, with a bunch of graſs for their pillows, on the ſide of a ſand-bank under the ſhelter of a buſh. The tide favouring their return in the morning, they loſt no time in getting back to the ſhip. The maſter, who had been ſeven leagues at ſea, returned ſoon after Mr. Banks, bringing with him three turtles, which he took with a boat-hook, and which together weighed near eight hundred pounds. He was ſent out next morning, and Mr. Banks accompanied him with proper inſtruments for catching turtle: but not being ſucceſsful, he would not go back that night, ſo that Mr. Banks, after collecting ſome ſhells and marine productions, returned in his own ſmall boat.

In the morning the ſecond lieutenant was ſent to bring the maſter back, ſoon after which four Indians, in a ſmall canoe, were within ſight. The captain now determined to take no notice of theſe people, as the moſt likely way to be noticed by them. This project anſwered; two of them came within muſquet ſhot of the veſſel, where they converſed very loud; in return, the people on board ſhouted, and made ſigns of invitation. The Indians gradually approached, with their lances held up; not in a menacing manner, but as if they meant to intimate that they were capable of defending themſelves. They came almoſt along-ſide, when the captain threw them cloth, nails, paper, &c. which did not ſeem to attract their notice, at length one of the ſailors threw a ſmall fiſh, which ſo pleaſed them, that they hinted their deſigns of bringing their companions, and immediately rowed for the ſhore. In the interim, Tupia and ſome of the crew landed on the oppoſite ſhore. The four Indians now came quite along-ſide the ſhip, and having received farther preſents, landed where Tupia and the ſailors had gone. They had each two lances, and a ſtick with which they threw them. Advancing towards the Engliſh, Tupia perſuaded them to lay down their arms, and ſit by him, which they readily did. Others of the crew now going on ſhore, the Indians ſeemed jealous, leſt they ſhould get between them and their arms, but care was taken to convince them that no ſuch thing was intended, and more trifles were preſented to them. The crew ſtaid with them till dinner-time, and then made ſigns of invitation for them to go to the ſhip and eat; but this they declined, and retired in their canoe. Theſe men were of the common ſtature, with very ſmall limbs; their complexion was of a deep chocolate; their hair black, either lank or curled, but not of the woolly kind; the breaſts and upper lip of one of them were painted with ſtreaks of white, which he called *carbanda*, and ſome part of their bodies had been painted red. Their teeth were white and even, their eyes bright, and their features rather pleaſing; their voices muſical, and they repeated ſeveral Engliſh words with great readineſs.

The viſit of three of theſe Indians was renewed the next morning, and they brought with them a fourth, whom they called *Yaparico*, who appeared to be a perſon of ſome conſequence. The bone of a bird, about ſix inches long, was thruſt through the griſtle of his noſe; and indeed all the inhabitants of this place had their noſes bored, for the reception of ſuch an ornament. Theſe people being all naked, the captain gave one of them an old ſhirt, which he bound round his head like a turban, inſtead of uſing it to cover any part of his body. They brought a fiſh to the ſhip, which was ſuppoſed to be in payment for that given them the day before: after ſtaying ſome time, with apparent ſatisfaction, they ſuddenly leaped into their canoe, and rowed off, from a jealouſy of ſome of the gentlemen who were examining it.

Three Indians viſited Tupia's tent on the 12th of July, and after remaining ſome time, went for two others, whom they introduced by name. Some fiſh was offered them, but they ſeemed not much to regard it; and after eating a little, they gave the remainder to Mr. Banks's dog. Some ribbands which had been given them, to which medals were ſuſpended round their necks, were ſo changed by ſmoke, that it was difficult to judge what colour they had been, and the ſmoke had made their ſkins look darker than their natural colour, from whence it was thought that they had ſlept cloſe to their fires, as a preventative againſt the ſting of the muſquitos. Both the ſtrangers had bones through their noſes, and a piece of bark tied over their foreheads; and one of them had an ornament of ſtrings round his arm; and an elegant necklace made of ſhells. Their canoe was about ten feet long, and calculated to hold four perſons, and when it was in ſhallow water they moved it by the help of poles. Their lances had only a ſingle point, and ſome of them were barbed with fiſh bones. On the 14th Mr. Gore ſhot one of the mouſe-coloured animals above-mentioned. It chanced to be a young one, weighing more than 38 pounds; but when they are full grown, they are as large as a ſheep. The ſkin of this beaſt, which is called *Kangaroo*, is covered with ſhort fur, and is of a dark mouſe colour; the head and ears are ſomewhat like thoſe of a hare; this animal was dreſſed for dinner, and proved fine eating. The ſhip's crew fed on turtle almoſt every day, which were finer than thoſe eaten in England, owing to their being killed before their natural fat was waſted, and their juices changed.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went with the captain into the woods on the 17th, and ſaw four Indians in a canoe, who went on ſhore, and walked up without ſign of fear. They accepted ſome beads, and departed, intimating that they did not chuſe to be followed. The natives being now become familiar with the ſhip's crew, one of them was deſired to throw his lance, which he did with ſuch dexterity and force, that though it was not above four feet from the ground at the higheſt, it penetrated deeply into a tree at the diſtance of fifty yards. The natives now came on board the ſhip, and were well pleaſed with their entertainment. On the 19th, they ſaw ſeveral of the women, who, as well as the men, were quite naked. They were this day viſited by ten of the natives, who ſeemed reſolved to have one of the turtles that was on board, which they repeatedly made ſigns for, and being as repeatedly refuſed, they expreſſed the utmoſt rage and reſentment, one of them in particular, having received a denial from Mr. Banks, he ſtamped, and puſhed him away in a moſt violent manner. At length they laid hands on two of the turtles, and drew them to the ſide of the ſhip where the canoe lay, but the ſailors took them away. They made ſeveral ſimilar attempts, but being equally unſucceſsful, they leaped ſuddenly into their canoe, and rowed off. At this inſtant the captain, with Mr. Banks, and five or ſix of the ſeamen, went on ſhore, where they arrived before the Indians, and where many of the crew were already employed. As ſoon as the Indians landed, one of them ſnatched a fire brand from under a pitch-kettle, and running to the windward of what effects were left on ſhore, ſet fire to the dry graſs, which burned rapidly, ſcorched a pig to death, burned part of the ſmith's forge, and would have deſtroyed a tent of Mr. Banks, but that ſome people came from the ſhip juſt in time to get it out of the way of the flames. In the mean while the Indians went to a place where the fiſhing-nets lay, and a quantity of linen was laid out to dry, and there again ſet fire to the graſs, in ſpite of all perſuaſion, and even of threats. A muſquet loaded with ſmall ſhot was fired, and one of them being wounded, they ran away, and this ſecond fire was extinguiſhed; but the other burned far into the woods.

The natives ſtill continuing in ſight, a muſquet charged with ball was fired near them, upon hearing which they ſoon got out of ſight: but their voices being heard in the wood, and ſeeming to come nearer, the captain with a few people, went to meet them. When they were in ſight of each other both parties ſtopped, except an old Indian, who advanced before the reſt a little way, but ſoon halted, and ſpeaking a few words, retreated to his brethren, and they all retired ſlowly together. The Engliſh having ſeized ſome of their darts, followed them about a mile, and then ſat down, the Indians ſitting about a hundred yards from them.

The old man again came forward, having in his hand a lance with a point. He ſtopped and ſpoke ſeveral times, on which the captain made ſigns of friendſhip. The old Indian now turned to his companions, and having ſpoken to them, they placed their lances againſt a tree, and came forward as in friendſhip, whereupon their darts, which had been taken, were returned, and the whole quarrel ſeemed at an end. The Indians having accepted ſome trinkets, walked amicably towards the coaſt, intimating by ſigns that they would not fire the graſs again. They ſat down oppoſite the ſhip, but would not go on board, and they accepted a few muſquet-balls, the uſe and effect of which the captain endeavoured to explain to them. When Captain Cook got on board, he ſaw the woods burning at the diſtance of two miles.

The maſter having been ſent to ſearch for a paſſage to the northward, returned with an accout that he could not find any. By the night of the 20th, the fire had extended many miles round them on the hills, which at night formed an appearance that was very ſtriking. On the 22d they killed a turtle, through both ſhoulders of which ſtuck a wooden harpoon, which the Indians had ſtricken it with, and the wound was quite healed. The next day, one of the ſeamen, who had ſtrayed from his company, met with four Indians at dinner; he was alarmed at this unexpected meeting, but had prudence enough to conceal his apprehenſions, and ſitting down by them gave them his knife, which having all looked at, they returned; he then would have left them, but they choſe to detain him till, by feeling his hands and face, they were convinced he was made of fleſh and blood like themſelves: they then diſmiſſed him, directing him the neareſt way to the ſhip. Mr. Banks having gone on ſhore in ſearch of plants, found the cloth that had been diſtributed among the natives, lying in a heap, as a commodity of no value. On the 24th, Meſſrs. Solander and Banks found ſeveral marking-nuts on the ground; but their ſearch for the tree that bore them was intirely fruitleſs. On the 26th Mr. Banks caught a female animal, called the *Opoſſum*, with two young ones.

By the 29th the ſhip was ready for ſea, but there was not water ſufficient for her to paſs the bar. On the firſt of Auguſt they found that the pumps were all rotten; but as the veſſel admitted only an inch of water in an hour, they hoped ſhe would be ſtout enough to hold out the voyage. On the fourth of this month they put to ſea, the pinnace going a-head to keep ſounding, and at noon came to an anchor, when the captain gave the name of *Cape Bedford* to the northernmoſt point of land in ſight, and that of *Endeavour River* to the harbour which they had quitted.

Cape Bedford.

The proviſions they obtained while in the harbour, conſiſted of turtle, which they went ſome miles to ſea to catch, oyſters of three different ſorts, large cavalhe or ſcomber, large mullets, ſome flat fiſh, a great number of ſmall ſcomber, and ſkait, or ray fiſh; purſlain, wild beans, the tops of cocoas, and cabbage palms. Of quadrupedes there are goats, wolves, and pole-cats; there are many ſerpents, only ſome of which are venomous; dogs are the only tame animals; the land fowls are kites, crows, hawks, loriquets, cockatoos, parrots, pigeons, and ſmall birds of various kinds, the names of which are not known: the water fowls are wild geeſe, curlews, hens, whiſtling ducks, which perch on trees, and ſome few others. The ſoil produces the gum-tree, and various other kinds of wood, and coarſe graſs. The whole of the country is well watered, and ant-hills abound in every part of it. 1770

The captain went to the maſt-head on the 4th to look at ſome ſhoals which threatened great danger; and he ſaw ſeveral of them above the water. This day ſuch a quantity of fiſh was caught, as allowed a dividend of two pounds to each man. During the ſix following days they ſtruggled inceſſantly to ſail ſafely paſt the ſhoals and breakers, by which they were every way ſurrounded; but, for the preſent, their attempts were vain. On the 10th, they were between a head-land, and three iſlands, which had been diſcovered on the preceding day; and began to conceive hopes that they were out of danger; but this not proving to be the caſe, the head-land received the name of *Cape Flattery*. Some land was now ſeen from the maſt-head, which was generally taken for the main, but the captain judged it to be a cluſter of iſlands; and during this diverſity of opinion, the ſhip came to an anchor. The captain now landed, and aſcending a high point, took a ſurvey of the ſea-coaſt, by which he was confirmed in his opinion, that what they had ſeen was not any part of the main, but a number of iſlands. On the point where he ſtood were ſeen the prints of human feet, in white ſand of an exquiſite fineneſs, and the ſpot was denominated *Point Look Out*.

Cape Flattery.

Point Look Out.

Early on the 11th, Mr. Banks and the captain went to viſit the largeſt of the three iſlands, which had been ſeen from the point the preceding day. Having gained the ſummit of the higheſt hill, they beheld a reef of rocks, on which the ſea broke in a frightful manner, but the thickneſs of the weather prevented a perfect view; they lodged under a buſh during the night, in hopes of having a better proſpect in the morning: but the weather proved worſe than on the preceding day: yet, as they ſaw what had the appearance of a channel between the reefs, a perſon was ſent to examine it, who found it very narrow. They now ſet out to return to the ſhip, after giving the name of *Lizard Iſland* to this place, from their having ſeen no animals but lizards on it. Upon their return they landed on a low ſandy iſland, which abounded in birds of various kinds, among which were eagles, a neſt of the young of which they took, and called the place *Eagle Iſland*. On this ſpot they ſaw the neſt of ſome birds, which was built with ſome ſticks on the ground: it was near three feet in height, and twenty-ſix round.

Lizard Iſland.

Eagle Iſland.

During the interval of their abſence from the ſhip, the maſter had landed on ſeveral low iſlands, where he had ſeen great heaps of turtle ſhells, and found the fins of them which the Indians had left hanging on the trees, ſo freſh that they were dreſſed and eaten by the boats crew. After a converſation held among the officers, it was their concurrent opinion, that it would be beſt to leave the coaſt, and ſtand out to ſea, and in conſequence of theſe ſentiments they ſailed on the 13th of Auguſt, 1770, and got through one of the channels in the reef; happy to be once more in an open ſea, after having been ſurrounded by dreadful ſhoals and rocks for near three months. They had now ſailed above 1000 miles, during all which run they were obliged to keep ſounding, without the intermiſſion of a ſingle minute; a circumſtance which it is ſuppoſed, never happened to any ſhip but the Endeavour.

The iſlands, from one of which the paſſage to the open ſea had been obſerved, were called the *Iſlands of Direction*. They abound in turtle and other fiſh, and on the beach were found bamboos, cocoa-nuts, pumice-ſtone, and ſeeds of plants, which were ſuppoſed to be carried thither by the trade winds, as the plants themſelves do not grow in the country. Having anchored on the 14th, they ſteered a weſterly courſe on the following day, to get ſight of the land, that a paſſage

between

1770

between that land and new Guinea, might not be miſſed, if there were any ſuch paſſage; early in the afternoon they had ſight of land, which had the appearance of hilly iſlands, but it was judged to be part of the main; and they ſaw breakers between the veſſel and the land, in which there was an opening, to get clear of which they ſet all their ſails, and ſtood to the northward till midnight, and then went on a ſouthward tack for about two miles, when the breeze died away to a dead calm. When day-light came on they ſaw a dreadful ſurf break at a vaſt height, within a mile of the ſhip, towards which the rolling waves carried her with great rapidity. Thus diſtreſſed, the boats were ſent a-head to tow, and the head of the veſſel was brought about, but not till ſhe was within a hundred yards of the rock, between which and her there was nothing left but the chaſm, and which had riſen and broke to a wonderful height on the rock;—but in the moment they expected inſtant deſtruction, a breeze, hardly diſcernable, aided the boats in getting the veſſel in an oblique direction from the rock. The hopes, however, afforded by this providential circumſtance, were deſtroyed by a perfect calm, which ſucceeded in a few minutes; yet the breeze once more returned, before they had loſt the little ground which had been gained. At this time a ſmall opening was ſeen in the reef, and a young officer being ſent to examine it, found that its breadth did not much exceed the length of the ſhip, but that there was ſmooth water on the other ſide of the rocks. Animated by the hope of preſerving life, they now attempted to paſs the opening; but this was impoſſible; for it having become high water in the interim, the ebb tide ruſhed through it with amazing impetuoſity, carrying the ſhip about a quarter of a mile from the reef, and ſhe ſoon reached the diſtance of near two miles, by the help of the boats. When the ebb tide was ſpent, the tide of flood again drove the veſſel very near the rocks, ſo that their proſpect of deſtruction was renewed, when they diſcovered another opening, and a light breeze ſpringing up, they entered it, and were driven through it with a rapidity that prevented the ſhip from ſtriking againſt either ſide of the channel. The ſhip now came to an anchor, and her crew were grateful for having regained a ſtation, which they had been very lately moſt anxious to quit. The name of *Providence Channel* was given to the opening through which the ſhip had thus eſaped the moſt imminent dangers. A high promontory on the main land in ſight, was denominated *Cape Weymouth*, and a bay near it *Weymouth Bay*. This day the boats went out to fiſh, and met with great ſucceſs, particularly in catching cockles, ſome of which were of ſuch an amazing ſize, as to require the ſtrength of two men to move them. Mr. Banks likewiſe ſucceeded in his ſearch for rare ſhells, and different kinds of coral.

Providence Channel.

Cape Weymouth.

Weymouth Bay.

On the 8th, they diſcovered ſeveral ſmall iſlands, which were called *Forbes's Iſlands*, and had a ſight of a high point of land on the main, which was named the *Bolt Head*. On the 19th they diſcovered ſeveral other ſmall iſlands, the land of which was low, barren, and ſandy. A point was ſeen, and called *Cape Grenville*, and a bay which took the name of *Temple Bay*. In the afternoon many other iſlands were ſeen, which were denominated *Bird Iſles*, from their being frequented by numerous flocks of birds. On the 20th many more ſmall iſlands were ſeen, on one of which were a few trees, and ſeveral Indian huts, ſuppoſed to have been erected by the natives of the main land, as temporary habitations during their viſit to theſe iſlands. On the 21ſt they ſailed through a channel, in which was a number of ſhoals; and gave the name of *York Cape* to a point of the main land which forms the ſide of the channel. A large bay is formed to the ſouth of the cape, which was called *Newcaſtle Bay*, and in which are ſeveral little iſlands; on the north ſide of the cape the land is rather mountainous, but the low parts of the country abound with trees; the iſlands diſcovered in the morning of this day, were called *York Iſles*. In the afternoon they anchored between

Forbes's Iſland

Bolt Head.

Cape Grenville.

Temple Bay.

Bird's Iſles.

York Cape.

Newcaſtle Bay

York Iſles.

ſome iſlands, and obſerved, that the channel now began to grow wider; they perceived two diſtant points, between which no land could be ſeen, ſo that the hope of having at length explored a paſſage into the Indian Sea, began to animate every breaſt; but, to bring the matter to a certainty, the captain took a party, and being accompanied by Meſſrs. Solander and Banks, they landed on an iſland, on which they had ſeen a number of Indians, ten of whom were on a hill, one of them carrying a bow and a bundle of arrows, the reſt armed with lances; and round the necks of two of them hung ſtrings of mother of pearl. Three of theſe Indians ſtood on ſhore, as if to oppoſe the landing of the boat, but they retired before it reached the beach. The captain and his company now aſcended a hill, from whence they had a view of near forty miles, in which ſpace there was nothing that threatened to oppoſe their paſſage, ſo that the certainty of a channel ſeemed to be almoſt indubitable. Previous to their leaving the iſland, Captain Cook diſplayed the Engliſh colours, and took poſſeſſion of all the eaſtern coaſt of the country, from the 38th deg. of ſouth latitude, to the preſent ſpot, by the name of *New South Wales*, for his ſovereign, the King of Great Britain; and three volleys of ſmall arms being fired, and anſwered by an equal number from the Endeavour, the place received the name of *Poſſeſſion Iſland*. The next morning they ſaw three naked women collecting ſhell-fiſh on the beach; and weighing anchor, gave the name of *Cape Cornwall* to the extreme point of the largeſt iſland on the north-weſt ſide of the paſſage; ſome low iſlands near the middle of the channel receiving the name of *Wallis's Iſle*; ſoon after which the ſhip came to an anchor, and the long boat was ſent out to ſound.

New South Wales.

Poſſeſſion Iſland.

Cape Cornwall.

Wallis's Iſle.

Towards evening they ſailed again, and the captain landed with Mr. Banks, on a ſmall iſland which was frequented by immenſe numbers of birds, the majority of which being boobies, the place received the name of *Booby Iſland*. They were now advanced to the northern extremity of New Holland, and had the ſatisfaction of viewing the open ſea to the weſtward. The north-eaſt entrance of the paſſage is formed by the main land of New Holland, and by a number of iſlands which took the name of the *Prince of Wales's Iſlands*, and which Captain Cook imagines may reach to New Guinea; theſe iſlands abound with trees and graſs, and were known to be inhabited, from the ſmoke that was ſeen aſcending in many places.

Booby Iſland.

Prince of Wales Iſland's

To the paſſage they had ſailed through, Captain Cook gave the name of *Endeavour Streights*. New South Wales is a much larger country than any hitherto known which is not deemed a continent, being larger than all Europe; which is proved by the Endeavour's having coaſted more than 2000 miles, even if her tract were reduced to a ſtrait line. Northward of the latitude of 33 degrees, the country is hilly, but not mountainous; but to the ſouthward of that latitude it is moſtly low and even ground. The hills in general are diverſified by lawns, and woods, and many of the valleys abound with herbage, though, on the whole, it cannot be deemed a fertile country. To the northward the graſs is not ſo rich, nor the trees ſo high as in the ſouthern parts, and almoſt every where, even the largeſt trees grow at a diſtance of not leſs than thirteen yards aſunder. In all theſe places where the land forms a bay, the ſhore is covered with mangroves, which grow about a mile in land, in a ſwampy ground, which the ſpring tides always overflow; in ſome parts there are bogs, covered with thick graſs, and there is plenty of under wood in the valleys; the ſoil in general ſeems unfit for cultivation, though there are many ſpots where the arts of tillage might be attended with ſucceſs.

Endeavour Streights.

There are ſeveral ſalt creeks running in many directions, through the country, where there are alſo brooks of freſh water, but there are no rivers of any conſiderable extent; yet it ſeemed to be well watered, as the time when the ſhip was on the coaſt, was reckoned the drieſt ſeaſon of the year. The gum-tree which

yields a reſin like the dragon's blood. Here are three kinds of palm trees, two of which are found only in the northern diſtrict. Nuts ſomewhat reſembling cheſnuts are produced by one of theſe, which were ſuppoſed to be eatable, yet ſome of the ſeamen having made free with them were taken very ill; two of whom died within a week, and it was not without difficulty that the the third was recovered. The ſecond ſort of palm is much like the Weſt Indian cabbage-tree, which yields a cabbage of an agreeable taſte. The third ſort abounds in the ſouthern part, produces a ſmall cabbage of a very agreeable flavour, and bears many nuts, which furniſh food for hogs. There is likewiſe a tree on which grows a purple apple that taſtes like a damoſcen, as we have before obſerved. Beſides theſe there is a fig-tree, producing figs, but not of the fineſt ſort, and they have another which bears a ſort of plumb that is flat on the ſides like a cheeſe. A plant was found here, the leaves of which were like thoſe of the bulruſh; it yields a bright yellow reſin, that reſembles gumbouge, but does not ſtain—it had a very agreeable ſmell.

There are two ſorts of yams, the one round and covered with ſtringy fibres, and the other in ſhape like a radiſh; both of which are of a pleaſant taſte. A fruit of a diſagreeable flavour was found, in ſhape reſembling a pine-apple; and another that was much like a cherry, but had a ſoft kernel. The country produces purſlain and wild parſly.

The Engliſh ſaw here beſides the beaſt already mentioned one that was called a quall, the belly of this animal was quite white, its back was brown with white ſpots; and it was like a pole-cat. Vaſt numbers of beautiful pigeons were obſerved here, and the ſeamen ſhot many of them. There are alſo eagles, hawks, cranes, herons, buſtards, crows, parrots, parroquets, cockatoos, and ſome other birds of fine plumage; beſides quails and doves.

There are but few inſects in this country, and the ants and muſquitos are the chief among them. There are four kinds of the former which deſerve particular notice. The firſt of theſe are entirely green, and live on trees, where they build their neſts in a very curious manner, bending down the leaves, and gluing them together with an animal juice, ſuppoſed to proceed from their own bodies. While ſeveral of theſe animals were buſied in this employ, thouſands were joined to keep the leaf in its proper ſituation, which, when they were diſturbed in their work, flew back with a force that any one would have imagined to be ſuperior to their united ſtrength: at the ſame time they avenged themſelves by ſeverely ſtinging their diſturbers. The ſecond ſpecies of ants here are black, and live in the inſide of the branches, after they have worked out the pith. The third ſort lodged themſelves in the root of a plant that twines round the trunks of other trees. This they made hollow, and cut into a great number of paſſages that ran acroſs each other, yet there was no appearance of the plants having been injured. They were not above half the ſize of the red ants of this country. As to the fourth ſort, they were like the Eaſt-Indian white ants, and had one ſort of neſts as big as a half-peck loaf which hung from the boughs of trees, and were compoſed of ſeveral minute parts of vegetables, which appeared to be ſtuck together by the glutinous juice before-mentioned. There was a communication between the cells, and there were paſſages to other neſts upon the ſame tree, they had alſo a hollow covered paſſage to another neſt on the ground, at the root of a different tree. The height of the ground neſts was found to be about ſix feet, and the breadth nearly the ſame; and the outſide was plaiſtered with clay almoſt two inches thick. Theſe had a ſubterraneous paſſage leading to the roots of the trees near which they were conſtructed, from whence theſe creatures aſcended the trunk and branches by covered ways, calculated for the purpoſe. It was concluded that the ants reſorted to theſe ground-neſts during the wet ſeaſon, as they were water proof.

Variety of fiſh is ſupplied by the ſeas in theſe parts; among which are mullets, cray-fiſh and crabs. Upon the ſhoals are found the rock, pearl, and other oyſters, as well as the moſt delicate green turtle, beſides thoſe enormous cockles which have been already mentioned. Alligators are found in the rivers and ſalt creeks. The country does not appear to be inhabited by numbers any way proportioned to its great extent; not above thirty being ever ſeen together but once, which was when thoſe of both ſexes and all ages got together on a rock off Botany Bay, to view the ſhip. None of their villages conſiſted of more huts than would afford ſhelter for fourteen or fifteen men, and theſe were the largeſt numbers that were aſſembled with a a view to attack the Engliſh. No part of the country appeared to be cultivated, whence there muſt neceſſarily be fewer inhabitants on the inland parts than on the ſea-coaſt. The men are well made, of the middle ſize, and active, in a high degree; but their voices are ſoft, even to effeminacy. Their colour is chocolate; but they were ſo covered with dirt, as to look almoſt as black as negros. Their hair is naturally long and black, but they commonly cropped it ſhort; in ſome few inſtances it is ſlightly curled, but in common quite ſtrait; it is always matted with dirt, yet wholly free from lice; their beards are thick and buſhy, but kept ſhort by ſinging. The women were ſeen only at a diſtance, as the men conſtantly left them behind when they croſſed the river. The chief ornament of theſe people is the bone that is thruſt through the noſe, which the ſailors whimſically called their ſprit-ſail yard; but beſides this they wore necklaces formed of ſhells, a ſmall cord tied twice or thrice round the arm between the elbow and ſhoulder, and a ſtring of plaited human hair round the waiſt. Some few of them had an ornament of ſhells hanging acroſs the breaſt. Beſides theſe ornaments they painted their bodies and limbs white and red, in ſtripes of different dimenſions; and they had a circle of white round each eye, and ſpots of it on the face. Their ears were bored, but they did not wear ear-rings. 1770

Theſe people accepted whatever was given them, but ſeemed to have no idea of making an adequate return; and they would not part with their ornaments for any thing that was offered in exchange. Their bodies were marked with ſcars, which they ſignified were in remembrance of the deceaſed. Their huts were built with ſmall rods, the two ends of which were fixed into the ground, ſo as to form the figure of an oven; they are covered with pieces of bark and palm-leaves. The door of this building, which is only high enough to ſit upright in, is oppoſite to the fire-places. They ſleep with their heels turned up towards their heads; and even in this poſture the hut will not hold more than four people. In the northern parts, where the weather was warmer, one ſide of the houſes was left open, and the other oppoſed to whatever wind might blow at the time there; huts were only built for temporary uſe, and left behind when they removed to other parts of the country; but if their ſtay was only for a night or two, they had no other protection from the weather than what the graſs and buſhes afforded. While the huts on the main land were turned from the wind, thoſe on the iſlands were towards it: a kind of proof that they viſit the iſlands in fine weather, and enjoy the refreſhing breeze while they ſlept. Theſe huts are furniſhed with a kind of bucket for fetching water, made of an oblong piece of bark tied up at each end with the twig of a tree; and this is the only furniture of the houſe. On their backs they have a kind of bag, of the ſize and form of a cabbage-net, in which they carry their fiſh-hooks and lines, of the ſhells of which they make theſe hooks; the ornaments which they wear conſiſt of ſome points of darts, and two or three bits of paint; and in this narrow compaſs lie all their riches.

They feed on the kangaroo, and ſeveral kinds of birds when they can catch them; they likewiſe eat yams, and various kinds of fruit; but the principal article

1770 of their exiſtence is fiſh. They were frequently obſerved with the leaves of a tree in their mouths, but whether it had the qualities of either tobacco or beetle could not be known; but it was obſerved not to diſcolour the teeth or lips.

From the notches that were ſeen in a great number of trees, for the purpoſe of climbing them, it was imagined that their method of taking the kanguroo, was by ſtriking it with their lances as it paſſed under the tree. In theſe likewiſe, it is probable, that they took birds, while they were rooſting, as they ſeemed too ſhy to be otherwiſe catched. Their method of producing fire, and extending the flames of it is very ſingular: having wrought one end of a ſtick into an obtuſe point, they place this point upon a piece of dry wood, and turning the upright ſtick very faſt backward and forward between their hands, fire is ſoon produced, nor is it encreaſed with leſs celerity. One of the natives was frequently obſerved to run along the ſea coaſt, leaving fire in various places. The method taken to do this was as follows: before he ſet off, he wrapped up a little ſpark of fire in dry graſs, and the quickneſs of his motion ſoon fanning it into a flame, he then placed it on the ground, and putting a ſpark of it in another bit of graſs ran on again, and encreaſed the number of his fires at pleaſure. Theſe fires were ſuppoſed to be intended for the taking of the kanguroo, as that animal was ſo very ſhy of fire, that when purſued by the dogs, it would not croſs places which had been newly burnt, even when the fire was extinguiſhed.

The natives of New South Wales make uſe of ſpears or lances, but theſe are very differently conſtructed: thoſe that were ſeen in the ſouthern parts of the country had four prongs, pointed with bone, and barbed, and the points were rubbed with a kind of wax, the ſmoothneſs of which made an eaſier paſſage into what was ſtruck by them. On the contrary, the lances in the northern parts have only one point; the ſhafts of them are of different lengths, from eight to fourteen feet, are made of the ſtalk of a plant not unlike a bulruſh, and conſiſts of ſeveral joints let into each other, and tied together. The points of theſe lances are ſometimes made of fiſh-bone, and ſometimes of a hard heavy wood; they are barbed with other pieces of wood or ſtone, ſo that when they have entered any depth in the body, they cannot be drawn out without tearing the fleſh in a ſhocking manner, or leaving ſplinters behind them. When the natives intend to wound at a conſiderable diſtance, they diſcharge this inſtrument with a throwing ſtick, but if the object be near them, it is thrown from the hand only. The throwing-ſtick is a piece of ſmooth, hard, red wood, half an inch thick, two inches broad, and about three feet in length, having a croſs piece near four inches long at one end, and a ſmall knob at the other. A ſmall hollow is made in the ſhaft of the lance, near the point, and in this hollow the knob is received, but, on being forced forward, it will eaſily ſlip from it. The lance being placed on this throwing-ſtick, the Indian holds it over his ſhoulder, ſhakes it, and then throws both lance and ſtick with his utmoſt power; but as the croſs-piece ſtrikes the ſhoulder, the ſudden jerk ſtops the ſtick, while the lance is driven forward with amazing rapidity, and is generally ſo well aimed, that a mark at the diſtance of fifty yards is more certainly ſtruck with it than by a bullet from a gun. Theſe people make uſe of ſhields made of the bark of trees, of about eighteen inches broad, and three feet long. Many trees were ſeen from whence the bark had been taken, and others on which the ſhields were cut out but not taken away. In the northern parts of this country, the canoes are formed by hollowing the trunk of a tree, and it was conjectured, that this operation muſt have been performed by fire, as the natives did not appear to have any inſtruments proper for the purpoſe. The canoes are in length about fourteen feet, and ſo narrow, that they would be frequently overſet, but that they are provided with an out-rigger. The natives row them with paddles, uſing both hands in that employment. The canoes in the ſouthern parts are formed only of a piece of bark four yards long, faſtened together at each end, and the middle kept open by pieces of wood, paſſing from ſide to ſide. In deep water theſe are rowed by paddles, of about a foot and an half in length, the rower having one in each hand, but in ſhallow water they are puſhed forward by means of a long ſtick. As theſe veſſels are extremely light, and draw very little water, the Indians run them on the mud banks in ſearch of ſhell-fiſh, ſome of which, it is probable, they broil and eat as ſoon as they are taken, as it was remarked that in the centre of theſe veſſels there was uſually a fire burning on a quantity of ſea-weed. The natives have no tools but a wooden mallet, a kind of wedge, and an adze, made of ſtone, with ſome pieces of coral and ſhells, which may poſſibly be applied to the purpoſes of cutting. They poliſh the points of their lances, and their throwing-ſticks, with the leaves of a tree that appears to be the wild fig, which bites with a ſharpneſs, almoſt equal to that of a raſp. Four people are the greateſt number that a canoe will contain: and when more than this number were to paſs a river, three were landed out of the firſt freight, and one man went back for the reſt. Though it appeared evident that the natives of theſe iſlands waged war with each other by the weapons they poſſeſſed, yet not a wound

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* The following may ſerve as a ſpecimen of their language.

Aco,	*The arms.*
Aibudje,	*To yawn.*
Bamma,	*A man.*
Bonjoo,	*The noſe.*
Boota,	*To eat.*
Chucula,	*To drink.*
Cotta,	*A dog.*
Coyor,	*The breaſt.*
Doomboo,	*The neck.*
Dunjo,	*A father.*
Eboorbalga,	*The thumbs.*
Edamal,	*The feet.*
Eiyamone,	*The crown of the head.*
Eya & ba,	*That or this.*
Galan,	*The ſun.*
Garbar,	*The Eye-brows.*
Gippa,	*The belly.*
Kere,	*The ſky.*
Kolke,	*The nails.*
Mailelel,	*To ſwim.*
Maianang,	*Fire.*
Marra,	*To go.*
Mangal,	*The hands.*
Meul,	*The eyes.*
Melea,	*The ears.*
Mingoore,	*To dance.*
Mocoo,	*The back.*
Morcol,	*The throat.*
Moree,	*The hair of the head.*
Mootjel,	*A woman.*
Mulere,	*The teeth.*
Nakil,	*The little finger.*
Peegoorga,	*The legs.*
Peete,	*The forehead.*
Poapoa,	*Earth.*
Pongo,	*The knees.*
Poona,	*To ſleep.*
Poorai,	*Water.*
Poteea,	*Fiſh.*
Putai,	*A turtle.*
Tabugga,	*A fly.*
Tacal,	*The chin.*
Te,	*A, or the.*
Tennapuke,	*The hole made in the noſtrils for the bone ornament.*
Tocaya	*Sit down.*
Tumurree,	*A ſon.*
Unjar,	*The tongue.*
Wageegee,	*The head.*
Walloo,	*The temples.*
Waller,	*The beard.*
Walboolbool,	*A butterfly.*
Wonananio,	*Aſleep.*
Wulgar,	*The clouds.*
Yembe,	*The lips.*
Zoocoo,	*Wood.*

a wound received from their enemies appeared on any of their bodies.

In attempting to weigh anchor in the morning of the 24th of Auguſt, 1770, the cable broke near the ring, on which another anchor was dropped in order to prevent the veſſel from driving. In the afternoon the loſt anchor was found, and the ſhip brought up to it; juſt as they were going to ſhip it, the hawſer ſlipped, and thus their labour was for that time rendered uſeleſs. However their attempt being renewed the next morning, ſucceeded to their wiſh, and ſoon after the anchor was weighed, the ſhip got under ſail ſteering north-weſt.

A few hours afterwards, one of the boats a-head made the ſignal for ſhallow water. On this the veſſel brought too immediately, with all her ſails ſtanding, when on ſurveying the ſea around her, it appeared that ſhe had had a moſt fortunate eſcape, being almoſt incompaſſed with ſhoals, between which ſhe was ſo ſituate, that had ſhe been half a cable's length on either ſide the track which they had followed, they would moſt certainly have ſtruck before the ſignal was made which was to warn them of their danger.

Captain Cook now determined to alter his courſe, and ſailing again the next morning, he ſoon got into deep water. After this he ſteered weſterly, and no land being within ſight, held on till the duſk of the evening, when they ſhortened ſail, making oppoſite tacks during the night. They purſued their voyage the next morning, ſhortening ſail at night as before, and tacking till the 28th at day-break, when they ſteered due north, in purſuance of their former plan.

As they proceeded, the ſea was obſerved in many parts, covered like a ſcum, which the ſailors called Spawn. On examination, this was found to conſiſt of a vaſt number of minute particles, each of which being obſerved through a microſcope, was found to conſiſt of a conſiderable number of tubes, which were ſubdivided into little cells. On burning this ſcum, it did not yield the ſmell of an animal ſubſtance, but was concluded to be of the vegetable kind, and it was afterwards called Sea Saw-duſt, inſtead of Spawn by the ſailors.

In the evening a bird called the Noddy, was found among the rigging. As land was ſeen from the maſt-head, they ſtood on and off all night, and at day-break they ſailed towards it with a briſk gale of wind. Between ſix and ſeven o'clock they ſaw a ſmall iſland at about three miles diſtance from the main land, diſtinguiſhed by the names of *Whermoyſon* and *St. Bartholomew*. This iſland is very flat, and it is cloathed with trees, and among them is that which bears the cocoa. By the ſmoke ſeen on various parts of it, it was judged to be inhabited. As the water was ſhallow, boats had been ſent out to ſound; but ſignals were made for them to return, as no increaſe was found in the depth after ſailing two leagues. The captain then ſtood out to ſea till midnight, after which he tacked and ſtood in for land till the morning. They ſaw land from the deck about the diſtance of four leagues, and obſerved its appearance to be ſtill flat and woody. A great quantity of the ſcum already mentioned was now again ſeen upon the ſurface of the ſea.

St. Bartholomew.

They proceeded on a northward courſe juſt in ſight of land, till the 3d of September, but the water being barely deep enough to navigate the veſſel, it proved impoſſible to bring her near enough to gain the ſhore, for which reaſon it was determined to land in one of the boats.

Accordingly the captain, with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, the boat's crew, and Mr. Banks's ſervants, ſet out in the pinnace, but, on account of the ſhallow water, were obliged to wade on ſhore, when they came within about two hundred yards of the land. From the prints which they had ſeen of human feet on the land, between high-water mark, they concluded that ſome of the natives had been there very lately. They ſaw a thick wood about a hundred yards from the beach, and walked on the borders of it till they arrived on the banks of a brook, which was ſhaded with cocoa-nut trees; at a little diſtance from which ſtood an Indian hut, thatched with leaves; and many cocoa nut-ſhells were ſcattered round it, the fruit of which appeared to have been lately gathered. Here were alſo found plantains, and the bread fruit-tree. 1770

The gentlemen were at the diſtance of about a quarter of a mile from the pinnace, when three of the Indians ran out of the woods, about an hundred yards behind them, ſhouting loudly. Theſe people ran towards the Engliſh, and the firſt of the three threw ſomething which flew on one ſide of him, and burned like gun-powder, though it made no noiſe: at the ſame time the others caſt their lances. The Engliſh firing they ſtopped, and threw another lance; but the muſquets being loaded with ball and fired at them, the Indians retired with precipitation. The captain not willing to prolong this conteſt, returned with his people towards the boat, whoſe crew made ſignals that more of the natives were coming down: ſeveral of them were preſently diſcovered, who ſtopped, ſeeming to wait for their main body, while the gentlemen having reached their boat, rowed a-breaſt of them. It was obſerved that their ſtature was nearly the ſame with that of the people of South-Wales; but their colour was not quite ſo dark. Like them, however, theſe wore their hair ſhort. While they were thus taking a ſurvey of the natives, the latter let off their fires in a regular manner a few at a time: They ſeemed to be diſcharged by means of a piece of ſtick, almoſt like a hollow cane, which being ſwung ſideways, produced fire and ſmoke exactly like that occaſioned by the firing of ſmall arms. The crew on board the ſhip ſaw this ſtrange phœnomenon, and thought the natives had fire-arms. The gentlemen having ſatisfied their curioſity by attentively looking at theſe people fired ſome muſquets above their heads, the balls from which being heard to rattle among the trees, the natives deliberately retired. The lances which had been thrown ſoon after the gentlemen landed, were made of a reed or bamboo cane, and the points were of hard wood, barbed in ſeveral places.—It was imagined theſe lances were diſcharged by means of a throwing-ſtick, as they flew with great ſwiftneſs above ſixty yards. When this party returned to the ſhip, ſome of the officers entreated the captain to ſend men on ſhore to cut down the cocoa-nut trees, in order to procure the nuts; but this, with equal wiſdom and humanity he refuſed; ſenſible that the poor Indians, who would ill brook even the landing of a ſmall party on their coaſt, would riſque their lives, and of courſe ſacrifice them, in defence of their property. The whole coaſt of this country is low land, but cloathed with a richneſs of trees and herbage, which is beyond deſcription beautiful.

On Monday, the 3d of September, the ſhip got under ſail, and early in the morning of the 8th paſſed two ſmall iſlands, on the latter of which Captain Cook would have landed, but as they had then only ten fathom water, and as the ground was rocky, and the wind blew freſh, he might have endangered the ſafety of the ſhip. They now ſailed at a moderate rate, with various ſoundings, till three o'clock the next morning; after which they had no ground with 120 fathom. Before noon, they had ſight of land, which was conjectured to be either the Arrou Iſlands, or Timor Laoet; but they are not accurately laid down in any of the charts hitherto publiſhed.

On the evening of the 9th they ſaw what had the appearance of land, and the next morning were convinced that the firſt land they had ſeen was Timor, and the laſt Timor Laoet. The ſhip ſtood off and on during the night, when a number of fires were ſeen on this iſland, and the next morning ſmoke was ſeen in ſeveral places, from whence it was conjectured that the place was well peopled. The land near the ſhore was covered with high trees, not unlike pines; farther back were cocoa-trees and mangroves; there were many

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many ſalt-water creeks, and ſeveral ſpots of ground which appeared to have been cleared by art; and the whole country roſe, by gradual ſlopes, into hills of a very conſiderable height. The land and ſea breezes being now very ſlight, they continued in ſight of the iſland for two days, when it was obſerved that the hills reached in many places quite to the ſea-coaſt, and where that was not the caſe, there were large and noble groves of the cocoa-nut tree, which ran about a mile up the country, at which diſtance great numbers of houſes and plantations were ſeen; the plantations were ſurrounded with fences, and extended nearly to the ſummits of the moſt lofty hills, yet neither the natives nor cattle were ſeen on any of them, which was thought a very extraordinary circumſtance. Fine groves of the fan-palm ſhaded the houſes from the rays of the ſun. On the 16th they had ſight of the little iſland called *Rotte*; and the ſame day ſaw the *Iſland Semau*, at a diſtance to the ſouthward of Timor. The Iſland of Rotte is chiefly covered with buſhy wood without leaves; but there are a number of fan-palm trees on it, growing near the ſandy beaches; and the whole conſiſts of alternate hills and valleys. The iſland of Semau is not ſo hilly as Timor, but reſembles it greatly in other reſpects.

Rotte.
Semau Iſland.

At ten o'clock this night a dull reddiſh light was ſeen in the air, many parts of which emitted rays of a brighter colour, which ſoon vaniſhed and were ſucceeded by others of the ſame kind. This phœnomenon, which reached about ten degrees above the horizon, bore a conſiderable reſemblance to the Aurora Borealis only that the rays of light which it emitted had no tremulous motion: it was ſurveyed for two hours, during which time its brightneſs continued undiminiſhed. As the ſhip was now clear of all the iſlands which had been laid down in ſuch maps as were on board, they made ſail during the night, and were ſurpriſed the next morning at the ſight of an iſland to the weſt-ſouth-weſt, which they flattered themſelves was a new diſcovery. Before noon they had ſight of houſes, groves of cocoa-nut trees, and large flocks of ſheep. This was a welcome ſight to people whoſe health was declining for want of refreſhment, and it was inſtantly reſolved to attempt the purchaſe of what they ſtood ſo much in need of. The ſecond lieutenant was immediately diſpatched in the pinnace, in ſearch of a landing place; and he took with him ſuch things as it was thought might be acceptable to the natives.—During Mr. Gore's abſence, the people on board ſaw two men on horſeback upon the hills, who frequently ſtopped to take a view of the veſſel. The lieutenant ſoon returned with an account that he had entered a little cove, near which ſtood a few houſes; that ſeveral men advanced and invited him to land; and that they converſed together ſo well as they could by ſigns. He reported that theſe people were very like the Malays, both in perſon and dreſs; and ſaid they had no other arms but a knife which each of them wore in his girdle.

The lieutenant not being able to find any place in which the ſhip might come to anchor, he was diſpatched again with money and goods to buy ſuch neceſſaries as were immediately wanted for the ſick. Dr. Solander attended the lieutanant, and during their abſence, the ſhip ſtood on and off the ſhore. Soon after the boat had put off, two other horſemen were ſeen from the ſhip, one of whom had a laced hat on, and was dreſſed in a coat and waiſtcoat, of the faſhion of Europe. Theſe men rode about on ſhore taking little notice of the boat, but regarding the ſhip with the utmoſt attention. As ſoon as the boat reached the ſhore, ſome other perſons on horſeback, and many on foot haſtened to the ſpot, and it was obſerved that ſome cocoa-nuts were put into the boat, from whence it was concluded, that a traffick had commenced with the natives. A ſignal being made from the boat that the ſhip might anchor in a bay at ſome diſtance, ſhe immediately bore away for it. When the lieutenant came on board, he reported, that he could not purchaſe any cocoa-nuts, as the owner of them was abſent, and that what he had brought were given him, in return for which he had preſſed the natives with ſome linen. The method by which he learned that there was a harbour in the neighbourhood, was by the natives drawing a kind of rude map on the ſand, in which the harbour, and a town near it, was repreſented; it was likewiſe hinted to him, that fruit, fowls, hogs, and ſheep might be there obtained in great abundance. He ſaw ſeveral of the principal inhabitants of the iſland, who had chains of gold about their necks, and wore fine linen. The word *Portugueſe* being frequently repeated by the Indians, it was conjectured that ſome natives of Portugal were in the iſland, and one of the boat's crew being of that kingdom, he ſpoke to the iſlanders in his own language, but ſoon found that they had only learned a few words, of which they did not know the meaning. While the natives were endeavouring to repreſent the ſituation of the town near the harbour, one of them, in order to be more particular in directions, informed the Engliſh that they would ſee ſomething which he endeavoured to deſcribe by placing his fingers acroſs each other; and the Portugueſe ſailor took it for granted, that he could mean nothing but a croſs. When the boat's crew were on the point of returning to the ſhip, the gentleman who had been ſeen on horſeback in the dreſs of Europe, came down to the beach; but the lieutenant did not think it proper to hold a conference with him, becauſe he had left his commiſſion on board the ſhip.

When the ſhip had entered the bay, in the evening, according to the directions received, an Indian town was ſeen at a diſtance; upon which a jack was hoiſted on the fore-top-maſt head, preſently afterwards three guns were fired, and Dutch colours were hoiſted in the town; the ſhip, however, held on her way, and came to an anchor at ſeven in the evening. The colours being ſeen hoiſted on the beach the next morning, the captain concluded, that the Dutch had a ſettlement on the iſland, he therefore diſpatched the ſecond lieutenant to acquaint the governor, or other principal reſident, who they were, and that the ſhip had put in for neceſſary refreſhments. The lieutenant having landed, he was received by a kind of guard of ſomething more than twenty Indians, armed with muſquets, who after they had taken down the colours from the beach, proceeded without the leaſt military order; and thus eſcorted him to the town, where the colours had been hoiſted the preceding evening. The lieutenant was now conducted to the Raja, or king of the iſland, to whom, by means of a Portugueſe interpreter, he made known his buſineſs. The Raja ſaid, he was ready to ſupply the ſhip with the neceſſary refreſhments, but that he could not trade with any other people than the Dutch, with whom he was in alliance, without having firſt obtained their conſent; he added, however, that he would make application to the Dutch agent, who was the only white man among them. To this agent, whoſe name was Lange, and who proved to be the perſon that was ſeen from the ſhip in the European dreſs, a letter was diſpatched, and in a few hours he came to the town, behaved politely to the lieutenant, and told him he might buy what he thought proper of the inhabitants of the iſland. This offer being freely made, and readily accepted, the Raja and Mr. Lange intimated their wiſhes to go on board the ſhip, and that two of the boat's crew might be left as hoſtages for their ſafe return. The lieutenant gratified them in both theſe requeſts, and took them on board juſt before dinner was ſerved. It was thought that they would have ſat down without ceremony; but now the Raja intimated his doubts, whether, being a black, they would permit him to ſit down with them. The politeneſs of the officers ſoon removed his ſcruples, and the greateſt good humour and feſtivity prevailed among them. As Dr. Solander and another gentleman on board, were tolerable proficients in Dutch, they acted as interpreters between Mr. Lange and the

officers, while ſome of the ſailors, who underſtood Portugueſe, converſed with ſuch of the Raja's attendants as ſpoke that language. The chief part of the dinner was mutton, which the Raja having taſted, he begged an Engliſh ſheep and the only one which they had left was given him; he then aſked for a dog, and Mr. Banks gave him his greyhound; and a ſpying glaſs was preſented to him, on Mr. Lange's intimating that it would be acceptable. The viſitors now told Captain Cook, that there was great plenty of fowls, hogs, ſheep, and buffalos, on the iſland, numbers of which ſhould be conveyed to the ſea ſhore on the following day, that he might purchaſe what was neceſſary for the recovery of the ſick and for ſea ſtores. This welcome news gave great ſpirits to the company, and the bottle went ſo briſkly round, that Mr. Lange and his companions became almoſt intoxicated; they had, however, the reſolution to expreſs a deſire to depart, before they were quite drunk. When they came upon deck, the mariners were under arms to receive them; and the Raja intimating that he ſhould be glad to ſee them exerciſe, the captain gave orders that he ſhould be indulged, and three rounds were fired. He was equally pleaſed and ſurprized at their manœuvres, and particularly charmed when they cocked their firelocks, exclaiming violently, "That all the locks made but one click." This being ended, Meſſrs. Solander and Banks went on ſhore with the viſitors, who were ſaluted at their departure with nine guns, which they returned with three cheers.

When they came to the town, the Engliſh taſted their palm wine, which was ſweet, and not unpleaſant; it is made of the freſh juice of the trees, without being fermented. The houſes of the natives conſiſted of nothing more than a floor of boards, over which was a roof of thatch, ſupported by pillars about four feet in height.

On the following day the captain, attended by ſeveral gentlemen, went on ſhore to return the Raja's viſit; but their principal intention was to buy the refreſhments which had been mentioned the preceding day. When they landed they were chagrined to find the cattle had not been driven down to the beach. They went on to the town, where they obſerved that the houſe of aſſembly, and ſome few other houſes which had been built by the Dutch Eaſt India Company, were diſtinguiſhed from the houſes of the natives by having a piece of wood, almoſt in the ſhape of cows horns, fixed at each end of the roof; and theſe they concluded were what the Portugueſe ſailor had imagined to be croſſes, from the Indian's having croſſed his fingers when he was deſcribing the town. The Raja was at the place of aſſembly, ſurrounded by many of his principal ſubjects, and Mr. Lange alſo attended. Captain Cook having informed them, that he had loaded his boat with goods, which he wiſhed to exchange for neceſſary refreſhments, permiſſion was given him to land his effects. The Captain now endeavoured to make an agreement for the hogs, ſheep, and buffalos which were to be paid for in caſh; but this buſineſs was no ſooner hinted at than Mr. Lange took his leave, having firſt told the captain, that he had received a letter from the governor of Concordia, in Timor, the contents of which ſhould be diſcloſed at his return. As they had now no freſh proviſions on board, the gentlemen were unwilling to return to the ſhip before they had dined, they therefore requeſted the Raja's permiſſion to buy a ſmall hog and ſome rice, and hoped he would order his people to dreſs the dinner. To this the Raja very obligingly replied, That if the gentlemen had ſtomach to eat of Indian cookery, he would have the honour of conſidering them as his gueſts. A dinner being thus procured, the captain ſent off the boat to bring liquors from the ſhip. Late in the afternoon the company ſat down on mats, which had been ſpread for them on the floor, having been firſt conducted to a ſervant, who had a veſſel made of the leaves of the fan-palm, containing water to waſh their hands, in which the Indian aſſiſted them. Having waited ſome time for the Raja, they enquired the reaſon of his abſence, and were informed, that the perſon who gave the entertainment never partook of it; but that the Raja was ready to come and taſte of what was provided, if the gentlemen entertained any idea that the meat was unwholeſome. They aſſured the natives that they did not harbour any ſuch ſuſpicion, and began their dinner, which conſiſted of pork and rice, very excellent of their kinds, ſerved up in thirty-ſix diſhes, and three earthen bowls, filled with a kind of broth in which the pork had been boiled; the ſpoons were formed of leaves, but were ſo ſmall, that the hunger of the gueſts would ſcarcely allow them patience to uſe them. When dinner was ended, the captain invited the Raja to drink wine with him, but this he declined, ſaying that the man who entertained company ſhould never get drunk with his gueſts, and that the ſureſt way to avoid drunkenneſs, was to refrain from taſting the liquor. The gentlemen left the remains of the dinner, to their ſervants, and the boat's crew; who being unable to eat it all, the Raja's female ſervants, who came to take away the utenſils, inſiſted that they ſhould take with them all that remained. When the bottle had circulated ſome time, Captain Cook, began to enquire after the cattle that were promiſed to be driven down to the beach; when Mr. Lange informed him, that in the letter which he received from the governor of Concordia, inſtructions were given, that if the ſhip ſhould touch at the iſland, and be in want of proviſions, ſhe ſhould be ſupplied, but that he was not to permit her to remain longer than was abſolutely neceſſary;—that no preſents were to be made to the natives of low rank, nor even left with their ſuperiors to be divided among them after the ſhip had ſailed; but, he added, that any trifling civilities received from the Indians might be acknowledged by a preſent of beads, or other articles of very ſmall value. It is probable that the whole of this ſtory was of Mr. Lange's own manufacture, and merely calculated to draw all the preſents of any value into his own pocket. The captain was ſoon after informed, that ſome ſheep had been driven down to the beach, but had been conveyed away before the men could get money from the ſhip to pay for them, and that not a ſingle hog or buffalo had been down, but that a ſmall number of fowls, and a quantity of the plum-ſyrup had been bought. Much vexed to be thus diſappointed of the chief articles which were wanted, the captain remonſtrated with Mr. Lange, who told him, that if he and his officers had gone to the ſpot, they might have purchaſed any thing that they pleaſed, but that the Indians imagined, the ſeamen would impoſe on them with counterfeit money. This ſtory was no more credited than the former: yet, not to loſe more time in a caſe of ſuch urgency, the captain inſtantly repaired to the beach, but there were no cattle to be bought. During his abſence, Lange informed Mr. Banks, that the Indians were offended, that the ſeamen had not offered gold for what they had to ſell, and that no other metal would purchaſe their commodities: but Mr. Banks, not chuſing to hold farther converſation with a man who had been guilty of ſuch repeated falſities, left him abruptly. Some hours before this, the Raja had aſſigned a much more probable reaſon for the cattle not being brought to the beach, by ſaying, that the buffalos were too far up the country to be driven thither in the time; and the gentlemen returned to the ſhip in the evening, diſpleaſed at their diſappointment. On the 20th, the captain and Dr. Solander went again on ſhore, and while the latter proceeded to the town in ſearch of Lange, the captain ſtaid on the beach with a view to buy cattle. There was an old man at this place who had been diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Prime Miniſter, becauſe he appeared to be inveſted with conſiderable authority; and the captain now preſented him with a ſpying-glaſs, in order to make a friend of him. At preſent there was nothing brought for ſale but a ſmall buffalo, for which five guineas were demanded. Though the captain knew that this was double its value, yet he offered

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1770 three guineas, as he was willing to begin dealing at any rate. The perſon who had it to ſell, ſaid That he could not take the money till the Raja had been informed what was offered, on which a man was ſent to him, who ſoon came back with a meſſage, that five guineas would be the loweſt price: This the captain refuſed to give; on which a ſecond meſſage was diſpatched, the bearer of which ſtaying a long time, Capt. Cook was anxious for his return, when he ſaw Dr. Solander coming towards the beach, eſcorted by more than a hundred perſons, ſome of whom had lances in their hands, and the reſt were armed with muſquets. When the Dr. arrived at the marketing-place, he informed the captain, that Lange interpreted to him a meſſage from the Raja, the ſubſtance of which was, That the natives were averſe to all traffic with the Engliſh, becauſe they would not give above half the real worth for the things which were offered for ſale, and that all trading whatever ſhould be prohibited after that day.

A native of Timor, whoſe parents were Portugueſe came down with this party, and delivered to the captain, what was pretended to be the order of the Raja, and which was in ſubſtance the ſame that Lange had told Dr. Solander; but it was afterwards diſcovered, that this man was a confident of Lange's in the ſcheme of extortion. The Engliſh gentleman had, at the ſame time no doubt, but that the ſuppoſed order of the Raja was a contrivance of theſe men, and while they were debating how to act in this critical conjuncture, anxious to bring the affair to a ſpeedy iſſue, the Portugueſe began to drive away ſuch of the natives as had brought palm-ſyrup and fowls to ſell, and others who were now bringing ſheep and buffaloes to the market.——At this juncture Captain Cook happening to look at the old man who had been diſtinguiſhed by the name of prime miniſter, imagined that he ſaw in his features a diſapprobation of the preſent proceedings; and, willing to improve the advantage, he graſped the Indian's hand, and gave him an old broad ſword. This well-timed preſent produced all the good effects that could be wiſhed: the prime miniſter was enraptured at ſo honourable a mark of diſtinction, and brandiſhing his ſword over the head of the impertinent Portugueſe, he made both him, and a man who commanded the party, ſit down behind him on the ground. The whole buſineſs was now accompliſhed; the natives, eager to ſupply whatever was wanted, brought their cattle in for ſale, and the market was ſoon ſtocked. For the firſt two buffaloes, Captain Cook gave ten guineas: but he afterwards purchaſed them by way of exchange, giving a muſquet for each, and at this rate he might have bought any number he thought proper. There remained no doubt but that Lange had a profit out of the two that were ſold; and that his reaſon for having ſaid the natives would take nothing but gold for their cattle, was, that he might the more eaſily ſhare in the produce. Captain Cook purchaſed of the natives of this iſland ſome hundred gallons of palm-ſyrup, a ſmall quantity of garlick, a large number of eggs, ſome limes and cocoa-nuts, thirty dozen of fowls, three hogs, ſix ſheep, and nine buffaloes. Captain Cook having obtained theſe neceſſary articles, now prepared for ſailing from this place.

The iſland of Savu is ſituated in 10° 35′ ſouth lat. and 237° 30′ weſt longitude. Its length is between twenty and thirty miles. But its breadth Captain Cook could not aſcertain, as he only ſaw the north ſide of it. The harbour in which the ſhip lay, was called Seba, from a diſtrict of the country ſo denominated: and there are two other bays on different parts of the iſland. At the time the Endeavour lay there it was near the end of the dry ſeaſon, when it had not rained for almoſt ſeven months, nor was there a running ſtream of freſh water to be ſeen, and the natives were ſupplied only by ſmall ſprings, ſituated at a diſtance up the country, yet even in this dry ſeaſon the appearance of the iſland was beautiful. Near the coaſt the land lies level, and well cloathed with palm, called *Arecas*, and cocoa-nut trees. Farther off, the ground riſes in the moſt gradual aſcent, and is covered with fair palm-trees even to the tops of the hills, ſo as to preſent a regular grove to the view. The rains in this country ceaſe in March or April, and fall again in October or November, and theſe rains produce abundance of indico, millett, and maize, which grow beneath the fineſt trees in the country. Beſides theſe articles, the iſland produces tobacco, cotton, betel, tamarinds, limes, oranges, mangoes, guinea corn, rice, callevances, and water-melons. A ſmall quantity of cinnamon was ſeen, and ſome European herbs, ſuch as garlick, fennel, celery, and marjoram, beſides which, there are fruits of various kinds, and particularly the *blimbi*, which has a ſharp taſte, and is a fine pickle, but it is not eaten raw; its length is from 3 to 4 inches; it is nearly as thick as a man's thumb, of an oval form, covered with a very thin ſkin, of a very light green, and contains a number of ſeeds ranged in the ſhape of a ſtar. Several buffaloes were ſeen on this iſland which were almoſt as large as an ox; and from a pair of enormous horns of this animal, which Mr. Banks ſaw, it was ſuppoſed that ſome of them were much larger; yet they did not weigh more than half as much as an ox of the ſame ſize; having loſt the greater part of their fleſh through the late dry weather: the meat however was juicy, and of a delicate flavour. The horns of theſe animals bend backwards; they had no dew-laps, and ſcarce any hair on their ſkins, and their ears were remarkably large. The other tame animals on the iſland are dogs, cats, pigeons, fowls, hogs, goats, ſheep, aſſes, and horſes. Few of the horſes are above twelve hands high, yet they are full of mettle, and pace naturally in an expeditious manner: the natives ride them with a halter only. The hogs of this country are fed on the huſks of rice and palm ſyrup mixed with water, and are remarkably fine and fat. The ſheep not unlike a goat, and are therefore called Cabaritos; their ears, which are long, hang down under their horns; their noſes are arched, and their bodies are covered with hair. The fowls are of the game kind, and though they are rather large, the hen lays a very ſmall egg. The ſea-coaſt furniſhes the inhabitants with turtle, but not in any great abundance.

The natives of the iſland of Savu are rather below the middle ſtature; their hair is black and ſtrait, and perſons of all ranks, as well thoſe that are expoſed to the weather, as thoſe that are not, have one general complexion, which is the dark brown. The men are well formed and ſprightly, and their features differ much from each other: the women on the contrary have all one ſet of features, are very ſhort, and broad built. The men have ſilver pincers hanging by ſtrings round their necks, with which they pluck out the hair of their beards; and both men and women root out the hair that grows under their arms; the hair of the womens heads is tied in a club behind, while the men wear a kind of turban on their heads, formed of muſlin, cotton, or even with ſilk handkerchiefs, but the heads of the women have no covering. The dreſs of the men conſiſts of two pieces of cotton cloth, one of which is bound round the middle, and the lower edge of it being drawn pretty tight between the legs, the upper edge is left looſe, ſo as to form a kind of pocket, in which they carry knives and other things: the other piece being paſt under the former on the back of the wearer, the ends of it are carried over the ſhoulders, and tucked into the pocket before. The women draw the upper edge of the piece round the waiſt tight, while the lower edge, dropping to the knees makes a kind of petticoat: the other piece of cloth is faſtened a-croſs the breaſt, and under the arms. This cloth, which is manufactured by the natives, is died blue while in the yarn; and, as it is of various ſhades, its look, when it comes to be worn is very beautiful.

The ornaments of the natives of Savu are very numerous, and conſiſt of rings, beads worn round the neck and on the wriſts, and chains of plaited gold wire, are likewiſe worn by both ſexes; but the wo-

men had likewiſe girdles of beads round their waiſts, which helped to keep up the petticoat. Many of the boys wore braſs wire paſſed ſeveral times round the arms, above the elbows: and ſome of the men who were ſaid to be the ſons of the Raja, wore rings of ivory above an inch thick, and two inches broad, on the ſame part of the arm. One man poſſeſſed a ſilver-headed cane, ſuppoſed to have been a preſent from the Dutch Eaſt-India company, as their mark was engraven on the ſilver. The raja, and the principal officer of his houſehold, were commonly habited in night-gowns of ordinary chintz; but one time when Captain Cook waited on the Raja, he was dreſſed in a black ſtuff robe.

Moſt of the men had their names marked on their arms, and the women a black ornament juſt under the bend of the elbow, impreſſed ſo that it could not be rubbed out. On enquiry, it was found that the practice had been common among the Indians long before they were viſited by any Europeans; and it was ſaid that the necks and breaſts of the inhabitants of the adjacent iſlands were marked with circles. It could not be certainly known how theſe black works were impreſſed; but the following extract from M. Boſſa's account of ſome Indians who dwell on the banks of the Akanza, a river in North America, will afford a very probable conjecture how the operation is performed.——["The Akanzas (ſays this writer) have adopted me, and, as a mark of my privilege here, imprinted the figure of a roe-buck upon my thigh, which was done in this manner: An Indian having burnt ſome ſtraw, diluted the aſhes with water, and with this mixture drew the figure upon my ſkin; he then retraced it by pricking the lines with needles, ſo as at every puncture juſt to draw the blood, and the blood mixing with the aſhes of the ſtraw, forms a figure which can never be effaced."]

The houſes on the iſland of Savu are of different lengths, from twenty feet to four hundred, according to the rank of the inhabitants, and are fixed on poſts of about four or five feet from the ground. The houſes are generally divided into three rooms of equal ſize, the centre room being ſet a-part for the uſe of the women, and ſome times ſmaller rooms are incloſed from the ſides of the building, the whole of which is thatched with the leaves of the palm-tree.

The natives eat of all the tame animals which the iſland produces; but they prefer the hog to all the reſt; next to hog's fleſh they admire that of the horſe, to which ſucceeds the buffalo, and then the poultry; and they like the fleſh of cats and dogs much better than that of goats and ſheep. Fiſh is not eaten but by the poorer people, nor even by them, except when buſineſs demands their attendance near the ſea-coaſt; and then each man has a ſmall caſting-net, which he wears tied round his body when he has not occaſion to uſe it.

The fan-palm is the moſt remarkable, and moſt uſeful tree that grows on the iſland, its uſes being equally great and various: ſoon after the buds put forth, the natives cut them, and tying under them little baſkets, formed of the leaves of the tree, a liquor drops into them which has the taſte of a light wine, and is the common drink of all the inhabitants. The men climb the tree twice a day to bring down this liquor; but as a great deal more is obtained than can be conſumed by drinking, a part of the remainder is made into coarſe ſugar, very excellent of its kind; and the reſt is boiled in earthen pots, till it is reduced to a ſyrup, reſembling treacle, but of a much finer flavour; and with this ſyrup the natives fatten their hogs and dogs. The leaves of the trees are applied to the various uſes of making tobacco pipes, umbrellas, cups, baſkets, and the thatching of houſes. The fruit of this tree, is nearly of the ſize of a full-grown turnip; but the natives are not fond of it, nor do they ſuffer much of it to come to perfection, as they wound the bloſſoms for the ſake of the liquor that diſtills from them. The kernels of the fruit muſt be eaten before it is ripe, otherwiſe they are ſo hard, that the teeth will not penetrate them. 1770

As wood for firing is very ſcarce upon the iſland, the natives, by the following method, make a very little of it anſwer the ends of cookery and diſtillation. A hollow is dug under ground in a direct line, about two yards long, with a hole at each end, one of which is large and the other ſmall; the fire is put in at the largeſt hole, while the ſmaller one ſerves as a draught. Circular holes are made through the earth which covers this cavity, and on theſe holes are ſet earthen pots, which, being large in the middle, and ſmaller towards the bottom, the fire acts upon a conſiderable part of the ſurface. They generally contain about eight or nine gallons, and are generally kept boiling with a very ſmall quantity of fuel. It is thus that they make their ſyrup and ſugar, as well as boil all their victuals.

The betel and areca are chewed here both by men and women, and are mixed with a ſort of lime made of ſhells and coral ſtones. To theſe ingredients they frequently add tobacco; and the mixture is of ſuch a nature, as being uſed from their infancy, ſpoils the teeth and breath of all the inhabitants. Tobacco is likewiſe ſmoked here; and the women in particular were obſerved to ſwallow the ſmoke.*

The iſland is divided into five diſtricts, each of which is governed by a Raja. Theſe diviſions are called Timo, Maſſara, Regeeua, Laai, and Seba. The Engliſh went on ſhore on the laſt of theſe, where they found a Raja that governed with the moſt abſolute authority. He was between thirty and forty, and remarkable for his corpulency. It was obſerved that he governed his people in an abſolute manner, but took very little regal pomp upon him. The prime miniſter who has been mentioned, ſeemed to be inveſted with great power, and to have the direction of the Raja in almoſt every reſpect; it was apparent however that he did not abuſe this power, as the people univerſally loved him. The Raja and his counſellors uſed to ſettle the diſputes of the natives in a manner that was equitable, and generally ſatisfactory to the contending parties.——Mr. Lange, to whom Captain Cook was chiefly obliged for the accounts that he received of this iſland, informed him that the Indians were able on a ſhort notice to raiſe 7300 fighting men. Their arms are lances, ſpears, muſquets, targets, and pole-axes, which laſt, are ſomewhat like a wood-bill, but have ſtraiter edges, and are heavier. In the uſe of their lances, theſe warriors are ſaid to be ſo expert, that they can pierce a man through the heart at ſixty or ſeventy yards diſtance. Yet the Raja had always lived at peace with his neighbours.

Before the town-houſe there was a great gun; there were alſo ſome ſwivels and patararoes. But the great gun lay with the touch-hole to the ground, and the ſwivels and patararoes were not in their carriages. A number of ſpears and targets were ſeen in the town-houſe, all of which were of different ſizes, and it was with theſe that the natives had armed themſelves when they came down with Dr. Solander to influence the market. Ruſt had almoſt deſtroyed the inſides of their muſquets, but the out-ſides were kept clean and bright. The men had but very little powder and ball in their cartridge boxes, but a piece of paper was put into each hole, as if they had been furniſhed in a proper manner. They marched in an irregular manner, as has been already noticed, and each man brought with him a fowl, ſome tobacco, or ſome other trifling article, which he thought he could diſpoſe of.

"The inhabitants of Savu (ſays our author) are divided into five ranks, viz. the Rajas, the land owners, the manufacturers, the ſervants, and the ſlaves. The Rajas are chief; the land owners are reſpected in proportion to the extent of their eſtates, and the number

* They have pipes made of the palm-leaf, which are about the ſize of a gooſe-quill, and half a foot long, into one end of which they put the tobacco intended for the purpoſe of ſmoking.

1770 number of their ſlaves, which laſt are bought and ſold with their eſtates; but a fat hog is the price of one if purchaſed ſeparately. Notwithſtanding a man may thus ſell his ſlave, or convey him with his lands, yet his power does not extend farther, as he may not even ſtrike him without the Raja's permiſſion. The eſtates of theſe land-holders are of very different extent; ſome of them not poſſeſſing above five ſlaves, whilſt others have 500. When a man of rank goes abroad, one of his ſlaves follows him with a ſilver-hilted ſword or hanger, ornamented with horſe-hair taſſels, and another carries a little bag containing tobacco, betel, areca, and lime. This is all the ſtate that even the Rajas themſelves take upon them.

"Theſe people have a great veneration for antiquity. Their principal boaſt is of a long line of venerable anceſtors. Thoſe houſes that have been well tenanted for ſucceſſive generations, are held in the higheſt eſteem: even the ſtones which are worn ſmooth by having been ſat upon for ages, derive a certain value from that circumſtance. He whoſe progenitors have bequeathed him any of theſe ſtones, or whoſe wealth has enabled him to purchaſe them, cauſes them to be ranged round his habitation, for his ſervants and ſlaves to ſit upon. The Raja cauſes a large ſtone to be ſet up in the chief town of each diſtrict as a monument of his reign. In the province of Seba, thirteen ſuch ſtones were ſeen as well as the remains of ſeveral others which were much worn. Theſe ſtones were all placed on the top of a hill, and ſome of them were of ſuch an enormous ſize that it was amazing by what means they could have been brought thither; nor could any information on this head be obtained from the natives: theſe monuments, however, indicated that for a ſeries of generations, the iſland had been regularly governed.—When a Raja dies, proclamation is made that all thoſe who have been his ſubjects ſhall hold a ſolemn feſtival. On this they proceed to the hill where theſe ſtones are erected, and feaſt for ſeveral weeks, killing all the animals that ſuit their purpoſe, wherever they can be found in order to furniſh the treat, which is daily ſerved up on the monumental ſtones. When they have thus exhauſted their whole ſtock, they are compelled to keep a faſt; and when the feaſt happens to end in the dry ſeaſon, when they cannot get vegetables to eat, they have no other ſubſiſtence than the palm ſyrup and water, till the few animals which have eſcaped the general maſſacre have bred a ſufficient number for a freſh ſupply, except the adjacent diſtrict happens to be in a condition to relieve them.

"The natives of Savu have an inſtrument with which they clear the cotton of its ſeeds; it is about ſeven inches in height and fourteen in length. They have alſo a machine with which they ſpin by hand, as was the cuſtom before the invention of ſpinning wheels in Europe.

"It was obſerved that the inhabitants of this iſland were in general robuſt and healthy, and had every mark of longevity. The ſmall pox, however, is a diſtemper with which they are acquainted, and which they dread as much as a peſtilence. When any perſon is attacked by it, he is carried to a ſpot at a diſtance from the houſes, where his food is conveyed to him by means of a long ſtick, as no one dares to venture near him. Abandoned by all his friends he is there left to live or die as it may happen, without being admitted to any comforts of the community.—

"It appears that the Portugueſe very early viſited this iſland on which they eſtabliſhed a ſettlement, but ſoon after they were ſucceeded by the Dutch, who without formally taking poſſeſſion of the place ſent a number of trading veſſels in order to eſtabliſh a commerce with the natives. Moſt of the Dutch purchaſes, it is ſuppoſed, are confined to a ſupply of proviſions for the Spice-Iſlands, the inhabitants of which breed but a ſmall number of cattle. The Dutch Eaſt India Company made an agreement with the ſeveral Rajas of the iſlands, that a quantity of rice, maize, and callavances ſhould be annually furniſhed to their people, who, in return, were to ſupply the Rajas with ſilk, linen, cutlery wares, and arrack. Certain ſmall veſſels, each having on board ten Indians, are ſent from Timor to bring away the maize and callavances, and a ſhip that brings the articles furniſhed by the Dutch, receives the rice on board once a year; and as there are three bays on this coaſt, this veſſel anchors in each of them in turn. The Dutch articles of commerce are accepted by the Rajas as a preſent; and they and their chief attendants drink of the arrack without intermiſſion till it is exhauſted.

"It was in the agreement above-mentioned that the Rajas ſtipulated that a Dutch reſident ſhould be conſtantly on the iſland. Accordingly this Lange, whom we have mentioned was ſent thither in that capacity, and a ſort of aſſiſtant with him whoſe father was a Portugueſe and his mother a native of Timor, with one Frederic Craig, whoſe father was a Dutchman and his mother an Indian. Mr. Lange viſits the Raja in ſtate attended by fifty ſlaves on horſeback, and if the crops are ripe, orders veſſels to convey them immediately to Timor, ſo that they are not even houſed upon the iſland. It is likewiſe part of his buſineſs to perſuade the landholders to plant if he perceives that they are backward in that particular. This reſident had been ten years on the iſland, when the Endeavour touched there, during all which time he had not ſeen any white perſons except thoſe who came annually in the Dutch veſſel, to carry off the rice, as above-mentioned. He was married to a native of Timor, and lived in the ſame manner as the natives of Savu, whoſe language he ſpoke better than any other. He ſat on the ground like the Indians and chewed betel, and ſeemed in every thing to reſemble them except in his complexion and the dreſs of his country. As to Mr. Craig, his aſſiſtant, he was employed in teaching the natives to write and read, and inſtructing them in the principles of Chriſtianity. Though there was neither clergyman nor church to be ſeen upon the iſland, yet this Mr. Craig averred, that in the townſhip of Seba only, there were 600 Chriſtians. As to the religion of thoſe who have not embraced Chriſtianity, it is a peculiar ſpecies of Paganiſm, every one having a god of his own, ſomewhat after the manner of the Cemies heretofore mentioned. Their morality, however, is much purer than could be expected from ſuch a people. Robberies are ſcarcely ever committed. Murder is unknown among them; and though no man is allowed more than one wife, they are ſtrangers to adultery, and almoſt ſo to the crime of ſimple fornication. When any diſputes ariſe between the natives, the determination of the Raja is deciſive and ſatisfactory. Some obſervations were made upon the language of the natives, by the gentlemen, while the veſſel lay here; and a kind of vocabulary formed, a ſketch of which the curious reader will find in the note annexed. *

Of the iſlands in the neighbourhood of Savu, the principal

Momonne, *a man*
Monama, *an old man*
Anawuncekee, *a child*
Moneeopai, *a boy*
Madda, *the eyes*
Otaile, *the temples*
Sivanga, *the noſe*
Tangarei, *the forehead*
Cavaranga, *the cheeks*
Vaio, *the tongue*
Lacoco, *the neck*
Duloo, *the belly*
Pagavee, *the chin*
Camaccoo, *the arm*
Wulalea, *the hand*
Rootoo, *the knees*
Baibo, *the legs*
Duneeala, *the feet*
Row, *hair*
Gnaca, *a dog*
Vavee, *a hog*
Doomba, *a ſheep*

Maio, *a cat*
Doleela, *a bird*
Dulloo, *an egg*
Nudoo, *a fiſh*
Unjoo, *a turtle*
Vooe, *fruit*
Nai, *tobacco*
Yirroo, *oranges*
Arre, *rice*
Lodo, *the ſun*
Wurroo, *the moon*
Booro, *bread*
Cova, *a coat*
Capa, *a ſhip*
Sooree, *red*
Bulla, *black*
Sáo-lodo, *the morning*
Mundo-lodo, *the evening*
O, *yes*
Gnaa, *to eat*
Neenawei, *to drink*
Ta eato, *to walk*

principal is Timor, which is annually visited by the Dutch residents on the other islands, in order to make up some of their accounts. Some of the towns on the north side of Timor are in the hands of the Portuguese, but the Dutch possess a far greater proportion of the island, on which they have built a fort and erected several store-houses. There are three small islands, called the Solars, which produce great abundance of the various necessaries of life, that are carried in small vessels to the Dutch settlements on the island of Timor: these islands are low and flat, and one of them has a commodious harbour. To the westward from the Solars lies the little island of Ende, which is yet in the possession of the Portuguese, who have built a considerable town on the north-east point of it; and close to the town is an harbour where ships may ride in safety. The island of Rotte has a Dutch resident on it, whose business is similar to that of Mr. Lange on the island of Savu: Rotte produces, besides such things as are common to other islands, a considerable quantity of sugar, which is now made to a great degree of perfection. There is likewise a small island lying to the west of Savu, the chief of the produce of which is the areca-nut, of which the Dutch receive in exchange for European commodities, as large a quantity every year as will load two vessels.

A French ship was wrecked on the coast of Timor, about two years before the Endeavour was in these seas, she had been lodged on the rock several days, when the wind tore her to pieces in an instant, and the captain, with the greater number of the seamen were drowned; but the lieutenant and about 80 men having reached the shore, travelled across the country of Concordia, where their immediate necessities were relieved, after which they returned to the wreck, in company with some Dutch and Indians, who assisted them in recovering all their chests of bullion, some of their gums and other effects: which being done, they returned to Concordia, where they remained several weeks; but in this interval death made such havock among them, that not above half their number remained to be sent to their native country, which was done as soon as a vessel could be fitted out for that purpose.

On the 21st of September, 1770, the Endeavour sailed from Savu, steering westward. In the afternoon of this day a little island was discovered in 10° 47′ south lat. and 238° 28′ west long.*

When the ship got clear of the several islands before-mentioned, there was a continual swell of the sea from the south, which Captain Cook imputed to the position of the coast of New South-Wales, imagining it to have determined the sea in that direction. On the 28th they steered north-west the whole day, in order to get sight of the land of Java; and on the 30th the captain received from most of the officers and seamen their respective journals of the voyage, regarding which he advised them to observe the most profound secrecy; and he likewise possessed himself of the log-book. In the night following there was a storm of thunder and lightning, when the land of Java was seen to the eastward by the brightness of the lightning. In the morning they had sight of the island of Cracatoo, which is singular for the height of its peak. Early in the morning of the 2d of October, when the ship was fifteen fathom water, she was close in with the coast of Java, along which they now steered. As their Indian friend Tupia, was at this time extremely ill, the captain now dispatched a boat to the shore, to endeavour to bring him some refreshing fruits, and likewise to procure grass for the buffalos. As soon as the boat landed, the inhabitants assisted the seamen in cutting grass for the cattle, and gathering a bunch of plantains and a few cocoa-nuts, for which they received a shilling, and which were brought off to the ship.—The land of Java had a delightful appearance, being every where well covered with trees. This day they had sight of two Dutch vessels, and an officer being dispatched to one of them, to learn any interesting intelligence, he brought word back, that the Swallow had reached the English channel in safety; that disputes were carried to great lengths at home, in regard to the ministers, and in America, on account of taxes; and that the Russians, Poles, and Turks, were embroiled in a war. The officer said, that the vessels were Dutch East-Indiamen, bound from Batavia, one of them to the coast of Malabar, and the other to the island of Ceylon: he said likewise, that there was a kind of packet-boat, which he had been told, was appointed to carry letters from the Dutch ships that came thither to Batavia, but Captain Cook conjectured that her business was to examine such ships as should pass the streight. The ship had now been some hours at anchor; but a light breeze springing up in the evening, they got under sail, and continued to proceed at a slow rate during the night. On the 3d in the morning, the Dutch packet-boat was observed sailing after the Endeavour; but she bore away again on the shifting of the wind. This changing of the wind obliging the Endeavour to come to an anchor, the master of the packet-boat came along-side her, in one of the boats belonging to the country, bringing with him rice-birds, monkeys, parrots, parroquets, ducks, fowls, turtle, and other things, with an intention to sell them; but as the stock which had been laid in at Savu was not yet consumed, and he had fixed a very high price on his commodities, very few articles were purchased: the captain, however, bought twenty or thirty fowls, and a small turtle. The master of the packet-boat had brought with him two books, in one of which he wrote down the captain's name, and that of the vessel, to be sent to the governor and council of the Indies, and in the other book he requested that some of the gentlemen on board would likewise write down the name of the vessel, with that of the captain, where she came from, to what port she was bound, and as many particulars respecting any person on board, as themselves might think necessary to satisfy the curiosity of any of their friends who might afterwards enquire for them. In this book several Portuguese vessels, and some of other countries had many entries of the same kind, but a lieutenant on board the Endeavour, having written the ship's name, added only the words, "from Europe:" yet of this the master of the packet took no other notice, saying he was content with whatever they were pleased to write; as it was only for the information of his friends.—

1770

Having now weighed anchor, they attempted to sail, but the wind not enabling the vessel to stem the current, she lay to till the 5th in the morning, when a Dutch officer coming along-side, sent a printed paper to the captain, containing the following queries. 1. The ship's name, and to what nation she belonged?—2. Whether she came from Europe, or from any other place?—3. From what place she departed last?—4. Whither she was bound?—5. How many ships belonging to the Dutch Company had been seen on the last coast the vessel had left; and their names?—6. Whether one or more vessels had been in company with the Endeavour, and had sailed for that or any other place?—7. Whether any thing had happened or been seen remarkable during the voyage?—8. Whether any ships had been seen or hailed in the streights of Sunda, and what they were.—9. Whether they had brought any other news worthy of attention from the

Ta rai, *to run*
Ta mudje, *to talk*
Ta bunge, *to sneeze*
Isse, *or* usse, *one*
Rooe, *two*
Tulloo, *three*
Uppa, *four*
Lumee, *five*
Unna, *six*
Petoo, *seven*
Aroo, *eight*
Saio, *nine*
Singoroo, *ten*
Singoroo Isse, *eleven*

* This island has not been laid down in any of the charts hitherto published.

1769 place whence the ſhip took her departure, or whether any thing elſe had happened during the voyage that was worth communicating?

The queſtions were ſubſcribed "BATAVIA, in the Caſtle. By order of the Governor-general and the Counſellors of India. *J. Brander Bungl.* Sec."

The officer had many papers of the ſame kind in French, Dutch, and other languages. Obſerving, however, that the captain did not chuſe to anſwer any of the above queſtions, except the firſt and fourth, he obſerved that the reſt were not material, though it was remarked that juſt afterwards he ſaid he muſt diſpatch the paper to Batavia, at which place it would arrive by the next day. This examination was rather extraordinary, and the more ſo, as it does not ſeem to have been of any long ſtanding.

"The anchor was weighed as ſoon as the Dutch officer departed, but in four hours the ſhip was forced to come to an anchor again, till a breeze ſprang up; ſhe then held on her courſe till the next morning, when on account of the rapidity of the current, the anchor was dropped again. At laſt they weighed on the 8th, and ſtood clear of a large ledge of rocks, which they had almoſt ran upon the preceding day. But in the forenoon they were once more obliged to anchor near a little iſland that was not laid down in any chart they had on board. It was found to be one of thoſe called the Milles Iſles. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander having landed upon it, collected a few plants, and ſhot a bat which was a yard long, being meaſured from the extreme points of the wings; they alſo killed a few plovers on this iſland, the breadth of which does not exceed one hundred yards, and the length five hundred; they found a houſe and a little ſpot of cultivated ground, and on it grew the *Palma Chriſti*, from which the Weſt Indians make their caſtor oil.

"In a little time after the gentlemen came back to the ſhip, ſome Malays came along-ſide in a boat, bringing with them ſome pompions, dried fiſh, and turtle for ſale: one of the turtles, which weighed near one hundred and fifty pounds, they ſold for a dollar, and ſeemed to expect the ſame piece of money for their fruit; but it being hinted to them that a dollar was too much, they deſired that one might be cut, and a piece of it given to them, but this not being complied with, they at length ſold twenty-ſix pompions for a Portugueſe petacka. When they departed, they intimated their wiſhes, that this tranſaction might not be mentioned at Batavia.

"The ſhip now made but ſlow way till night, when the land-breeze ſpringing up, they ſailed to the eaſt ſouth-eaſt, and on the following day, by the aſſiſtance of the ſea-breeze, they came to an anchor in the road of Batavia. At this place they found a number of large Dutch veſſels, the Harcourt Eaſt-Indiaman from England, which had loſt her paſſage to China, and two ſhips belonging to the private trade of our India company. The Endeavour had no ſooner anchored, than a ſhip was obſerved, with a broad pendant flying, from which a boat was diſpatched to demand the name of the veſſel, with that of the commander, &c. To theſe enquiries Captain Cook gave ſuch anſwers as he thought proper, and the officer who commanded the boat departed. This gentleman, and the crew that attended him, were ſo worn out with the unhealthineſs of the climate, that it was apparent many deaths would follow; yet at preſent there was not one invalid on board, except the Indian Tupia. The captain now diſpatched an officer to the governor of the town to apologiſe for the Endeavour's not ſaluting: for he had but three guns proper for the purpoſe, except ſwivels, and he was apprehenſive that they would not be heard. The ſhip was ſo leaky, that ſhe made about nine inches water in an hour, on the average; part of the falſe keel was gone, one of her pumps was totally uſeleſs, and the reſt ſo much decayed, that they could not laſt long. The officers and ſeamen concurring in opinion that the ſhip could not ſafely put to ſea again in this condition, the captain reſolved to ſolicit permiſſion to heave her down; but as he had learned that this muſt be done in writing, he drew up a petition, and had it tranſlated into Dutch.

"On Wedneſday October the 10th, 1770, the captain and the reſt of the gentlemen went on ſhore, and applied to the only Engliſh gentleman then reſident at Batavia; this gentleman, whoſe name was Leith, received his countrymen in the politeſt manner, and entertained them at dinner with great hoſpitality. Mr. Leith informed them, that a public hotel was kept in town, by order of the Dutch governor, at which place merchants and other ſtrangers were obliged to lodge, and that the landlord of the hotel was bound to find them warehouſes for their goods, on the condition of receiving ten ſhillings on every hundred pounds of their value, but as the Endeavour was a king's ſhip, her officers, and the other gentlemen, might reſide where they thought proper, only aſking leave of the governor, whoſe permiſſion would be inſtantly obtained. Mr. Leith added, that they might live cheaper in this way than at the hotel, if they had any perſon who ſpoke the Batavian tongue, whom they could rely on to purchaſe their proviſions, but as there was no ſuch perſon among the whole ſhip's crew, the gentlemen immediately beſpoke beds at the hotel. In the afternoon Captain Cook attended the governor-general, who received him politely, and told him to wait on the council the next morning, when his petition ſhould be laid before them, and every thing that he ſolicited ſhould be granted. Late in the evening of this day, there happened a moſt terrible ſtorm of thunder and lightning, accompanied with very heavy rain. In this ſtorm the main-maſt of a Dutch Eaſt Indiaman was ſplit and carried away by the deck; and the main-top-maſt and main-top-gallant-maſt were torn to pieces; it is ſuppoſed, that the lightning was attracted by an iron ſpindle at the main-top-gallant-maſt-head. The Endeavour, which was at a ſmall diſtance from the Dutch ſhip, eſcaped without damage, owing, moſt probably, to the electrical chain which conducted the lightning over the veſſel.—A centinel on board the Endeavour, who was charging his muſquet at the time of the ſtorm, had it ſhaken out of his hand, and the ram-rod broken to pieces: the electrical chain looked like a ſtream of fire, and the ſhip ſuſtained a very violent ſhock.

"Capt. Cook waited on the gentlemen of the council on Thurſday the 11th, who informed him that all his requeſts ſhould be complied with. In the interim the other gentlemen made a contract with the maſter of the hotel, to furniſh them and their friends with as much tea, coffee, punch and tobacco, as they might have occaſion for, and to keep them a ſeparate table, for nine ſhillings a day Engliſh money: but on the condition that every perſon who ſhould viſit them, ſhould pay at the rate of four ſhillings and ſixpence for his dinner, and the ſame ſum for his ſupper and bed, if he choſe to ſleep at the hotel; they were likewiſe to pay for every ſervant that attended them fifteen pence a day. It was ſoon diſcovered, that they had been much impoſed on: for theſe charges were twice as much as could have been demanded at a private houſe. They appeared to live elegantly, but at the ſame time were but ill ſupplied. Their dinner conſiſted of fifteen diſhes, all ſerved up at once; and their ſupper of thirteen, but of theſe, nine or ten were of the moſt ordinary, becauſe the cheapeſt, (poultry) that could be purchaſed, and even ſome of theſe diſhes were obſerved to be ſerved up four times ſucceſſively: a duck, which was hot at dinner, was brought cold in the evening, the next day ſerved up as a fricaſee, and was converted into forced meat at night. Our countrymen, however, only fared as others had done before them: it was the conſtant cuſtom of the conſcientious maſter of the hotel, to treat all his gueſts in the ſame manner, when they firſt took up their reſidence at his houſe: if they took no notice of it, all was well, for the landlord had the better cuſtomers of them: if they remonſtrated againſt ſuch treatment,

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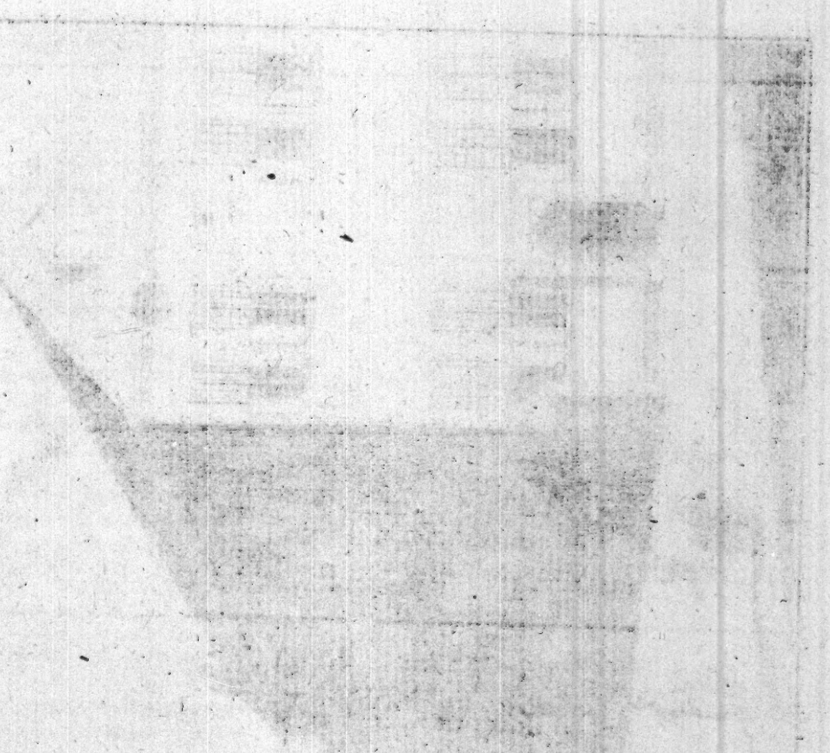
Engraved for Harris's Voyages and Travels.

Engraved for Moore's Voyages and Travels.

The Governor of BATAVIA's PALACE, in the EAST INDIES.



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the table was better and better ſupplied from time to time, till, in the end, they had no reaſon to complain. The gentlemen having found fault with their fare, were afterwards ſupplied in a better manner: but Mr. Banks not approving the conduct of the maſter of the hotel, hired lodgings for himſelf and his attendants at the adjoining houſe, for which he agreed to pay forty-five ſhillings a month: but here he was diſappointed in the hope he had formed of living retired; for ſcarcely a Dutchman had occaſion to paſs by the houſe, but he ran in without ceremony, to enquire what was to be ſold; for it is a very uſual thing at Batavia, for ſtrangers who are in a private capacity, not to be furniſhed with ſome articles of traffic. In this houſe nobody was permitted to ſleep, as a gueſt of Mr. Banks, without his bed being ſeparately paid for; it is the univerſal cuſtom here to hire a carriage, and Mr. Banks engaged two, for which he paid eighteen ſhillings a day: theſe carriages are open chaiſes, in which two perſons ſit commodiouſly, and are driven by a man ſitting on a kind of coach-box.

"Their Indian friend, Tupia, had been, till this time on board, very dangerouſly ill, yet perſiſted to refuſe every medicine that was offered him; Mr. Banks now ſent for him to his houſe, in hopes that he might recover his health. While he was in the ſhip, and even after he was put in the boat, he was indiſpoſed, and low ſpirited, in the utmoſt degree, but the moment he came into the town, his whole frame appeared as if re-animated. The houſes, the carriages, the people, and many other objects, were totally new to him, and aſtoniſhment took poſſeſſion of his features at a ſight ſo wonderful: but if Tupia was aſtoniſhed at the ſcene, his boy, Tayota, was perfectly enraptured, dancing along the ſtreets for joy, examining the ſeveral objects as they preſented themſelves with the moſt earneſt curioſity. Nothing ſtruck Tupia ſo much as the vaſt variety of dreſſes worn by the inhabitants of Batavia: he enquired the reaſon of what appeared ſo very extraordinary in his eyes. Being informed that the people were of a variety of nations, and that all were dreſſed according to the mode of their own country, he was deſirous of following the faſhion; this requeſt being complied with, a perſon was diſpatched to the ſhip for ſome South-ſea cloth, with which he ſoon cloathed himſelf in the dreſs of the inhabitants of Otaheite. The people of Batavia, who had ſeen an Indian brought thither in M. Bougainville's ſhip, named Outourou, miſtook Tupia for that man, and frequently enquired if he was not the ſame.

"The neceſſary repairs of the ſhip being ordered to to be made at Ouruſt, Captain Cook obtained an order to the ſuperintendant of that iſland to receive her; and he wrote to the ſecretary of the admiralty, an account of the ſafe arrival of the Endeavour in the road of Batavia, and diſpatched his letter by a Dutch ſhip that was bound to Europe.

"The Captain now applied to ſeveral perſons to advance him money ſufficient to defray the expence of repairing the ſhip; but not one could be found in the whole town who had the requiſite ſum in his poſſeſſeſſion, or if he had was willing to advance it; he therefore made application to the governor, who iſſued his orders that he ſhould be ſupplied out of the treaſury of the Dutch Eaſt India company.

"Early in the morning of the 11th of October, 1771, the ſhip got under ſail, and proceeded to Ouruſt; and, in a day or two, the crew began to take out her ſtores, which were depoſited in a wharf on Cooper's Iſland; but this buſineſs was rendered unavoidably tedious, by ſeveral Dutch ſhips being at the ſame wharf taking in their ladings of pepper.—After little more than a week ſpent at Batavia, the ill effects of the climate began to be ſeverely felt; Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks were indiſpoſed with fevers, Mr. Banks's two ſervants were exceedingly ſick; the Indian boy Tayota, had an inflammation on his lungs; and Tupia was ſo ill, that his life was deſpaired of. Their indiſpoſition was attributed partly to the ſwampy ſituation of the town, and the ſtench of the dirty canals with which it abounds. By the 26th of the month, very few of the crew were well enough to do duty; and on this day a tent was erected for their reception. Tupia now requeſted to be conveyed to the ſhip, in hopes of breathing a purer air than in the town; but his requeſt could not be granted, as ſhe was unrigged, and preparations were making to lay her down, in order that ſhe might undergo a thorough repair: on the 28th, however, Mr. Banks attended Tupia to Cooper's Iſland, where a tent was pitched for him, in ſuch a ſituation, where he was alternately refreſhed by the land and ſea breezes; and the poor creature was ſo ill, that he could not leave his bed; Mr. Banks's fever was greatly increaſed, and Dr. Solander's grew worſe every day. The ſhip was at length laid down on the 5th of November, on which day died Mr. Monkhouſe the ſurgeon, whoſe loſs was the more ſeverely felt, as he was a man of ſkill in his profeſſion, and fell a ſacrifice to the peſtiferous air of the country, at a time when his abilities were moſt wanted: Dr. Solander, though extremely ill, had ſtrength ſufficient to ſee his remains committed to the ground, but Mr. Banks was unable even to pay this ſad laſt duty to a worthy man. 1770

"Deaths were now very frequent among the Engliſh; ſeveral Malay ſervants were engaged to wait on thoſe who were ill; but theſe people were ſo remiſs in their duty, that it was no uncommon thing for the ſick man to leave his bed in ſearch of his attendant. The Indian boy Tayota paid the debt of nature on the 9th of this month, and Tupia was ſo ſhocked at the loſs, that it was evident he could not long ſurvive this misfortune.

"The ſhip's bottom having been carefully ſurveyed, our countrymen had reaſon to be thankful for having been preſerved during a paſſage of ſeveral hundred miles, through the moſt dangerous ſeas on the face of the globe: for the ſheathing in ſeveral places was torn from the veſſel; the falſe keel was in a great meaſure gone; the main keel was damaged in many parts; ſeveral of the planks had received great injury; and a part of three of them was thinner than the ſole of a ſhoe.

"Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks were now ſo worn down by their diſorders, that the phyſician who attended them, recommended the country air, as the only thing that could poſſibly reſtore them to the wiſhes of their friends. In conſequence of this advice they hired a country houſe of the maſter of the hotel, who engaged to ſupply them with ſlaves, and to furniſh their table; but as they had ſufficiently experienced the worthleſſneſs of theſe ſlaves, they bought two Malay women, who ſoon became excellent nurſes, from that tenderneſs of nature which does ſo much honour to the ſex. While theſe gentlemen were taking meaſures for the recovery of their health, poor Tupia fell a victim to the ravages of his diſorder, and to his grief for the deceaſed Tayota. When Tayota was firſt ſeized with the fatal diſorder, he ſeemed ſenſible of his approaching end, and frequently ſaid to thoſe that were about him, *Tyau mate fee*; "My friends, I am dying:" he was very tractable, and took any medicines that were offered to him: they were both buried in the iſland of Edam.

"Capt. Cook beſtows great encomiums on the officers and the workmen of the marine yard at Ouruſt, by whoſe ſkill and diligence, the bottom of the ſhip was perfectly repaired by the 14th of the month; and he warmly recommends the heaving down with two maſts inſtead of one, which he ſays is undoubtedly the more expeditious as well as the ſafer method.—By this time not above ten men were able to do duty out of the whole ſhip's crew, and theſe were employed in getting water and ſtores aboard, and in putting up the rigging. The water was purchaſed at Batavia, at the rate of one hundred and fifty gallons for ſix ſhillings and eight-pence."——

The captain was now taken ill, and Mr. Sporing and

1770 and a ſailor, who attended Meſſrs. Banks and Solander at their country houſe, were attacked with intermitting fevers, but theſe two gentlemen grew ſomething better, though their recovery was very ſlow. Their houſe was ſituated on the borders of a rivulet, which of courſe, aſſiſted the circulation of the air, and it was likewiſe open to the ſea breeze.

In the night of the 25th there fell ſuch a ſhower of rain, for the ſpace of four hours, as even our voyagers had cauſe ever to remember. The water poured through every part of Mr. Banks's houſe, and the lower apartments admitted a ſtream ſufficient to turn a mill. As this gentleman was now greatly reſtored in health, he went to Batavia the following day, and was ſurpriſed to ſee that the inhabitants had hung their bedding to dry. The weſterly monſoon ſet in about the 26th of this month, it blows in the daytime from the north or north-weſt, and from the ſouth-weſt during the night; previous to this, there had been violent ſhowers of rain for ſeveral nights. The muſquitos and gnats, whoſe company had been ſufficiently diſagreeable in dry weather, now begun to ſwarm in immenſe numbers, riſing from the puddles of water like bees from a hive; they were extremely troubleſome during the night, but the pain ariſing from the ſting though very ſevere, ſeldom laſted more than half an hour, and in the day time they ſeldom made their attacks. The frogs kept a perpetual croaking in the ditches, a certain ſign that the wet ſeaſon was commenced, and that daily rain might be expected.—The ſhip being repaired, the ſick people received on board her, and the greater part of her water and ſtores taken in, ſhe ſailed from Ouruſt on the 8th of December, and anchored in the road of Batavia; twelve days were employed in receiving the remainder of her proviſions, water, and other neceſſaries, though their buſineſs would have been done in much leſs time, but that ſome of the crew died, and the majority of the ſurvivors were ſo ill, as to be unable to give their aſſiſtance. On the 24th, Captain Cook took leave of the governor, and ſome other gentlemen, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the civilities they ſhewed him; but at this juncture an incident occurred, that might have produced conſequences by no means deſirable. A ſailor belonging to one of the Dutch ſhips in the road of Batavia, deſerted from the veſſel, and entered himſelf on board the Endeavour. The captain of the Dutch ſhip having made application to the governor, claiming the delinquent as a ſubject of the States General, the governor iſſued his order for the reſtoration of the man; Captain Cook had but juſt taken leave of the governor, when this order was delivered to him, and he ſaid, that the man ſhould be given up, if it appeared he was a Dutchman. As the captain was at this time on ſhore, and did not intend going on board till the following day, he gave the Dutch officer a note to the lieutenant, who commanded on board the Endeavour, to deliver the deſerter on the condition above-mentioned. On the following day the Dutchman waited on Captain Cook, informing him, that the lieutenant had abſolutely refuſed to give up the ſeaman, ſaying he was an Iriſhman, and of courſe a ſubject of his Britannic Majeſty; Captain Cook applauded the conduct of his officer, and added, that it could not be expected that he ſhould deliver up an Engliſh ſubject. The Dutch officer then ſaid, he was authoriſed, by the governor, to demand the fugitive as a Daniſh ſubject, adding, that his name was entered in the ſhip's books as having been born at Elſineur; to this Captain Cook very properly replied, that the governor muſt have been miſtaken, when he gave this order for delivering the deſerter, who had his option whether he would ſerve the Dutch or the Engliſh; but in compliment to the governor, the man ſhould be given up, as a favour, if he appeared to be a Dane, but that in this caſe, he ſhould by no means be demanded as a right, and that he would certainly keep him, if he appeared to be a ſubject of the crown of Great Britain. The Dutchman now took his leave, and he had not been long gone before the captain received a letter from the commanding officer on board, containing full proof, that the man was an Engliſh ſubject. This letter the captain carried to the ſhebander, deſiring him to lay it before the governor, and to inform him, that the man ſhould not be delivered up on any terms whatever. This ſpirited conduct on the part of Captain Cook, had the deſired effect; and thus the matter ended.

Diſpute with the governor of Batavia.

This day the captain, attended by Mr. Banks and the other gentlemen who had hitherto lived in the town, repaired on board the ſhip, which got under ſail the next morning. The Endeavour was ſaluted by the fort, and by the Elgin Eaſt-Indiaman, which then lay in the road; but ſoon after theſe compliments were returned, the ſea-breeze ſetting in, they were obliged to come to anchor. Since the arrival of the ſhip in Batavia road, every perſon belonging to her had been ill, except the ſail-maker, who was more than ſeventy years old, yet this man got drunk every day while they remained there. The Endeavour buried ſeven of her people at Batavia, viz. Tupia and his boy, three of the ſailors, the ſervant of Mr. Green, the aſtronomer, and the ſurgeon; and at the time of the veſſel's ſailing, forty of the crew were ſick, and the reſt ſo enfeebled by their late illneſs, as to be ſcarcely able to do their duty. "The town of Batavia ſituate in 6° 10′ ſouth lat. and 106° 50′ eaſt long. from the meridian of Greenwich, is built on the bank of a large bay, ſomething more than twenty miles from the Streight of Sunda, on the north ſide of the iſland of Java, on a low boggy ground. Several ſmall rivers, which riſe forty miles up the country, in the mountains of Blaeuwen Berg, diſcharge themſelves into the ſea at this place, having firſt interſected the town in different directions. There are wide canals of nearly ſtagnated water in almoſt every ſtreet, and as the banks of the canals are planted with trees, they appear at firſt very agreeable; but theſe trees and canals combine to render the air peſtilential. Some of the rivers are navigable, more than thirty miles up the country; and, indeed, the Dutch appear to have choſen this ſpot to build the town on, for the ſake of water-carriage, in which convenience Batavia exceeds every place in the world, except the towns of Holland. A writer who publiſhed an account of this place near 50 years ago, makes the number of houſes at that time 4760, viz. 1242 Dutch houſes, and 1200 Chineſe houſes, within the walls; and 1066 Dutch houſes, and 1240 Chineſe houſes, without the walls, with 12 houſes for the vending of arrack. The ſtreets of Batavia being wide, and the houſes large, it ſtands on more ground than any place that has only an equal number of houſes. In dry weather a moſt horrid ſtench ariſes from the canals, and taints the air to a great degree; and when the rains have ſo ſwelled the canals that they overflow their banks, the ground-floors of the houſes, in the lower part of the town, are filled with ſtinking water, that leaves behind it dirt and ſlime in amazing quantities. The running ſtreams are ſometimes as offenſive as the ſtagnant canals, for the bodies of dead animals are frequently lodged on the ſhallow parts, where they are left to putrify, and corrupt the air, except a flood happens to carry them away; this was the caſe of a dead buffalo, while the crew of the Endeavour were there, which lay ſtinking on the ſhoal of a river, in one of the chief ſtreets for ſeveral days. They ſometimes clean the canals; but this buſineſs is performed in ſuch a manner, as ſcarcely to make them leſs a nuiſance than before, for the bottom being cleared of its black mud, it is left on the ſide of the canal till it is hard enough to be taken away in boats, and as there are no houſes for neceſſary retirement in the whole town, the filth is thrown into the canals regularly once a day, ſo that this mud is a compound of every thing that can be imagined diſagreeable and offenſive. There is a new church in Batavia, which is a fine piece of building, and the dome of it may be ſeen far off at ſea. This church is illuminated by chandeliers

chandeliers of the moſt ſuperb workmanſhip, and has a fine organ: moſt of the other public buildings are ancient, conſtructed in an ill taſte, and gave a very compleat idea of Dutch clumſineſs. Their method of building their houſes ſeems to have been taught them by the climate. On the ground-floor there is no room but a large hall, a corner of which is parted off for the tranſaction of buſineſs; the hall has two doors, which are commonly left open, and are oppoſite each other, ſo that the air paſſes freely through the room, in the middle of which there is a court, which at once increaſes the draft of air, and affords light to the hall; the ſtairs, which are at one corner, lead to large and lofty apartments above. The female ſlaves are not permitted to ſit in any place but the alcove formed by the court, and this is the uſual dining place of the family.

The town of Batavia is encompaſſed by a river of ſhallow water, the ſtream of which is very rapid; within this river, which is of different widths in various places, is an old ſtone wall, much decayed in many places, and within the wall is a canal that is likewiſe much wider in ſome places than in others, ſo that there is no entering the gates of the town but by croſſing two draw-bridges; there are but few on the ramparts, and no perſons are permitted to walk there. There is a kind of citadel, or caſtle, in the north-eaſt corner of the town, the walls of which are both broader and higher than they are in other parts; it is furniſhed with a number of large guns, which command the landing-place.

Apartments are provided in this caſtle for the governor-general and all the council; and in caſe of a ſiege they have orders to retire thither. In the caſtle are likewiſe a number of ſtore-houſes, in which the effects belonging to the company are depoſited. The company have in their poſſeſſion large quantities of gun-powder, which is kept in different places, that the lightning may not deſtroy the whole ſtock at once, a great number of cannon are likewiſe laid up within the caſtle. There are a great many forts built in different parts of the country, ſeveral miles diſtant from Batavia, moſt probably erected to keep the natives in ſubmiſſion; and beſides theſe there are a number of fortified houſes, each mounting eight guns, which are ſo ſtationed as to command the canals and the roads on the borders. There are houſes of this kind in many parts of the iſland of Java, and the other iſlands in its neigbourhood, of which the Dutch have obtained poſſeſſion. The Chineſe having rebelled againſt them in the year 1740, all their principal houſes were demoliſhed by the cannon of one of theſe fortified houſes, which is in the town of Batavia, where, likewiſe, there are a few more of them.

The roads of this country are only banks between the ditches and canals, and the fortified houſes being erected among the moraſſes near theſe roads, nothing is eaſier than to deſtroy them, and conſequently to prevent an enemy from bringing any heavy artillery near the town: if, indeed, an enemy be only hindered a ſhort time in his approach, he is effectually ruined, for the climate will preclude the neceſſity of the uſe of weapons for his deſtruction. Before the Endeavour had been a week at Batavia, her crew began to feel the ill effects of the climate; half of them were rendered incapable of doing their duty before the expiration of a month. They were informed, that it was a very uncommon thing for 50 ſoldiers out of 100 brought from Europe, to be alive at the expiration of the firſt year, and that of the fifty who might happen to be living, not ten of thoſe would be in ſound health, and, probably, not leſs than half of them in the hoſpital.

All the white inhabitants of Batavia are ſoldiers, and, at the expiration of five years ſervice, they are bound to hold themſelves in readineſs to go to war, if they ſhould be wanted, and the younger inhabitants are frequently muſtered; but as they are neither trained nor exerciſed after the expiration of the five years before-mentioned, the little they have learned is ſoon forgotten. [The Portugueſe, who live in this country, employ themſelves very much in ſhooting the deer, and the wild hog, whence they become excellent markſmen.] The Indians, of whatever nation, who reſide here, and have either been made free, or were born ſo, are called Mardykers; but neither theſe nor the Chineſe are acquainted with fire-arms, yet as theſe people are ſaid to poſſeſs great perſonal bravery, much might be expected from their expert uſe of their daggers, ſwords and lances. It would be a laborious taſk to attack Batavia by land, and it is not poſſible to make any attack at all by ſea, for the ſhallowneſs of the water would hinder any veſſels from advancing within cannon-ſhot of the walls; indeed there is barely depth of water for a ſhip's long-boat, except a narrow channel, called the river, which extends half a mile into the harbour, and is ſtrongly bounded on each ſide with piers, the other end of it being directly under the fire of the caſtle, while its communication with the canals of the town is prevented by a boom of wood, which is every night ſhut preciſely at ſix o'clock, and never opened till the following day. 1770

Any number of ſhips may anchor in the harbour of Batavia, the ground of which is ſo excellent that the anchor will never quit its hold. This harbour is ſometimes dangerous for boats, when the ſea-breezes blow freſh; but, upon the whole, it is deemed the beſt and moſt commodious in all India. There is a conſiderable number of iſlands, which are ſituated round the outſide of the harbour, and all theſe are in the poſſeſſion of the Dutch, who deſtine them to different purpoſes. On one of them, which is called Purmerent, an hoſpital is erected, on account of the air being purer than it is at Batavia. In a ſecond, the name of which is Kuyper, are erected numbers of warehouſes, in which are lodged the rice and ſome other commodities, which belong to the Dutch Eaſt-India Company; at this iſland thoſe ſhips belonging to different nations, which are to be repaired at Ouruſt, unload their cargoes; and it was here that the ſtores of the Falmouth man of war were laid up, when ſhe was condemned on her return from Manilla; her warrant officers, of whom mention has been made in the account of Captain Wallis's voyage, were ſent to Europe in Dutch ſhips about half a year before the Endeavour anchored in the road of Batavia. A third of theſe iſlands, the name of which is Edam, is appropriated to the reception of certain offenders, whoſe crimes are not deemed worthy of death, and thither they are tranſported from Holland, and detained from five to forty years, in proportion to the heinouſneſs of the offence they have committed: making of ropes is the principal part of the employment of theſe criminals.

The environs of Batavia have a very pleaſing appearance, and would in almoſt any other country, be an enviable ſituation. Gardens and houſes occupy the country for ſeveral miles, but the former are ſo covered with trees, that the advantage of the land having been cleared of the wood that originally covered it, is almoſt wholly loſt; while theſe gardens and the fields adjacent to them are ſurrounded by ditches which yield a diſagreeable ſmell; and the bogs and moraſſes in the adjacent fields are ſtill more offenſive. For the ſpace of more than thirty miles beyond the town, the land is totally flat, except in two places, on one of which the governor's country-ſeat is built, and on the other they hold a large market; but neither of theſe places is higher than ten yards from the level of the plain. At near forty miles from the town the land riſes into hills, and the air is purified in a great degree; to this diſtance the invalids are ſent by their phyſicians when every other proſpect of their recovery has failed, and the experiment ſucceeds in almoſt every inſtance, for the ſick are reſtored to health; but they no ſooner return to the town, than their former diſorders reviſit them. On theſe hills the moſt opulent of the inhabitants

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bitants have country ſeats, to which they pay an annual viſit. Thoſe who reſide conſtantly on the hills enjoy an almoſt perpetual flow of health; and moſt of the vegetables of Europe grow as freely there as in their native ground: the ſtrawberry in particular flouriſhes greatly, which is a ſufficient proof of the coolneſs of the air.

The rice of this country is very plentiful, and, in order to be brought to perfection, ſhould lie under water more than half the time it is growing: but they have a ſort which grows on the ſides of the hills, which is unknown in the Weſt-India iſlands; this ſort is planted when the wet ſeaſon commences, and the crop is gathered in, ſoon after the rains are over. The maize, which grows near Batavia, is gathered while young, and roaſted in the ear. The land likewiſe produces carrots, celery, parſley, aſparagus, onions, radiſhes, cabbages, lettuces, cucumbers, lentiles, kidney-beans, hyſſop, ſage, rue, Chineſe white radiſhes, which when boiled, are not unlike a parſnip, common potatoes, ſweet potatoes, wet and dry yams, millet, and the egg plant, the fruit of which, when broiled and eaten with ſalt and pepper, is moſt exquiſite food. Amazing quantities of ſugar are produced here, and, while the quantity is beyond compariſon greater, the care of cultivation is inconceivably leſs than in the Weſt India iſlands. White ſugar is retailed at two-pence half-penny the pound; and arrack is made of the molaſſes, with a ſmall addition of rice, and the wine of the cocoa-nut. The inhabitants likewiſe raiſe a little indigo for their own uſe, but do not export it.

The fruits of this country are near forty in number, and of ſome of theſe there are ſeveral kinds. Pine-apples grow in ſuch abundance, that they may be purchaſed at the firſt hand, for the value of an Engliſh farthing; and they bought ſome very large ones for a half-penny a piece at the fruit-ſhops, and their taſte is very excellent. They grow ſo luxuriantly, that ſeven or eight ſuckers have been ſeen adhering to one ſtem. The ſweet oranges of Batavia are good of their kind, but very dear at particular times. The ſhaddocks of the Weſt Indies, called here Pamplemooſes, have an agreeable flavour. Lemons were very ſcarce when the Endeavour lay in the harbour, but limes were altogether as plentiful, and ſold at little more than two-pence the ſcore. There are many kinds of oranges and lemons, but none of them excellent. Of mangoes there are plenty, but their taſte is far inferior to the melting peach of England, to which they have been compared. It is ſaid that the heat, and extreme dampneſs of the climate does not agree with them, yet there are many different kinds of them. Of bananas, there are an amazing variety of ſorts, ſome of which being boiled, are eaten as bread, while others are fried in batter, and are a nouriſhing food: but of the numerous ſorts of this fruit, three only are fit to be eaten; one indeed, is remarkable, becauſe it is filled with ſeeds, which are not common to the reſt. Grapes are ſold from one ſhilling to eighteen pence a pound, though they are far from being good. The tamarinds are cheap and plentiful; but as the method of preſerving them, which is in ſalt, renders them a mere black lump, they are equally nauſeating to the ſight and to the palate. The water melons are excellent of their kind, and are produced in great abundance. The pompions are boiled as turnips, and eaten with ſalt and pepper. This fruit is admirably adapted to the uſe of voyagers, as it will keep many months without care, and makes an excellent pye, when mixed with the juice of lemons and ſugar. The papans of this country are ſuperior to turnips, if the cores are extracted, after paring them when they are green. The guava has a ſtrong ſmell, and a taſte not leſs diſagreeable: it is probable, that the guava of the Weſt-Indies, which many writers have diſtinguiſhed by their praiſes, has a very different flavour. The ſweet ſop is a fruit that has but little flavour: it abounds in large kernels, from which the pulp is ſucked. The taſte of the cuſtard-apple very much reſembles the diſh from which its name is taken. The caſheu apple produces a nut which is not unknown in England, but the fruit has ſuch an aſtringent quality, that the Batavians ſeldom eat of it: the nut grows on the top of the apple. The cocoa-nut is plentiful in this country, and there are ſeveral kinds of this fruit, the beſt of which is very red between the ſhell and the ſkin. The jamboo is a fruit that has but little taſte, but is of a cooling nature: it is conſiderably leſs than a common-ſized apple, and thoſe that have grown to their full ſize, are always the beſt; its ſhape is oval, and its colour a deep red. Of the Jambu-eyer, there are two kinds, the white and the red: they are ſhaped like a bell, and are ſomething bigger than a cherry: they have no kind of taſte but that of a watry acid. The Jambu-eyer mauwar, ſmells like a roſe, and its taſte is not unlike that of conſerve of roſes. The mangoſtan is of a dark red colour, and not larger than a ſmall apple: to the bottom of this fruit adhere ſeveral little leaves of the bloſſoms, while on its tops are a number of triangles combined in a circle, it contains ſeveral kernels ranged in a circular form, within which is the pulp, a fruit of moſt exquiſite taſte; it is equally nutricious and agreeable, and is conſtantly given to perſons who are troubled with inflammatory or putrid fevers. The ſweet orange of this country is likewiſe given in the ſame diſorders. The pomegranate of theſe parts differs in nothing from that generally known in England. The durion takes its name from the word Dure, which, in the language of that country, means prickles, and the name is well adapted to the fruit, the ſhell of which is covered with ſharp points, ſhaped liked a ſugar-loaf: its contents are nuts not much ſmaller than cheſnuts, which are ſurrounded with a kind of juice reſembling cream; and of this the inhabitants eat with great avidity: the ſmell of this fruit is more like that of onions, than any other European vegetable, and its taſte is like that of onions, ſugar, and cream intermixed: the inſide of the durion, when ripe, is parted, lengthways, into ſeveral diviſions. The nanca is a fruit that ſmells like garlick and apples mixed together: its ſize in the gardens of Batavia, is not bigger than that of a middling ſized pompion, and its ſhape is nearly the ſame: it is covered with prickles of an angular form. They were informed that, at a place called Madura, it has been known to grow to ſuch an enormous ſize as to require the ſtrength of two men to carry it. The champada is in all reſpects like the nauca, only that it is not ſo large. The rambutan contains a fruit within which is a ſtone, that is perhaps the fineſt acid in the world: this fruit is not unlike a cheſnut with its huſk on; and it is covered with ſmall prickles of a dark red colour, and ſo ſoft as to yield to the ſlighteſt impreſſion. The gambolan reſembles a damaſcen both in colour and ſize, and is of a very aſtringent nature. The boa bidarra taſtes like an apple, and is likewiſe extremely aſtringent: its ſize is that of a gooſeberry, its form round, and its colour yellow. The nam nam makes an excellent fritter, if fried in batter, but is not eſteemed when raw: the rind of it is rough, its length is about three inches, and its ſhape not unlike that of a kidney. The catappa and the canare are two ſpecies of nuts, the kernels of which are like thoſe of an almond, but ſo hard, that it is almoſt impoſſible to break them. The madja contains a pulp of a ſharp taſte, which is eaten with ſugar: this fruit is covered with a hard ſhell. The ſuntal is a fruit ſcarcely fit to be eaten, being at once aſtringent, acid, and of a moſt unpleaſant taſte, yet it is publicly ſold in the ſtreets of Batavia: it contains a number of kernels, which are incloſed in a thick ſkin. The ſalack is nearly of the ſize of a ſmall golden pippin, and contains a few kernels of a yellow colour, the taſte of which is not unlike that of a ſtrawberry; but the covering of this fruit is very remarkable, as it conſiſts of a number of ſcales, reſembling thoſe of a fiſh. The chefrema and the blimbing, are two four

fruits, exceedingly well adapted to make ſour ſauce, and pickles. The blimbing beſſe is another fruit of the ſame kind, but conſiderably ſweeter.

Of the fruits not in ſeaſon when Captain Cook was at Batavia, are the boa atap, and the kinſhip, which he ſaw preſerved in ſugar: and there are ſeveral other ſorts which the Batavians are fond of, but they are never eaten by ſtrangers: among thoſe are the moringa, the guilindina, the killer, and the ſoccum; this laſt has the appearance of the bread-fruit which is produced in the iſlands of the South Seas, but it is not near ſo good, though the tree on which it grows is almoſt exactly like the bread-fruit tree.

Vaſt quantities of fruit are eaten at Batavia. There are two markets held weekly, at diſtant places for the better accommodation of thoſe who reſide in different parts of the country. Here the fruit-ſellers meet the gardeners, and purchaſe the goods at low rates. We are told it is not uncommon to ſee fifty or ſixty loads of pine-apples careleſsly thrown together at thoſe markets. Flowers are ſtrewn by the inhabitants of Batavia and Java, about their houſes, and they are conſtantly burning aromatic woods and gums, which is ſuppoſed to be done by way of purifying the air from the ſtench that ariſes from the canals and ditches about the town.

In this country ſweet-ſcented flowers are plentiful, many ſpecies of which being intirely unknown, are worth remarking.

The combang tonquin, and combang carenaſſi, are particularly fragrant flowers, which bear ſcarcely any reſemblance to any of thoſe flowers with which we are here acquainted. They are very ſmall, and ſeem to be of the dog's-bane ſpecies. The camunga which is more like a bunch of leaves than a flower, is of a ſingular ſmell, but very grateful. The bon tanjong is of a pale yellow caſt, and has a very agreeable ſmell; it is about an inch and a half in circumference, and conſiſts of pointed leaves, which give it the appearance of a ſtar. The champacka ſmells ſomewhat like a jonquil, but is rather of a deeper yellow. A large tree upon the iſland produces this flower. There is alſo an extraordinary kind of flower called fundal malam, which ſignifies the intriguer of the night. This flower has no ſmell in the day-time, but as night comes on, it has a very fragrant ſcent, and is very much like the Engliſh tuberoſe.

Theſe flowers being made into noſegays of different ſhapes, or ſtrung upon thread, are carried through the ſtreet for ſale on an evening. The gardens of the gentlemen produce ſeveral other ſors of flowers beſides theſe which we have mentioned, but they are not offered to ſale, becauſe there is not a ſufficient plenty of them. A plant, called the pandang, is produced here, the leaves of which being ſhred ſmall, and mixed with other flowers, the natives of both ſexes fill their cloaths and hair with this mixture; which they likewiſe ſprinkle on their beds, and ſleep under this heap of ſweets, a thin piece of chints being their only covering.

Pepper was formerly the only ſpice that grew on the iſland of Java. A conſiderable quantity is brought from thence by the Dutch, but very little of it is made uſe of in the country. The inhabitants prefer cayan pepper, and are fond of cloves and nutmeg, but theſe firſt are too dear to be commonly uſed. Near the iſland of Amboyna are ſome little iſles, on which the cloves grow, and the Dutch poſſeſſed themſelves of all of them, not being eaſy till they all became their property. Scarcely any other nutmegs are found but on the iſland of Banda, which however furniſhes enough for all the nations that have a demand for that commodity. There are but a few nutmeg-trees on the coaſt of New Guinea.

As to Java, of which we have already ſpoken, our voyagers give the following account: "This iſland produces horſes, buffaloes, ſheep, goats, and hogs. The ſort of horſes ſaid to have been met with here when the country was firſt diſcovered, appeared to be nimble animals though ſmall, being generally ſeldom above thirteen hands high. The horned cattle of this country are different from thoſe of Europe. They are quite lean, but of a very fine grain. The Chineſe and the natives of Java eat the Buffaloes fleſh, which the Dutch conſtantly refuſe, being impreſſed with a ſtrange idea that it is feveriſh. The ſheep are hairy like goats, and have long ears: they are moſtly found to be tough and ill-taſted. 1770

"There happening to be a few ſheep from the Cape of Good Hope at Batavia, ſome of them were purchaſed at the rate of one ſhilling a pound. The hogs, eſpecially thoſe of the Chineſe ſtock, are very fine food, but ſo fat as that the lean is ſeparately ſold the butchers, who are Chineſe; they take off the fat, they melt and ſell to their countrymen to be eaten with their rice. Yet though theſe hogs are ſo fine, the Dutch prefer their own breed, and the conſequence is that theſe latter are ſold at extravagant rates.

"As the Portugueſe ſhoot the wild hogs and deer, (as we have already mentioned) they are ſold at a moderate price, and are good eating. As to the goats of this country they are as indifferent as the ſheep. Dogs and cats are found here in abundance, and there are numbers of wild horſes at a conſiderable diſtance from Batavia, on the mountains. There are a few monkeys ſeen near the town; but there are many on the mountains and deſart-places, where there are alſo tygers, and a few rhinoceroſes.

"An aſtoniſhing quantity of fiſh is taken here, and all are fine food, except a few that are ſcarce; yet the inhabitants will not eat thoſe that are found in abundance, but purchaſe thoſe which are worſe and ſcarcer, a circumſtance that contributes to keep up the price of the latter. A prejudice likewiſe prevails among the Dutch which prevents them from eating any of the turtle caught in theſe parts, which are very good food, though not equal to thoſe that are found in the Weſt Indies. Very large lizards are common at Batavia,; ſome of them are ſaid to be as thick as a man's thigh; and Mr. Banks ſhot one five feet long, which being dreſt, proved very agreeable to the taſte.—

"In Batavia they found ſnipes of two different ſorts; and thruſhes might have been purchaſed of the Portugueſe, who were the only dealers in this ſort of birds, and venders of wild fowl in the country.

"In the iſland of Java are palm-wine, and arrack. Of the former they have three ſorts, the firſt of which is drank in a few hours after it is drawn from the tree, and is moderately ſweet; the ſecond and third ſorts are made by fermentation, and by putting ſeveral ſorts of herbs and roots into the liquor.

"The religion of Mahomet is profeſſed in Java, for which reaſon the natives do not make uſe of wine publicly; but in private few of them will refuſe it. They alſo chew opium, whoſe intoxicating qualities prove its recommendation to the natives of India.

"If we exclude the Chineſe, and the Indians of different nations, who inhabit Batavia and its environs, the inhabitants only amount to a ſmall number, not a fifth part of whom are ſaid to be Dutchmen, even by deſcent. The Portugueſe out-number all the European ſettlers on the iſland. The troops in the ſervice of the ſtates of Holland, are compoſed of the natives of almoſt all the nations of Europe; but the greater part of them are Germans. When any perſon goes to reſide at Batavia, he is obliged to enter firſt as a ſoldier, to ſerve their company for five years, Afterwards he applies for a leave of abſence to the council, which being granted as a thing of courſe, he engages in any buſineſs that he thinks proper to chuſe. There is however a ſort of policy in this matter, ſince the Dutch have thus always a force ready to arm and join their troops in this country upon any emergency; all places of power and profit are held by the Dutch, and no foreigner has any ſhare in the management of public affairs.

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" Notwithſtanding all the men of other countries are bound to obſerve the rules above-mentioned, yet women from all parts may remain here unmoleſted. It appeared that the whole place could not furniſh fifty females who were natives of Europe; yet the town abounded with white women, who were deſcended from Europeans, that had ſettled there at different times, all the men having paid the debt of nature; for ſo it is, that the climate of Batavia deſtroys the men much faſter than the women. Theſe women follow the delicate cuſtom of chewing betel, after the example of the native Javaneſe, whoſe dreſs they imitate, and whoſe manners they copy, in all reſpects. Mercantile buſineſs is conducted at Batavia with the ſlighteſt trouble imaginable. When a merchant receives an order for goods of any kind, he communicates the contents of it to the Chineſe, who are the univerſal manufacturers. The Chineſe agent delivers the effects on board the ſhip for which they are beſpoke, and taking a receipt for them from the maſter of the veſſel, he delivers it to the merchant, who pays the Chineſe for the goods, and reſerves a conſiderable profit, without the leaſt trouble, riſque, or anxiety. But when a merchant imports goods of any kind, he receives them himſelf, and lodges them in his own warehouſes. It may be wondered that the Chineſe do not ſhip the goods on their account, but from this they are reſtricted, and compelled to ſell them to the merchants only.

The inhabitants of Java diſtinguiſh the Portugueſe by the name of *Oranſerane*, that is, Nazarene-men; but theſe uſe the general term of *Caper*, or *Caſir*, reſpecting all who do not poſſeſs the religion of Mahomet, and in this they include the Portugueſe. But the Portugueſe of Batavia are ſo only in name; for they have neither any connection with, or knowledge of, the kingdom of Portugal, and they have changed the religion of the church of Rome, for that of Luther; with the manners of the natives, they are wholly familiariſed, and they commonly ſpeak their language, though they are able to converſe in a corrupt kind of Portugueſe. They dreſs in the habit of the country, with a difference only in the manner of wearing their hair; their noſes are more peaked and their ſkin of a deeper caſt than that of the natives. Some of them are mechanics and artificers, others ſubſiſt by waſhing of linen, and the reſt procure a maintenance by hunting.

" The Indian inhabitants of Batavia, and the country in its neighbourhood, are not native Javaneſe, but are either born on the ſeveral iſlands from whence the Dutch bring their ſlaves, or the offspring of ſuch as have been born on thoſe iſlands; and theſe having been made free either in their own perſons or in the perſons of their anceſtors, enjoy all the privileges of freemen. They receive the general appellation of believers of the true faith.

" The various other Indian inhabitants of this country attach themſelves each to the original cuſtoms of that in which themſelves or their anceſtors were born; keeping themſelves apart from thoſe of other nations, and practiſing both the virtues and vices peculiar to their own countries. The cultivation of gardens, and the conſequent ſale of flowers and fruit afford ſubſiſtence to great numbers of them; theſe are the people who raiſe the betel and areca, which being mixed with lime, and a ſubſtance that is called *Gambir*, the produce of the Indian continent, is chewed by perſons of all ranks, women as well as men: indeed ſome of the politer ladies make an addition of cardamom, and other aromatics, to take off the diſagreeable ſmell with which the breath would be otherwiſe tainted. Some of the Indians are very rich, keep a great number of ſlaves, and live, in all reſpects, according to the cuſtom of their reſpective countries, while others are employed to carry goods by water; and others, again ſubſiſt by fiſhing.

The Oranſlams, or believers of the faith feed principally on boiled rice, mixed with a ſmall quantity of dried ſhrimps and other fiſh, which are imported from China, and a little of the fleſh of buffaloes and chickens; they are fond of fruit, of which they eat large quantities, and with the flour of the rice they make ſeveral ſorts of paſtry. They ſometimes make very ſuperb entertainments, after the faſhion of their reſpective countries; but, in general, they are a very temperate people; of wine they drink very little, if any, as the religion of Mahomet, which they profeſs, forbids the uſe of it.

" When a marriage is to be ſolemniſed among the Oranſlams, all the gold and ſilver ornaments that can be procured, are borrowed to deck out the young couple, who, on theſe occaſions, never fail to make the moſt ſplendid appearance; ſumptuous entertainments are given by thoſe who can afford them, which continue twelve or fourteen days, and frequently more, during all which time the women take care that the bridegroom ſhall not viſit his wife privately, though the wedding takes place previous to the feſtival.

All theſe Indians though they come from different countries, ſpeak the Malay language if it deſerves that name. On the iſland of Java there are two or three different dialects, and there is a language peculiar to every ſmall iſland; it is conjectured that the Malay tongue is a corruption of the language of Malacca.

" The hair of the people, which is black without a ſingle exception, grows in great abundance; yet the women make uſe of oils, and other ingredients, to increaſe the quantity of it: they faſten it to the crown of the head with a bodkin, having firſt twiſted it into a circle, round which they place an elegant wreath of flowers, ſo that the whole head-dreſs has a moſt beautiful appearance. It is the univerſal cuſtom both with the men and women, to bathe in a river once every day, and ſometimes oftener, which not only promotes health, but prevents that contraction of filth, that would be otherwiſe unavoidable in ſo hot a climate. The teeth of the Oranſlams have ſome particulars in them well worthy of notice. With a kind of whetſtone they rub the ends of them till they are quite flat and even; they then make a deep groove in the teeth of the upper jaw, in the centre between the bottom of each tooth and the gum, and horizontally with the latter; this groove is equal in depth to a quarter of the thickneſs of the teeth; yet none of theſe people have a rotten tooth, though according to the dentiſts of England and France, ſuch a thing muſt be unavoidable, as the tooth is placed much deeper than what we call the enamel. The teeth of theſe people became very black by the chewing of betel, yet a ſlight waſhing will take off this blackneſs, and they will then become perfectly white; but they are very ſeldom waſhed as the depth of the colour is very far from being thought diſagreeable. Our author obſerves that moſt readers muſt have heard of the Mohawks; and theſe are the people who are ſo denominated, from a corruption of the word amock, which will be explained by the following ſtory and obſervations. To run amock is to get drunk with opium, and then ſeizing ſome offenſive weapon, to ſally forth from the houſe, kill the perſon or perſons ſuppoſed to have injured the Amock, and any other perſon that attempts to impede his paſſage, till he himſelf is taken priſoner or killed on the ſpot. While Captain Cook was at Batavia, a perſon whoſe circumſtances in life were independent, became jealous of his brother, intoxicated himſelf with opium, and then murdered his brother, and two other men who endeavoured to ſeize him. This man, contrary to the uſual cuſtom, did not leave his own houſe, but made his reſiſtance from within it; yet he had taken ſuch a quantity of the opium, that he was delirious, which appeared from his attempting to fire three muſquets, neither of which had been loaded, nor even primed. Jealouſy of the women is the uſual reaſon of theſe poor creatures running amock [or a-muck] and the firſt object of their vengeance is the perſons whom they ſuppoſe to have injured them. The officer, whoſe buſineſs it is to apprehend theſe unhappy

wretches, is furniſhed with a long pair of tongs, in order to take hold of them at ſuch a diſtance from the point of their weapons, as to inſure his perſonal ſafety. When he takes one of them alive, he is amply rewarded; but this is not often the caſe, as they are ſo deſperate as not to be eaſily apprehended: when they are killed in the attempt to take them, the officer has only the cuſtomary gratification. Thoſe who are taken alive are broken on the wheel, as near as poſſible to the place where the firſt murder was perpetrated; and, as they are ſeldom apprehended without being previouſly wounded, the time of their execution is ſooner or later, according to the opinions of the phyſicians, whether the wounds are, or are not mortal.

Oranſlams. "The Oranſlams believe that the devil is the author of ſickneſs and other misfortunes, on which account they make an oblation of meat and money, and other things, to him, when they are either ſick or in trouble. When they dream ſucceſſively for ſeveral nights, they have no doubt but that the devil has injoined the performance of ſome act, to diſcover which, they torture their brains in vain, and then apply to the prieſt, who never fails to interpret the dream in a ſatisfactory manner. In conſequence of this interpretation, by which it appears that the devil is in want of money and food, a quantity of each is placed in the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, and being hung on the bough of a tree by the ſide of a river, is left till ſome paſſenger ſhall find, and take away the money, which is conſidered not ſo much an offering to the devil, as a fine due for ſome crime committed; with regard to the food, they imagine that the devil comes and ſucks out the nutritive parts of it, without moving it out of its place.—From this part of the ſtory it ſeems reaſonable to conclude, that the prieſt having previous knowledge where the oblation is to be made, takes the money, and leaves the victuals.—

"The Chineſe inhabitants of Batavia are like thoſe of their own country, ſome of the moſt induſtrious people on the face of the earth. They are embroiderers, dyers of cotton, taylors, carpenters, joiners, ſmiths, and makers of ſlippers; ſome of them are ſhop-keepers and deal largely in the manufactures of Europe and China. A few of theſe people live within the walls of the town; but the majority of them take up their reſidence in a diſtrict named Champang China, which is ſituated without the walls. Thoſe of the Chineſe who live in the country, either keep buffalos and other cattle, the milk of which they ſell daily at Batavia, or they procure a ſubſiſtence by the raiſing of rice and ſugar canes, and the cultivation of gardens. There is nothing, however infamous, which a Chineſe will refuſe to do for gain, except his neck is in danger, [and this is the opinion of every preceding writer,] ſo that theſe people muſt have taken no ſmall pains to eſtabliſh their reputation for knavery. They labour with unwearied diligence, but the moment they have compleated their work they ſit down to dice, cards, or ſome other expert art; and they follow their ſports with ſuch eagerneſs, that the buſineſs of eating and ſleeping is frequently ſuſpended. The clothes of the Chineſe, whether rich or poor, are ſingularly clean and decent. Their behaviour is civil even to humility. They are ſuch temperate eaters that gluttony is unknown among them; but as their religion does not command them to refrain from any particular food, they eat a variety of things which are denied to thoſe Indians who profeſs the Mahometan faith. Excluſive of vegetables and fiſh of various kinds, their principal food conſiſts of dogs, cats, lizards, frogs, ſerpents of ſeveral ſorts, and hogs.

"The Chineſe have purchaſed of the Dutch, at a very large expence, ſeveral hundred acres of land in the vicinity of Batavia, for the interment of the dead; for it is a rule from which they never depart, not to open a grave which has once received the body of their countrymen: and hence ariſes an enormous expence in the purchaſe of land, which greatly diſtreſſes the living, to pay an imaginary honour to the dead. In order to preſerve the body as long as poſſible from decay, the coffin conſiſts of a piece of ſolid timber hollowed out: and this being covered with a kind of mortar ſeveral inches thick, petrefies in the ground till it is as hard as a flint. The funeral is attended by the near relations of the deceaſed, and by a train of women who are paid for making lamentations. In theſe expenſive cuſtoms, abſurd as they are, the Chineſe are equalled by the reſt of their Batavian neighbours, for every perſon is buried with a degree of ſplendour proportioned to the rank he has held in life, and there is a poſitive law which enjoins the obſervance of this cuſtom; in conſequence of which it frequently happens, that thoſe who have not money ſufficient to pay the juſt demands on them, are buried in a pompous manner, merely becauſe they have lived elegantly. In this caſe, perſons are employed to take an account of what the man died worth, and when the funeral expences are defrayed the ſurplus is divided among the creditors."— 1770

The various inhabitants of the iſland of Java, whether Dutch, Portugueſe, or Indians, are all waited on by ſlaves, whoſe number is proportioned to the circumſtances of the maſter; but there are laws in force, that no native of the iſland ſhall ſerve as a ſlave. Theſe people, the number of which is very great, are bought at Sumatra, and other eaſtern iſlands, at various prices, from ten to twenty pounds; but there have been inſtances of very beautiful girls being ſold at above five times the common market price. They are fed on boiled rice, and ſuch fiſh as can be purchaſed at the loweſt rates, a little of which ſatisfies them, nor indeed do they deſerve even the little they eat, for they are idle and ſluggiſh in the higheſt degree.

The negros of Africa are purchaſed at a lower price than any other ſlaves, and indeed any price whatever exceeds their merit, for they are of the moſt obſtinate diſpoſition, and thieves, without a ſingle exception. Thoſe ſlaves which are purchaſed from the iſland of Celebes are moſt intolerably lazy, and of ſo ferocious a diſpoſition, that their employers run the hazard of their perſonal ſafety. The iſland of Bali furniſhes the moſt uſeful ſlaves; and the little iſland Nias, near Sumatra, ſupplies female ſlaves of exquiſite beauty; but to theſe women death is the almoſt certain conſequence of even a ſhort reſidence at Batavia.—The maſters of any of theſe ſlaves may puniſh them in whatever way they chuſe, ſo as not to deprive them of life; but when it happens that a ſlave dies of the puniſhments he has received, the maſter is tried, and commonly ſuffers as a murderer. From this circumſtance it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the maſters are cautious how they beat the ſlaves, with undue ſeverity; it is not indeed very common for them to ſtrike them at all, but they pay an officer, who is called the Marineu, for inflicting the puniſhment. The Marineu having heard what is alledged againſt the delinquent, determines how many ſtripes he ſhall receive, and theſe are given by ſlaves, whoſe particular buſineſs it is to obey the commands of the Marineu; theſe ſtrokes are laid on with rods made of rattan ſplit very ſmall. For a ſevere whipping the Marineu receives a ducatoon, and a rix-dollar for a ſlighter puniſhment. The women ſlaves are whipped in the houſe of their maſter; but the men publickly in the ſtreets: in order that theſe ſlaves may not be under too great temptations to ſteal, their maſters are compelled to allow them ſeven-pence half-penny weekly for pocket money.

There is ſomething ſingular in the ſubordination obſerved among the inhabitants of Batavia and the adjacent country. The man who has been longeſt in the Eaſt India Company's ſervice is permitted to gild his coach, while others are allowed to ride in coaches differently painted, according to the length of their ſervices, and others again, ride in thoſe that are quite plain. In like manner the coachmen are dreſſed in liveries

1771 that had a greater or leſs quantity of lace on them, or without any lace at all. The lawyers of Batavia are partial in their adminiſtration of juſtice to a very reprehenſible degree. When an Indian has committed any crime deemed worthy of death, he is impaled, hanged, or broken on the wheel, without ceremony; on the contrary, if a Chriſtian is capitally convicted, execution very ſeldom follows the ſentence; and what is more extraordinary, no pains are taken to apprehend the offender, till time enough has been allowed him to run away if he thinks proper. The civil officers of juſtice among the Chineſe and Malays are called captains and lieutenants, but their deciſions are not final, if the party againſt whom they may decide, thinking himſelf aggrieved, ſhould appeal to the Dutch lawyers, in which caſe, the deciſion of the latter muſt be abided by. The Dutch have laid conſiderable taxes on theſe people, among which is one for the permiſſion to wear their hair. When theſe taxes become due, which is once a month, they hoiſt a flag on the top of a houſe nearly in the center of Batavia, and the man who does not ſpeedily go to pay his money, has reaſon to repent the omiſſion.

The current money of this country is of different value, from a Dutch doit to a ducat. When Captain Cook was at Batavia, Spaniſh dollars ſold at 5s. and 5d. each, and the price is ſeldom much lower. The Chineſe would give only the value of twenty ſhillings for an Engliſh guinea that was almoſt new, and for thoſe that were old, and much worn, only ſeventeen ſhillings. The milled ducatoons of Batavia are valued at eighty ſtivers; thoſe that are unmilled at ſeventy-two; the ducat at one hundred and thirty-two; the imperial rix-dollars at ſixty; the rupees at thirty; the ſchellings at ſix; the double ſheys at two and a half, and the doits at a quarter of a ſtiver.

Early in the morning of the 27th of December, 1770, the Endeavour left the road of Batavia, and after ſeveral hindrances, occaſioned by the wind being contrary, ſhe ſtood over for the ſhore of Java, on the firſt day of January, 1771. As many of the ſhip's crew who had been very ill while at Batavia, were now become much worſe, the veſſel was brought to an anchor in the afternoon of the 5th near Princes Iſland, with a view to get ſome neceſſary refreſhments, and to take in wood and water. Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks now went on ſhore with the captain, and they were no ſooner landed than ſome of the natives conducted them to the king of the iſland, with whom they endeavoured to make a bargain for ſome cattle, but the price could not be agreed on. As the adventurers had no doubt but that they ſhould purchaſe on their own terms the following day, they left the Indians, and proceeded in ſearch of a proper place to fill water, which was found. As they were about to embark for the ſhip, they ſoon purchaſed three turtle from ſome of the natives, but with the ſtricteſt injunction that their ſovereign ſhould not be informed of the tranſaction. On Sunday, the 6th of January, they purchaſed, at very moderate prices, as many turtle as they had occaſion for, and the whole ſhip's company fed on this delicious fiſh. The king was at this time at a houſe ſituated in a rice field, where Mr. Banks waited on him, and found him cooking his own victuals. On Monday the inhabitants brought vegetables, deer, fiſh, fowls, and monkeys, for ſale, and on the following day they brought down a farther number of turtle. As a ſervant that Mr. Banks had hired at Batavia had acquainted him, that there was a town in the iſland, his curioſity determined him to have a view of it, and one of the officers of the ſhip accompanied him on his viſit. As he was apprehenſive that the natives would not be pleaſed at his going to the town, he told ſuch of them as he met, that he was ſeeking for plants, which indeed, was a part of the buſineſs of the day. Having come to a kind of village, conſiſting of a very few houſes, they aſked an Indian the way to the town, and ſome other particulars reſpecting it, who endeavoured to prevent their proceeding by repreſenting it at a very great diſtance. When he ſaw they were reſolved to go forward, he proceeded with them, making frequent attempts to miſlead them. When they were in ſight of the town, the Indian changed his behaviour at once, and led the way to it.

This place, which contains between three and four hundred houſes, is called Samadang, and is divided by a river into the old and the new town. Some of the natives, whom the gentlemen remembered to have ſeen among thoſe who had brought proviſions for ſale, agreed to carry them from the old town to the new for a trifling gratification. This was done by means of two little canoes which were laſhed together; and they had no ſooner reached the oppoſite ſhore, than the Indians ſhewed them the houſes of their chiefs, and behaved otherwiſe in the moſt friendly manner; but as this was the ſeaſon when the natives live in their rice grounds, to ſave their corn from the depredations of the monkeys and birds, moſt of the houſes were ſhut. After the gentlemen had ſeen every thing that they thought worthy of notice, they hired a ſailing-boat, which conveyed them to the ſhip time enough for dinner; for the town of Samadang, though a conſiderable diſtance from the place where the Endeavour lay at anchor, is ſituated only at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea-coaſt. While Captain Cook was on ſhore on the 12th, giving orders to the people who were cutting wood and filling water, he was told that one of the natives had ſtolen an axe; the thief was unknown, but the captain reſolving not to give occaſion for future depredations of this kind by taking no notice of the firſt offence, immediately applied to the king, and in conſequence of this application, the axe was brought down to the watering-place the next day. The Indian who brought it back ſaid, it was left at his houſe in the night; but it was ſuſpected that he himſelf was the thief; Mr. Banks having ſeveral times viſited the king of the iſland, and given him ſome trifles that were very acceptable, waited on him for the laſt time on the 13th of January, and gratified him very much by a preſent of a ſmall quantity of paper. The king aſked the reaſon why the Engliſh ſhip did not touch at the iſland, as was formerly their cuſtom, when Mr. Banks attributed the omiſſion to the ſcarcity of turtle, and adviſed the king to breed buffalos, ſheep, and cattle, for the accommodation of his future viſitors.

After a ſtay of ten days at Prince's Iſland, during which they purchaſed vegetables of various kinds, fowls, deer, turtle, &c. the anchor was weighed, and the veſſel once more put to ſea. Our voyagers ſay the iſland to the weſt of the ſtreight of Sunda, is woody, and has been cleared only in a very few places. Our India ſhips uſed to touch at Princes Iſland to take in water, but they have omitted this practice for ſome years ſince, on account, as it is ſaid of the water being brackiſh; yet the captain obſerves that it is exceeding good, if filled towards the head of the brook.

The fowls which were purchaſed at this place coſt about five-pence each; the turtle three farthings a pound, and other fiſh were proportionably cheap; one hundred of the beſt cocoa-nuts coſt only a dollar; and pompions, pine-apples, and other fruits, were equally cheap and plenty. The natives profeſs the religion of Mahomet, and are ſo ſtrict in the obſervance of the feaſt called Ramadam, that they not only abſtain from food till the ſun is down, but even from the chewing of betel. The manners of theſe people are not unlike thoſe of the Javaneſe, but they are much more jealous of their wives; during the ten days that the Endeavour lay here, only one woman was ſeen, and ſhe ran away the moment ſhe was diſcovered.

The houſes are conſtructed in the form of an oblong ſquare; they are built on pillars four feet above the ground, and well thatched with palm-leaves, as a defence from the ſun and rain: the flooring is of bamboo canes, placed at a diſtance from each other, to admit the air; theſe houſes conſiſt of four rooms, one

of

of which is deſtined for the reception of viſitants; the children ſleep in a ſecond, and the two others are allotted, the one for the purpoſe of cookery, and the other for the bed-chamber of the owner and his wife. The reſidence of the king of the iſland, and that of a another perſon of great authority, has boards on the ſide, while the houſes of all the inferior people have walls made of the bamboo cane, ſlit into ſmall ſticks, and wrought acroſs the beams of the building in the manner of a hurdle. The king of the iſland is ſubject to the ſultan of Bantam. Captain Cook repreſents the natives as very honeſt in their dealings, with the ſingle exception of demanding more than double the ſum they intended to ſell for. The goods of each ſort which different perſons brought to market, were all ſold together, and the purchaſe-money divided among the ſeveral contributors, in proportion to the quantity that each had given in to the general ſtock. When they changed money, they gave 240 Dutch doits for a Spaniſh dollar. The natives ſpeak what they call the language of the mountains, and ſay, that their anceſtors came from the mountains of Java, where this language is ſpoken; that they firſt ſettled at New Bay, where the tygers were ſo numerous that they could not live in ſafety; and therefore that they took up their reſidence on Princes Iſland: they however, are capable of converſing in the Malay language.*

At the time the Endeavour left Princes Iſland, her crew began to feel, in all its force, the ill effects of the putrid air of Batavia; and ſoon afterwards the ſhip was a mere hoſpital, filled with unhappy wretches, ſinking under the rage of fevers and dyſenteries. In the ſpace of ſix weeks, twenty-three perſons died, excluſive of the ſeven that had been buried at Batavia: theſe were nine ſeamen, the corporal of marines, the ſhip's cook, two of the carpenter's crew, the carpenter and his mate, the old ſail-maker, who was in perfect health when all the reſt were ill at Batavia, and his mate; the boatſwain, Mr. Monkhouſe, a midſhipman, Mr. Sporing, who accompanied Mr. Banks, Mr. Parkinſon, draughthſman to that gentleman, and Mr. Green the aſtronomer.

The ſhip was brought to an anchor off the Cape of Good Hope, on the 15th of March, 1771. The captain repaired immediately to the governor, who ſaid, that ſuch refreſhments as the country ſupplied, ſhould be chearfully granted him; on which a houſe was hired for the ſick, who were to have their board and lodging on the payment of two ſhillings a day for each man.

At the time the Endeavour lay here at anchor, an Engliſh Eaſt-Indiaman ſailed for the port of London, that had buried above thirty of her crew, while ſhe was in India; and at that time had many others ſeverely afflicted with the ſcurvy; ſo that the ſufferings of the crew of the Endeavour, conſidering her long abſence from England, are not at all ſurpriſing.

They obſerved that the land over the Cape was mountainous, and totally barren; beyond theſe mountains the country is covered with a light ſand, which will not admit of cultivation: there are indeed a few cultivated ſpots, but they are hardly more than a thouſandth part of the whole country. Proviſions are brought to the Cape from the diſtance of nine hundred miles up the country, which is an evident proof of its extreme fertility, notwithſtanding what has been heretofore written to the contrary. While Captain Cook lay here, a farmer came to the Cape, bringing his young children with him, from a diſtance that took him fifteen days journey; and on his being aſked why he had not left his children with ſome neighbour, he ſaid, there was no inhabitant within five days journey of his farm. There are no trees that are even two yards in height, except in ſome plantations in the vicinity of Cape-town. This town conſiſts of near a thouſand brick houſes, the outſides of which being generally plaiſtered, they have a very pleaſing appearance. There is a canal in the main ſtreet with two rows of oak-trees on its borders, which are in a more flouriſhing ſtate than the other trees of this country: the ſtreets, which croſs each other at right angles, are very ſpacious and handſome. The inhabitants are chiefly Dutch, or of Dutch extraction: the women are beautiful in a high degree, and poſſeſs thoſe blooming countenances which denote the moſt perfect health; they are moſt of them mothers of many children, and Captain Cook ſays, they are the beſt wives in the world. 1771

Although this country is naturally ſo barren, as ſcarcely to produce any thing, yet the unceaſing induſtry of its inhabitants has here ſo effectually corrected the ſoil that there are few places where the neceſſaries of life are more plentiful, and even what are deemed luxuries, are by no means ſcarce. The Conſtantia wine is known to be excellent, but the genuine ſort is made only at one particular vineyard a few miles from the town. The gardens produce many ſorts of European and Indian fruits, and almoſt all the common kinds of vegetables. The cultivated fields yield wheat and barley of an equal quality with that of the growth of England. The ſheep of this country have tails of a very extraordinary ſize, many of which weigh upwards of a dozen pounds; the meat of this animal, as well as of the ox, is very fine food; the wool of the ſheep is rather of the hairy kind, and the horns of the black cattle ſpread much wider than thoſe of England, while the beaſt himſelf is handſomer and lighter made. The cheeſe has a very indifferent flavour; but the butter is extremely good. The pork of this country is nearly the ſame as that of Europe, and there are abundance of goats; but the inhabitants do not eat their fleſh. The country abounds in hares, altogether like thoſe of England. There are ſeveral ſpecies of the antelope; a plenty of buſtards, and two kinds of quails.

The

* Amongſt other ſuperſtitions, the people of Batavia are poſſeſſed of a notion that a woman is never brought to bed of a child without a crocodile's being alſo brought into the world, which they ſay the midwife conveys with great care and tenderneſs to ſome adjacent river. It is therefore looked upon as a duty for the relations of this animal to put food into the river for him to ſubſiſt upon; it is particularly expected that the twin brother ſhould take this charge upon him, believing that death or ſickneſs at leaſt would follow the omiſſion.

In the iſlands of Bouton and Celebes, the natives keep crocodiles in their families; and it is conjectured that this ſtrange notion of the twin crocodile originated in one of theſe iſlands. However that may be, it extends eaſtward as far as Timor, and weſtward as we have ſeen to Java and Sumatra. The following account may ſerve to give the reader a more perfect idea of the opinions the Indians entertain of theſe crocodiles, to which they give the name of *Sudara*.

"A young woman who was born at Bencoolen, and had learned ſo much Engliſh at that place as to render her language intelligible to Mr. Banks, told him, That her father, when on his death-bed, laid the ſtricteſt injunction on her to feed a crocodile which he ſaid was his ſudara. She ſaid that he informed her of the name by which the animal was to be called, which anſwered to White King." Accordingly, ſoon after her father's deceaſe, ſhe haſtened to the river and ſummoned her ſuppoſed relation, who appearing according to the ſummons, ſhe fed him with her own hands. This crocodile ſhe deſcribed to be more beautiful than the general race of reptiles, and ſaid that he had a red noſe and ſeveral ſpots on his body, and obſerved that his feet had ornaments of gold, and that he had rings of the ſame precious metal in his ears. A perſon whoſe mother was a native of Java, and whoſe father was a Dutchman, being engaged in Mr. Banks's ſervice at Batavia, told that gentleman that ſeveral of the iſlanders, and Dutchmen, as well as himſelf, had ſeen ſuch a crocodile, ornamented in the ſame manner. When Mr. Banks remarked the abſurdity of theſe tales, and took notice that crocodiles had *no ears*, the fellow replied, That the ſudaras differed conſiderably from other crocodiles, and aſſerted that they had ears, which however, were very ſmall; he added that their tongues filled their mouths, and that they had five toes."

On the iſland of Batavia there are three tribes, which are called Boetons, Macaſſars, and Bougis. Theſe people firmly believe in the exiſtence of the ſudaras, and aſſemble at ſtated periods to feed them. At theſe times, having laden a large boat with proviſions, it is launched at a place where they ſuppoſe the crocodiles frequent, and they proceed with muſic till one of them is ſeen, when they throw tobacco and proviſions over-board, as a friendly offering to the ſudaras, inviting their relations during the whole time of their ceremonies.

1771 The Dutch company have a garden at the extremity of the high ſtreet, that is more than half a mile in length, in the center walk of which, are a number of fine oak trees. A ſmall part of this garden is covered with botanical plants, but all the reſt is allotted to the production of the common vegetables for the kitchen. The whole is divided into ſquares by the form of its walks, and each ſquare is fenced in by oaks, cut into ſmall hedges. There is a menagerie of beaſts and birds, many of them known in Europe, at the upper end of this garden; and among the reſt is the *Coé Doe*, a beaſt not leſs than a horſe, which has thoſe ſpiral horns that have frequently found a place in the cabinets of the curious.

Our author ſays moſt of the Hottentots ſpeak the Dutch language, without any thing remarkable, yet when they converſe in their native language, they frequently ſtop and make a clucking with their tongues, which has a moſt ſingular and ridiculous effect to the ears of a ſtranger; and, excluſive of this clucking, their language itſelf is ſcarcely ſounded articulately. Theſe people are modeſt to the utmoſt degree of baſhfulneſs, and, though they are fond of ſinging and dancing, can hardly be prevailed on to divert themſelves with their favourite amuſements before ſtrangers: both their ſinging and dancing are alternately quick and ſlow, in the utmoſt extreme. Some of the Hottentots underſtand the art of melting and preparing copper, with which they make plates, and wear them on their foreheads as an article of finery. They are alſo capable of making knives ſuperior to thoſe they can purchaſe of the Dutch, from whom they procure the iron. They have the art of making butter, by ſhaking milk in the ſkin of a beaſt; with this butter they anoint their ſkins; or, when they cannot procure butter, they uſe the fat of the ſheep. The principal people are owners of immenſe herds of cattle, and theſe clothe themſelves with the ſkins of lions and other beaſts, which are adorned with fringes, not ill deſigned.

The Hottentots are ſo dexterous in throwing ſtones, that they will hit a mark not larger than a crown piece, at the diſtance of 100 yards. They are likewiſe expert in the uſe of arrows, and of the lance called an aſſagay, the points of which they poiſon, ſometimes with the juice of particular herbs, and ſometimes with the venom of a ſerpent; ſo that a wound received from either theſe weapons is almoſt always mortal.

On the 14th of April, 1771, the anchor of the Endeavour was weighed, and ſhe once more put to ſea, but came to an anchor again before night, near Robin Iſland. As a few vegetables were wanted, which they had neglected to take in at the Cape, the captain ſent off a boat to the iſland; but, when ſhe reached the ſhore, ſome Dutch ſoldiers forbad her crew landing, at the hazard of their lives, and the officers who commanded, very prudently returned to the ſhip. For ſome time they were at a loſs to account for this behaviour on the part of the Dutch, but it was at length recollected, that the Dutch government at the Cape of Good Hope, had aſſigned the iſland for the reception of offenders whoſe crimes were not deemed worthy of death, where their ſlavery conſiſts in digging lime ſtone, for ſuch a number of years as are thought proportionable to the heinouſneſs of their offence; and that a ſhip belonging to Denmark, which had buried moſt of her hands, had called at this iſland, and taken on board a number of theſe criminals, in order to navigate the veſſel to Europe: hence the conduct of the Dutch ſoldiers was eaſily accounted for.

The ſhip ſailed on the following day, when the maſter of her died, having haſtened his death by hard drinking, though in other reſpects he left behind him an excellent character. On Monday the 1ſt of May they came to an anchor off the iſland of St. Helena, and ſailed from the road on Saturday, in company with the Portland man of war, and ſeveral ſail of Indiamen. They kept company with the man of war and Indiamen till Friday the 10th, but Captain Cook obſerving, that they were out-ſailed by all the other ſhips, and conſequently imagining that ſome of them would reach England before him, made ſignals to ſpeak with the Portland, when the captain of the veſſel came on board, and received from Captain Cook a letter to the Lords of the Admiralty, together with a box in which were depoſited the journals of many of the officers and the ſhip's log-book.

On the 23d they loſt ſight of all the ſhips they ſailed in company with from St. Helena, and in the afternoon of the ſame day, Mr. Hicks, the firſt lieutenant, died of a conſumption, with which he had been afflicted during the whole voyage. From this time nothing remarkable happened till the veſſel came to an anchor in the Downs, on the 12th of June, 1771, having compleated the circumnavigation of the globe.

THE VOYAGE OF M. BOUGAINVILLE, ROUND THE WORLD.

Undertaken by the Order of the French King.

1766 THE laſt voyage of Captain Cook, according to the order of our Engliſh circumnavigators, ſhould have been introduced before the following narration, yet we are under the neceſſity of deferring it for ſome time, as we are promiſed the aſſiſtance of a gentleman of literary merit, who ſailed in the Reſolution, and who has ſome curious remarks to make on theſe very complete new diſcoveries made in the South Seas.—

The French having begun to make a ſettlement on Falkland's Iſlands (called by them *Iſles Malouines*) in 1764, they were demanded by the Spaniards who conceived them to belong to the continent of South America. In order to ſettle this matter, M. Bougainville was ſent out to deliver them to the claimants.

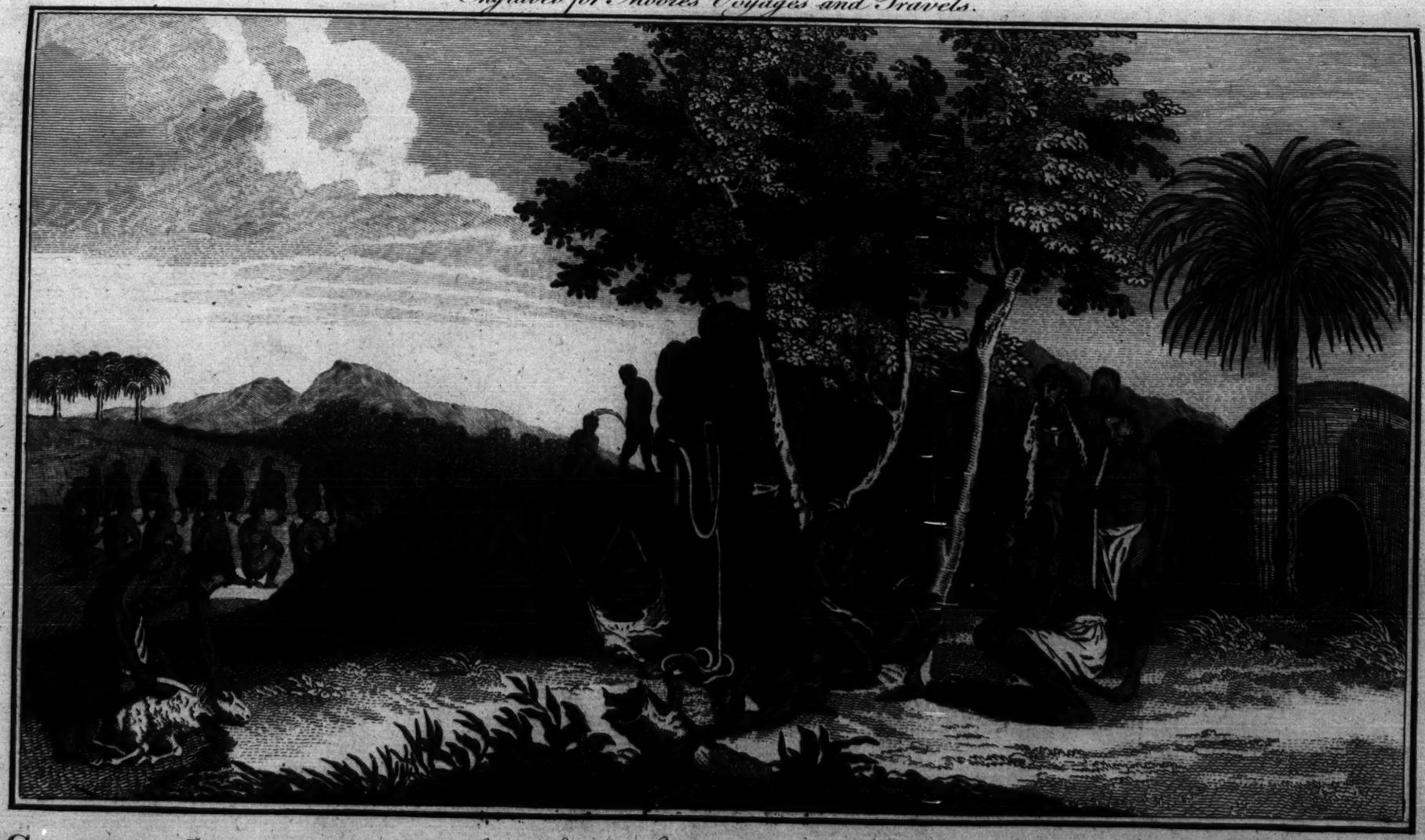
On the 15th of November, 1766, he ſailed from the port of Mindin, having under his command the frigate La Boudeuſe, La Eſmeralda, and La Liebre. Two Spaniſh frigates were to join him in the river Plata, to the commanding officer of which he was to deliver the ſettlement, and the L'Etoile ſtore ſhip was to meet him at Falkland's Iſland.

M. Bougainville embarks.

The Boudeuſe had been at ſea only two days when ſhe encountered ſuch a violent ſtorm of wind, as carried away the clue of the fore-ſail, broke the main-top-maſt, and took off the head of the main-maſt. Thus ſituated, M. Bougainville found it neceſſary to put into Breſt to refit, and to make ſome neceſſary alterations in the ſtowage of his ſhip, which was ill calculated for withſtanding the fury of thoſe ſeas he was to paſs, and particularly ſo for the navigation of the ſea round Cape Horne.

On the 5th of December, M. Bougainville ſailed from the harbour of Breſt, having on board the Prince of Naſſa-Soighen, three gentlemen who went as volunteers, eleven officers in commiſſion, and warrant-officers, ſeamen, ſoldiers, ſervants, and boys, to the number of two hundred. On the 17th they were in ſight of the Salvages, a ſmall flat iſland, which at each end riſes into a hillock: the next day they ſaw the iſland of Palma, and that of Ferro, on the 19th. M. Bougainville was now convinced of a great error in his reckoning, which he attributed to the rapidity

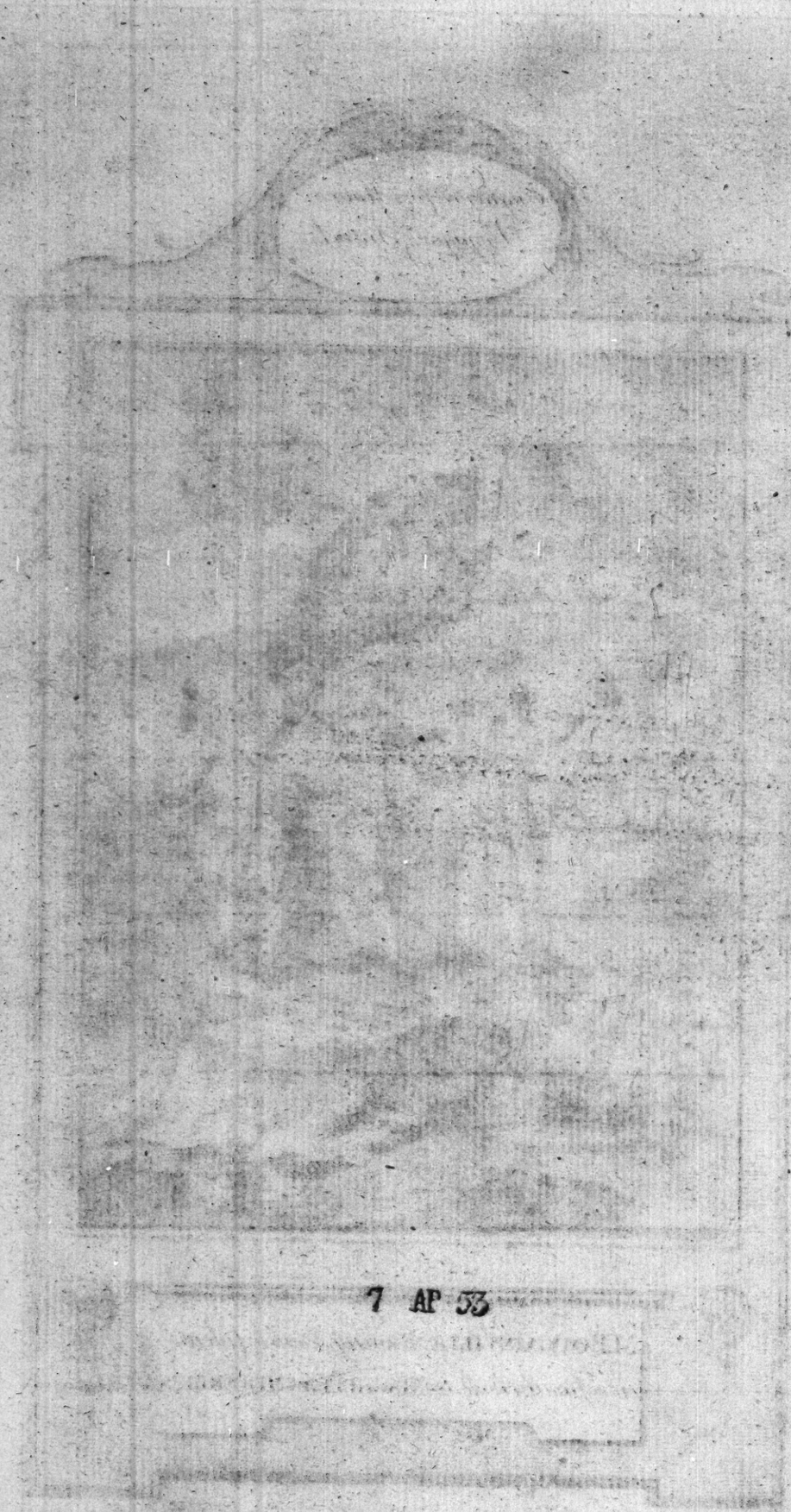
Engraved for Moore's Voyages and Travels.



CAFERS *or* HOTTENTOTS *assembled for the admission of their* YOUTH *to the state of* MANHOOD

7 AP 53

Engraved for Moore's
Voyages & Travels.
M. BOUGAINVILLE hoisting French Colours
on a small Rock, in MAGHELLAN STREIGHTS
Vangro delin
Royce sculp



7 AP 53

of the currents oppoſite the ſtreights of Gibraltar. This he corrected, took a freſh departure, and arrived at Rio de la Plata, without meeting with any thing worthy of notice.

On the evening of the 29th of January they ſaw Rio de la Plata, but as the night was dark and tempeſtuous, they lay to, with the head of the veſſel towards the offing. The next morning they had a view of the mountains of Maldonado. Here the Spaniards have a ſmall garriſoned town, in the vicinity of which are picked up ſome tranſparent ſtones; and there is likewiſe a gold mine near it, which has been worked for a few years paſt, but to little purpoſe.

The Boudeuſe came to an anchor in the bay of Montevideo on the 31ſt, and there the two Spaniſh ſhips, which were to take poſſeſſion of Falkland's Iſlands, had been at anchor for ſome weeks. Don Philip Ruio Puente, the principal in command of the Spaniſh veſſel having been appointed governor of the iſlands which were to be ſurrendered by the French, accompanied M. Bougainville to Buenos Ayres, to ſettle with the governor general, the mode of making the ceſſion; and the Prince of Naſſau-Seighen attended in this expedition.

The gentlemen made the voyage in a ſchooner; but a contrary wind preventing their paſſage by ſea, they went on ſhore above the colony of San Sacramento, and travelled over a prodigious extent of country, in which there were no roads, and where the eye was their only guide. During this expedition, they ſlept in little hovels conſtructed of leather, while the tygers howled round them on every ſide. M. Bougainville remarks the manner of their paſſing the river St. Lucca, which is wide and deep, yet amazingly rapid: being placed in a long narrow canoe, one ſide of which was beyond all proportion higher than the other, a horſe was faſtened on each ſide of the veſſel, the maſter of which pulling off all his cloaths, got into it, and ſupporting the heads of the horſes above the ſurface of the ſtream, drove them acroſs it in the beſt manner he could, and with ſome difficulty they ſtemmed the rapidity of the torrent. Having tranſacted his buſineſs at Buenos Ayres, he returned to Montevideo, on the 16th of February, and was followed in a few days by the Spaniſh governor, Don Puente. Some neceſſaries of various kinds being taken on board, the veſſels were prepared for ſailing to Falkland's Iſland. The voyagers having cauſed a ſmall veſſel to be laden with cattle for the uſe of the ſhips crew, they ſailed in company, on the 28th of February, 1767, a pilot, acquainted with the coaſt of Falkland's Iſland, having been previouſly put on board each of the Spaniſh ſhips; but this day they were forced to anchor on account of the thickneſs of a fog, which prevented their ſeeing land. The winds now proving contrary, the ſhips remained at anchor the following day; but as the current of the river ran ſtrongly in their favour, M. Bougainville ſent to acquaint the Spaniſh commander, that his veſſel being too near the Engliſh ſand-bank, off the Iſle of Flores, he thought it would be proper to ſail on the following day, even if the wind ſhould not change in their favour. To this the Spaniſh officer replied, that his pilot refuſed to weigh anchor till the wind became fair, and blew ſteady, on which Don Puente was acquainted, that the anchor of the Boudeuſe would certainly be weighed early the next morning, and that ſhe would either anchor more to the north or ply to the windward, waiting for the Spaniſh ſhips, unleſs they ſhould be unavoidably ſeparated by the violence of the weather. The ſmall veſſel laden with cattle had not come to an anchor the preceding night, nor was ſhe ſeen any more during the voyage, but it was afterwards learned that ſhe went back to Montevideo, after an abſence of three weeks from that place. The night had been ſo tempeſtuous that all the ſhips dragged their anchors, and in the morning the Spaniſh veſſels were obſerved with their main-yards lowered, and their top-maſts handed: the Boudeuſe, however, made ſail, and got out of the river before night, leaving the Spaniards ſtill at anchor. M. Bougainville had variable but chiefly bad weather, till the 23d of the month, when he came to an anchor in the bay of Falkland's Iſlands, where the Spaniſh veſſels alſo anchored, on the day following. Theſe laſt had ſuffered extremely through the inclemency of the weather; the cabin windows of Don Puente's ſhip had been broken by the violence of the waves, ſo that the ſea for ſome time poured into her in torrents; and a number of cattle, deſtined for the uſe of the colony at Falkland's Iſlands, died on the paſſage. On the 1ſt of April, M. Bougainville, in the name of the French King, ſurrendered the iſland to Don Puente, who received it for his Moſt Catholic Majeſty, with the ceremony of hoiſting the Spaniſh colours, and the firing of guns from the ſhips, and on ſhore. M. Bougainville then read a letter, in which his ſovereign granted leave to ſuch of the inhabitants as choſe to continue their reſidence, to be under the dominion of Spain; this offer was accepted by ſome, while others embarked with the garriſon and were conveyed to Montevideo in the Spaniſh ſhips. The whole expence of the French ſettlement to the time it was delivered to the Spaniards was 603,000 livres, but as his Moſt Catholic Majeſty took the ſhip's proviſions, and all ſtores of every kind, he reimburſed this ſum.*

1767

The French having come to a reſolution of ſending a colony to ſettle on Falkland's Iſlands, M. Bougainville had, in the beginning of the year 1763, made an offer to eſtabliſh the ſettlement at his expence, and that of two of his near relations, M. d'Arboulin and M. de Nerville. This being accepted, the Frenchmen gave orders for the building and equipment of a ſhip of twenty, and another of twelve guns, the former of which was called the Eagle, and the latter the Sphinx: and as ſoon as theſe veſſels had taken in ſuch ſtores as were neceſſary for the voyage, and for making the ſettlement, M. Bougainville having previouſly engaged ſome Acadian families, embarked his officers, ſeamen and ſettlers, and ſailed from the port of St. Malo, on the 15th of September, 1763. It was ſoon reſolved to form the ſettlement on the coaſt of this bay, and the commander immediately began to take a ſurvey of the inland, to learn what it produced. He obſerves that various kinds of water and land fowl, and fiſh, were all its edible productions; and though there grew no wood, either for firing or other purpoſes; this deficiency in M. Bougainville's opinion might have been well ſupplied by excellent kind of turf, which was almoſt every where to be found in great abundance. On the firſt arrival of theſe adventurers, it was an aſtoniſhing ſight to behold the birds flock round them with evident curioſity, but without the leaſt ſigns of fear: theſe harmleſs animals uſed to perch on thoſe who were ſtanding ſtill, and would at all times ſubmit to be taken with the hand: but they very ſoon learnt to be ſhy of the company of thoſe who ſought only to deſtroy them.

The colony conſiſted of nineteen men, five women, and three children; and M. Bougainville having fixed on

* M. Bougainville obſerves, that Falkland's Iſlands have been but little known till within theſe few years. They are commonly repreſented as being covered with woods, but this miſtake might very well happen in the accounts of thoſe who only ſaw them from on board a ſhip, for what are taken for woods are tall ruſhes, which grow very cloſe together, and the ſtalk being dry to the height of five feet from the ground, a large tuft ſprings from the top of it, ſo that their number, and the manner in which they grow, form ſome reſemblance of a wood. In the year 1594, Sir Richard Hawkins had ſight of theſe iſlands, and called them Hawkins's Maiden Iſlands; he ſays he ſaw fires on them, and that they were then inhabited; about the commencement of the preſent century, a French ſhip, called the St. Louis, came to an anchor on the coaſt, under the ſhelter of the iſles of Arican, which are ſome ſmall iſlands ſo called after the privateer of that name, but the commander of the St. Louis did not think it worth his while to examine the country, yet M. Bougainville ſays it is well calculated for ſheltering veſſels bound to the South Seas.

1767. on the ſpot for their reſidence, they loſt no time in building huts which they covered with ruſhes, to protect them from the inclemency of the weather. They likewiſe built a magazine, and erected a ſmall fort, in the centre of which they raiſed an obeliſk, and under it they had placed ſeveral pieces of money, and a medal, on one ſide of which was the head of the French king with the following motto, *Tibi ſerviat ultima Thule*; and on the other ſide of the medal was this inſcription: "Settlement of the Iſles Malouins, ſituated in 51 deg. 30 min. of ſouth lat. and 65 deg. 30 min. weſt long. from the meridian of Paris; by the Eagle frigate, Captain P. Duclos, Guyat, captain of a fire-ſhip, and the Sphinx ſloop Captain F. Chenard de la Giraudis, lieutenant of a frigate, equipped by Louis Antoine de Bougainville, colonel of infantry, captain of a ſhip, chief of the expedition, G. de Nerville, captain of infantry, and P. d'Arboulin, poſtmaſter general of France; conſtruction of a fort, and an obeliſk decorated with a medallion of his Majeſty Louis XV. after the plans of A. L'Huiller, engineer and of the field and army, ſerving in this expedition; during the adminiſtration of E. de Choiſeuil, duke of Stainville, in February, 1764." Monſ. Bougainville having promiſed the ſettlers, that he would ſoon bring them more companions, and give them farther aſſiſtance, his relation Monſ. de Nerville, agreed to ſtay till his return from France, as well to be an hoſtage for the performance of de Bougainville's promiſe, as to encourage the young coloniſts by participating in every hardſhip and danger to which they might be expoſed, in a ſtation ſo removed from all communication with the reſt of mankind; and in return for Monſ. de Nerville's kind compliance with the wiſh of the ſettlers, he was to be conſidered as their governor. On the 8th of April, 1764, Monſ. Bougainville weighed his anchor, and ſailed for Europe, having firſt taken poſſeſſion of the iſlands in the name, and for the uſe of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

Falkland's Iſlands ſurrendered by the French to the Spaniards.

In the month of January, 1765, he again viſited Falkland's Iſlands, where he found the ſettlers in good health, and pleaſed with their ſituation. After he had landed the ſtores which he had brought for their uſe, he ſailed to the Streights of Maghellan, where he took in timber, and paliſadoes and a number of young trees for planting on Falkland's Iſlands, which place he again left, on the 27th of April, when the whole number of coloniſts were only twenty-four. While Monſ. de Bougainville was on the above-mentioned expedition in the Streights of Maghellan, he ſaw the ſhips under the command of Commodore Byron, as we have already mentioned in the relation of that gentleman's voyage.

The coloniſts on Falkland's Iſlands were increaſed to about one hundred and fifty by a number of ſettlers which ſailed from France in the Eagle, in the year 1765. This ſhip was accompanied by the little ſtore ſhip which carried proviſions to the iſland. By this time the governor, and an officer who took care of the ſtores, had good houſes built of ſtone, and the reſt of the coloniſts were lodged in commodious huts, having walls compoſed of ſods of earth. With the wood which Monſ. Bougainville had brought from the Streights of Maghellan, they had built ſeveral ſmall veſſels adapted to examine the coaſts of the iſland, and three magazines were by this time erected, in which the public and private ſtores were to be depoſited: ſeveral kinds of grain which had been brought from France, grew very well, and promiſed a ſufficient encreaſe; and ſome train oil had been made; and ſeal-ſkins prepared by the ſettlers, with which the Eagle was loaded.*

According to M. Bougainville's account this was the ſtate of Falkland's Iſlands when the French made a ſurrender of them to the Spaniards. As to the great queſtion of the right of poſſeſſion, which M. Bougainville ſays belonged to Spain, it will be neceſſary to conſider whether the Spaniards had really a prior right to the territory.

The iſlands deſcribed.

Theſe iſlands, the reader will recollect, were ſeen by Cavendiſh in the year 1592; Captain Dampier had alſo ſight of them; and Sir Richard Hawkins falling in with them, gave them the name of Hawkins's Maiden Land. Sebald de Wert alſo ſaw them, and gave them the name of Sebald's Iſles, by which name they are laid down in the Dutch charts. They were ſeen by Dampier in 1683, and in 1689 by Strong, who called them Falkland's Iſlands, but the firſt Frenchman who ſaw them was Gouin, which was not till the year 1700. Surely from this ſtate of the evidence it does not appear that the Spaniards viſited them at all, and it ſeems the French were the laſt viſitors, yet M. Bougainville would have us believe, that the Spaniards had the prior claim to their poſſeſſion, and that this claim having been ratified by the French, is, in his opinion, indiſputable.

M. Bougainville gives us the following account of Falkland's Iſlands, which he ſays, is the reſult of the obſervations of his kinſman, M. de Nerville, who reſided on the ſettlement three years. "On the firſt arrival of the French, there was not an object ſtruck their view, except the commodiouſneſs of the port in which the ſhip lay, which could tempt them to take up their reſidence on ſo inhoſpitable a ſhore. The land was in many places broken in upon by the ſea: the mountains being without wood, had a moſt barren appearance, the fields looked dreary for want of houſes and inhabitants; an univerſal ſilence reigned, except when the howling of ſome ſea monſter diſturbed the ſolemn ſtillneſs; while a dull and gloomy ſameneſs of appearance added horror to the whole picture. Though this ſcene appeared very diſcouraging, the adventurers knew all would yield to time and diligence, and that the labour of the induſtrious would not go unrequited: indeed ſome conſolation aroſe in their breaſts, on viewing the place in a more favourable light. The climate had that kind of temperature likely to afford health, ſtrength, and long life, and was therefore preferable to the noxious air of thoſe regions where the ſickening inhabitant faints under the ſcorching heat of the vertical ſun. The iſland produced a number of plants, admirable in the cure of the ſcurvy, and other diſorders incidental to a ſea-faring life; the fiſh and the birds were exquiſitely delicious, and there were amphibious animals in immenſe numbers, while there were none of the fierce or the poiſonous kind; caſcades and rivulets fell from the mountains, which latter ſheltered the fiſherman from the violence of the winds, ſo that he could ſport or labour in the ſpacious bay in perfect ſecurity; meadows of an immenſe extent, promiſed conſtant paſturage for any number of flocks and herds, which might feed at pleaſure, undiſturbed by any tyrant lord of the ſoil. Theſe various advantages in the opinion of the French, were ſufficient to recompence them for the dangers and fatigues of the voyage, and a pledge for the full reward of their future labour.

"The ſituation of Falkland's Iſlands is between 51 and 52 degrees and a half of ſouth latitude, and ſixty-five degrees and a half of weſt longitude from Paris. From the entrance of the Streights of Maghellan, and from the coaſt of Patagonia, their diſtance is about two hundred and fifty miles.

"The harbours are large, and well defended by ſmall iſlands, moſt happily diſpoſed, and even the ſmalleſt veſſels may ride in ſafety in the creeks: while freſh water is eaſily obtained, as the ſmall rivers that deſcend from the mountains diſcharge themſelves into the ſea. The tides do not riſe and fall at any ſtated times,

* When an Engliſh colony had been ſettled at Port Egmont, in the year 1766, Capt. Macbride of the Jaſon frigate, viſited the French ſettlement, when Mr. Bougainville ſays, "he pretended that thoſe parts belonged to his Britannic Majeſty, threatened to land by force if he ſhould be denied that liberty, viſited the governor, and ſailed away the ſame day."

times, but depend on the force with which the wind agitates the waves of the sea; it was, however, observed, that just before high water, the sea rises and subsides, with a quick motion, three times within fifteen minutes; and that at the full of the moon, and during the equinoxes and solstices, this motion is much greater than at any other time. Those winds that blow from between the south and west, and the north and west points, prevail more than others, but in general the winds vary as in other countries. In summer the winds usually blow from some point between the north-west and south-west. It is remarkable, that these winds rise with the rising sun, increase in force as the sun advances to the meridian, blow most violently just at noon, decrease again with the declining sun, and totally cease about the time of its setting. The tide also frequently adds to their violence, and not unfrequently changes their directions.—The quarter from whence the winds blow in winter is a certain indication of the weather. If they come from the south-east they are not so violent as the summer winds from the same quarter; but they are accompanied with slight fogs. When they blow between the south and west points, hoar frost, hail and snow, are the certain consequences; and the weather is wet and foggy, when they come from the points between the north and the west. The snow which comes with the south and west winds, is but small in quantity, and commonly disappears from the ground in a day or two, except what lodges on the summits of the high mountains, where it will remain about two months. The running streams are never frozen, and the lakes and stagnant pools have seldom been covered with ice strong enough to bear the weight of a man for two days together. In the spring and autumn there are light hoar frosts, which being changed to a kind of dew by the warmth of the sun, are rather nourishing than prejudicial to the vegetable productions. There is seldom any thunder or lightning, nor is the climate hot or cold in any extraordinary degree. Throughout the year the nights in general are star-light, serene and fair; and upon the whole the climate is very favourable to the constitution. The fresh water of these islands is extremely good, and in great plenty: the bed of some of the rivers is a kind of tuft, which gives a yellow cast to the water, yet does not affect its taste, but the bottom of most of the rivers is either sand or gravel.

"The depth of the soil in the valleys is more than sufficient for the purposes of plowing; but before the adventurers could proceed to cultivation, they were obliged to extract the roots of the plants, which every where intersected and choaked up the ground for near a foot deep. These roots they dried and burned, and they then made a rich manure for the ground from which they had been cleared. Under the first land is a layer of black earth, ten inches or more in depth; and under that again is likewise found a yellow soil, beneath which are stones and slate, but these stones are not found on the little adjacent islands. The sea coasts are in most places composed of stones which are very fit for the purposes of building: and there are beds of a hard, fine-grained stone in several spots on this island; likewise another kind of stones, in which are particles of talc. The settlers found a kind of stone which split in pieces easily, and with which they made grinding-stones, to give an edge to their instruments. In the quarries they met with a stone of a yellowish hue, which when first taken out was so soft as to be cut with a knife; but it soon grew hard when exposed to the open air. The island likewise yielded earth fit for making bricks and potters ware, and plenty of sand and clay. In many parts of the country there were marshy places, which produced a sort of rushes with sharp points, the remains of the roots of which being continually wasting, formed the turf that was used for firing, which burned exceeding well, and had nothing offensive in its smell.

A plant of the gramen kind grows on a kind of stalk which has a sweetish flavour, and is extremely nourishing for cattle, who like it better than any other kind of pasturage. This plant flourishes on the sea-coasts, on the little isles, where it bends till the stalks unite, forming a kind of harbour, to which the sea-lions and the seals occasionally retreat. The adventurers, in several excursions, found these natural-built houses a very agreeable defence against the inclemency of the weather, and the more so, as the dry leaves which had fallen off, formed a sort of rustic bed. The above-mentioned plant is the largest that grows on the island, which likewise produces many shrubs that were very useful in heating ovens, and other purposes of firing. A sort of heath grows in great plenty there, and bears a red fruit, which is eaten by the fowls and birds. A plant was discovered which resembles a shrub, which having been tasted, was thought fit for the brewing of beer; happily the colonists were supplied with malt and molasses, to which they added the beer plant, and were enabled at all times to brew a very wholesome kind of spruce-beer, which was an admirable specific for the scurvy. This plant was likewise infused in water, in which those who had contracted any illness, while out at sea, bathed themselves, and it was found to be a fine restorative: when pressed, it yielded a mealy substance of a fragrant smell, and of a glutinous nature. The leaves of it were small, of a clear bright green, and dentated.—Other vegetables in abundance were found, which were used as antiscorbutics, particularly water-cresses, sorrel, wild parsley, a kind of maiden-hair, and a species of celery. Here was a kind of resinous gum-plant, which seems to be entirely unknown in all other parts of the globe. Though this is called a plant, it is without leaves, branches, or any other apparent stalk; and except in colour, which is that of a bright green, it more resembles a lump of earth rising from the common surface of the ground. It does not grow to the height of more than eighteen inches, and its breadth in different plants, is from two feet to two yards and upwards: the smaller plants have the form of an hemisphere, and their circumference is regular, but when they come to the full size, they terminate in irregular bunches and hollows, there are drops of tough yellow matter as big as a pea on different parts of its surface, which smell like turpentine. M. Bougainville having cut this plant close to the ground, found that it arose from a stalk, from which grew an immense number of shoots, consisting of leaves resembling stars, varying one within the other. The outsides of these shoots, which are exposed to the air are green, and the insides white: they contain a viscid milky juice, which is likewise found in the roots and the stalks. The roots extending horizontally, frequently produce fresh shoots at a distance, so that there is no instance of one of these plants being found alone. The resin of this plant was found to be a good medicine for the cure of slight wounds; but this resin was often washed away by the rains, or wasted by the influence of the air; yet it would not dissolve except in spirits; some of the seeds were brought to Europe in order to attempt the cultivation of so singular a curiosity in the vegetable world.

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"The island on which the colonists had taken up their residence is divided from east to west, by a chain of hills, to the south of which they found another plant, not unlike the resinous gum-plant, which however did not yield any resin, but produced beautiful yellow flowers, neither was it of so firm a texture, nor was its green of the same shade; yet in other respects the resemblance was very strong. On the hills was found a species of maiden-hair, which grew to a great height, and the leaves of it were shaped like the blade of a sword. The hills likewise abounded with various kinds of plants, which had the appearance of holding a middle station between stones and vegetables. It was apprehended that these might have been successfully used in dying. The place produces flowers in a considerable variety, but only one of them has any smell, which is like that of a tuberose;

1767 this flower is perfectly white; and a violet was ſeen which was of a regular height, and yellow colour. They found a fruit of the ſize of a pea, which received the name of the lucet, from its reſemblance to the North American fruit of that name; its colour is white, but the ſide which is expoſed to the ſun, changes to a red; it has the ſmell of orange bloſſoms, and an agreeable flavour; its branches, which creep along the ground, produce leaves of a dark green, which are round and ſhining, and theſe leaves infuſed into milk give a delicious taſte: the flowers grow in large numbers on the borders of lakes and the plant delights in a moiſt ſoil. Beſides the lucet only one other fruit was found, which grows on long branches, in the ſame manner as the ſtrawberry, but it has the appearance of a mulberry, which name it received, and its leaves are like thoſe of the hornbeam. They ſaw but few ſea-plants, which they could apply to any uſe; but all the coaſt of the harbour was lined with ſea-weeds, which were ſerviceable in breaking the force of the waves in ſtormy weather. Many kinds of coralines of various beautiful colours, and a great number of curious ſhells and ſpunges were waſhed on ſhore by the force of the tides. Among the ſhells were the ſmooth and ſtriated muſcle, ſcallops, whelks, and a bivalve ſhell, of a very ſingular kind, named La Poulette.

"Sea lions and ſeals are the only amphibious animals found in theſe parts; but there are great varieties of fiſh on the coaſt, ſcarce any of which are known in Europe. It ſometimes happens that the whales, getting too near the ſhore are ſtranded in the bays, where their remains have been ſeen. Bones of great magnitude have been found far up the country where the force of the waters could not have conveyed them, which made it probable that the ſoil is encreaſed, or the ſea diminiſhed.—The only quadruped found on Falkland's Iſlands is of a ſpecies between the fox and the wolf, which they called the wolf-fox; the tail of this animal is more buſhy than that of the wolf, and he lives in a kennel which he digs in the ground, on the downs, by the ſea-ſide. At one time of the year the wolf-fox is ſo lean as to appear almoſt ſtarved, from whence it is imagined that he faſts for a conſiderable time; he is about as large as a ſheep-dog, and barks very much like one, only that his barking is not loud. He ſubſiſts principally on wild fowl, in ſearch of which he travels in ſuch a direct line, from one day to another, that when our adventurers firſt beheld his track, they imagined that the iſland was inhabited, and that the natives had made the path. [M. Bougainville makes it a matter of wonder how the wolf-fox can have been conveyed to theſe iſlands without conſidering, that land-animals having got on large pieces of ice, which being broken by the ſea they have frequently been remote from thoſe of their firſt reſidence as is not uncommon on the coaſt of Greenland.] Theſe iſlands and coaſts produce land and water-fowls, in amazing numbers, many of which are the prey of falcons, hawks, eagles, and owls; while the eggs and the young birds are deſtroyed by the wolf-fox, the ſmaller fiſh are deſtroyed by the whales, the amphibious animals, and the voracious birds, ſome of which are conſtantly flying cloſe over the ſurface of the waters, while others perch themſelves on the rocks to watch the event.

The ſwan is perfectly white here, except its feet and its neck, the former of which are of a fleſh colour, and the latter as black as jet. Of wild geeſe there are four kinds, only one of which feeds on dry ground. It has very high legs, and a neck of great length; its flight is much more free than that of the Engliſh gooſe; it walks with equal eaſe, and does not cackle like the common gooſe. The feathers of the gander are white except on the wings, which have a mixture of aſh-colour and black; the wings of the female are of various colours; and its body is yellow. It ſeldom lays more than ſix eggs. The flavour of theſe birds is agreeable, and they were found to be very nouriſhing: excluſive of thoſe which are hatched on the iſland, large flocks fly thither with a weſterly wind which blows in the autumn, ſo that they were generally to be taken in great abundance, and formed a principal part of the ſettlers. Thoſe which came in the autumn were eaſily known from thoſe reſident on the iſland, by their not being ſhy.

The other three kinds were of various colours, yellow, white, black, and aſh-colour; they are not by far ſo beautiful as thoſe above deſcribed; and as they live entirely on fiſh, their fleſh acquires a diſagreeable taſte; one of theſe three ſpecies ſeldom riſes from the water, and is almoſt conſtantly making a very diſagreeable noiſe. A ſoft, thick down, either grey or white, grows under the feathers of all theſe geeſe, as it does likewiſe under thoſe of the ſwan. The rivers and ponds of Falkland's Iſlands abound in teals of two ſpecies, and two of wild ducks; of the latter ſome are perfectly white, and the other totally black, but in other reſpects they reſemble thoſe of England and France. Theſe birds are all very fine food, and to be procured in any numbers. One kind of the teal is very ſmall, but the other is as large as the duck, and its bill is blue. The bellies of ſome of them are alſo covered with feathers of a blue colour.

"The iſland produces a bird which M. Bougainville calls the diver. * Of theſe divers there are two kinds, of which the moſt plentiful has brown feathers, with no other variation than that the feathers on the belly are of a ſomewhat lighter colour than thoſe on the back. The belly of the other kind is white, the back grey; and the feathers on the belly are very thick, ſhining, and ſoft. The eyes of theſe birds are as bright as rubies, and are encircled with a ring of white feathers. The female hatches only two young birds at a time, which ſhe carries on her back, not ſubjecting them to the coldneſs of the water, till feathers have taken place of the down with which they are hatched. Its toes are quite thin, and of a green colour, and being round towards the claw, they are not unlike the leaves of ſome plants; their feet are not webbed, as is common among water-fowl, but their toes are ſeparate, having a ſtrong membrane on each ſide. The coloniſts gave the name of ſaw-bills to two kinds of birds which bore a great ſimilitude to each other, the chief difference conſiſting in their ſize and in the bellies of moſt of them being white, while few were obſerved to have brown feathers on the belly; the feathers on the reſt of the body are of a dark blue, as ſoft as ſilk, and grow very cloſe together. Their feet are webbed and fleſh coloured, and their bills pointed; they lay their eggs on the rocks, where great numbers of them live together; and they ſubſiſt on fiſh, thouſands of which they deſtroy. The ſettlers not only ate the eggs of theſe birds, but frequently killed many ſcores of them at a time, and their fleſh was found to be excellent food. They had ſo little apprehenſion of being caught that it was an eaſy matter to knock them down with a ſtick, and in this manner they were uſually taken. A bird, called by the Spaniards *Quebrantahueſſos*, which meaſures more than two yards from the extremity of its wing, deſtroys the ſaw-bills. [This bird of prey has a long bill with two hollow tubes of the ſame kind of ſubſtance as the bill, and its feet are webbed. Some of the ſeamen called this bird the albetroſs, but it differs conſiderably from the common bird of the name, nor is it an eaſy matter to determine preciſely on its ſpecies, from the imperfect account which M. Bougainville has given of it.] Gulls, and mews of different beautiful plumage, ſerved to direct our coloniſts what was the proper time for taking pilchards. Theſe birds fly in flocks over the ſurface of the water, dart on the pilchard and ſwallow it; when they catch another of theſe fiſh, they diſgorge the one which had been previouſly ſwallowed, and ſo proceed.

When

* From the deſcription he gives of it, this bird is conjectured to be the grebe, which abounds on the lake of Geneva, and of the ſkin of which the moſt elegant muffs and tippets are made.

When the pilchards are not in ſeaſon, they feed on various other ſorts of ſmall fiſh. The eggs of theſe birds were found in great abundance upon the leaves of a plant, on the borders of the marſhes, and they proved to be very good eating. Three kinds of penguins breed on the iſland, one of theſe is a remarkably grand and elegant bird, the belly of which is a clear white, the back a kind of blue, and it has a ruff round its neck near the head, of a bright yellow, which deſcending towards the belly, ſeparates the white feathers from the blue ones; theſe birds do not live together in numbers, but ſeek the moſt quiet and retired places of abode. One of them being caught with an intention of being brought to France, ſoon grew ſo tame that it followed the perſon who fed it; its food was bread, fiſh and fleſh; but there was ſomething more wanting for its ſuſtenance for it gradually loſt its fatneſs till it died. The ſecond kind of penguin anſwers to thoſe which have been mentioned in our former voyages. The third kind of penguins lay their eggs among the high cliffs of the rocks, where they reſide together in great numbers, never ſeeking that ſolitude of which the firſt are ſo fond. They are much ſmaller than the others, and were named hopping penguins, from their method of moving, which is very much like hopping; they have gold coloured feathers which form a kind of eye-brows, and a tuft of the ſame colour which they raiſe when they are diſpleaſed. This bird has a very chearful look, and its general colour is a deep yellow.

At different times, but not frequently, three kinds of petrels were ſeen by the French. Theſe birds build their neſts on the ſea-coaſt, where their young were ſometimes found, covered with down. One ſort of them is quite white, their bill is red, and not unlike a pigeon; a ſecond ſort is larger; and the third ſmaller than the pigeon; and theſe two ſorts have white feathers on the belly, while every other part of the body is black.

Eagles were alſo ſeen of three different ſpecies, two of which are black, with white and yellow feet, and the other is of a dull white. All theſe ſubſiſt on ſnipes and other ſmall birds, which they ſeize every opportunity to deſtroy. Egrets, a ſpecies of the heron, were frequently obſerved on the iſland:—they make a diſagreeable noiſe, not much unlike the barking of a little dog; and they never take any food till towards the evening.

Two kinds of the thruſh came regularly to the iſland in the autumnal months, one of which was of the ſame colour as the European thruſh, and others yellow, except on the belly, which was ſpotted with black. There was a third kind of thruſh, which lived on the iſland throughout the year, the feathers on the belly of which are of a bright red; this was called the red bird. A bird which they called the ſea-pie, was conſtantly ſeen on the coaſts, the feet of which were white, the bill red, and the feathers black and white. This bird whiſtled a kind of note which the coloniſts found it eaſy to imitate, and by that means they came near enough to catch them without much trouble; they live on ſhrimps, which they pick up after the ebbing of the tide. Great numbers of curlews, the ſame as thoſe of Europe, were conſtantly ſeen in the ſummer; and ſnipes of the European kind were found in abundance. It is eaſy to ſhoot theſe birds as they fly in a regular manner. At the time when they are breeding, they aſcend to a great height, and having ſoared ſome time in the air, they drop into their neſts, which are built on the ground, in the open field, where it is moſt free from graſs or other herbage, ſo that thoſe neſts are very eaſily found; the ſnipes are excellent food if dreſſed towards the decline of the year, but in the breeding ſeaſon they are very lean, and not fit to eat.

The amphibious animals of Falkland's Iſlands are ſeals and ſea-lions, which have been already deſcribed. Of the fiſh which were found on the coaſt of Falkland's Iſlands, one that was taken in great plenty was called the mullet, from the likeneſs it bears to the European fiſh of that name, the coloniſts dried many of theſe, which are full a yard in length, the ſeals prey on theſe fiſh whenever they can catch them, but, by a natural inſtinct, they are taught to avoid theſe voracious enemies, by ſheltering themſelves in holes, among ſlimy ground, on the banks of the rivers, and in theſe places they were frequently taken. A fiſh called the *Gardeau*, about twelve inches in length, was ſeen in great abundance, and another named the *Sardine*, was found only at the commencement of the winter ſeaſon; ſome white porpoiſes were taken in the bays, when the weather was fair, and ſome eels in thoſe cavities of the rocks which are filled with water. A freſh-water fiſh was found, about the ſize of a trout, without ſcales, the colour of it was green. Many ſmaller fiſh were caught with the hook and line, among them was one ſpecies the head of which reſembled that of a pike, and it had no ſcales. A few ſoals were found; and among the ſhell-fiſh were muſcles, a very ſmall kind of ſhrimp, a crab, the feet of which were blue, and a kind of cray-fiſh, or prawn, the colour of which was naturally red, without boiling, but theſe were only taken through curioſity, as their taſte was much inferior to thoſe European fiſh which are nearly of the ſame ſpecies. 1767

Every one knows the diſpute between Great Britain and Spain relative to theſe iſlands, and how it was at laſt terminated. It happened in that caſe as it generally does in matters of ſuch a nature, that ſome were for crying up the place for a paradiſe, whilſt others repreſented it as barren and not worth contending for. If we take the medium between theſe, we ſhall find ourſelves nearer to the truth. The accounts which have juſt been given on the one hand, indicate not a barren ſoil; but then it is to be conſidered, on the other, that thoſe who firſt ſettle colonies which they wiſh to thrive are apt to be ſtruck with every thing which appears to recommend them, and to give rather flattering deſcriptions of them. On the whole, theſe iſlands ſeem not to be deſtitute of moſt of the productions common to the latitude wherein they are ſituated, wood excepted; and it ſhould ſeem that by time and labour the ſoil is capable of improvement.

After waiting here till the 2d of June, 1767, in expectation of the Etoile ſtore ſhip, when it was found that ſhe did not arrive, M. Bougainville conſidered, that as his veſſel would hold no more than ſix months proviſions, and that he had only two on board, it would be an act of raſhneſs to attempt the croſſing the great Pacific Ocean alone; he therefore reſolved to ſteer to Rio Janeiro, at which place he had appointed the Etoile to join him, in caſe any unforeſeen accident ſhould prevent her reaching Falkland's Iſlands, before he left the harbour of that place. They had fine weather from the 2d till the 20th of June, on which day they had ſight of the mountains on the main land of Brazil; and they ſaw the entrance of Rio Janeiro on the day following. A number of fiſhing-boats being obſerved near the ſhore, M. Bougainville hoiſted Portugueſe colours, and ordered a cannon to be fired; on which a boat put off to the ſhip, and a pilot was engaged to conduct her into the road.

The coaſt of this country is broken by a number of ſmall hills, which ſerve to give an agreeable variety to the proſpect. The land is rather mountainous, and well cloathed with woods.

The ſhip having arrived off Santa Cruz, a Portugueſe officer was ſent to enquire the reaſon of her ſailing into it; on which M. Bougainville ſent one of his officers to acquaint the viceroy of the Braſils, with his motives for touching there, and to demand whether if he ſhould ſalute the fort, the compliment would be returned. The governor haughtily replied, that when a perſon bowed to another, whom he might caſually meet in the ſtreet, he was not previouſly certain that his compliment would be returned, and that if M. Bougainville ſhould fire his guns by way of ſalute, he (the viceroy) had then to conſider what was proper to be done. In conſequence of this inſolent meſ-

1767 ſage the French commander reſolved very properly not to ſalute at all.

About the ſame time a canoe was diſpatched from the captain of the Etoile, to inform M. Bougainville of the ſafe arrival of that veſſel which now lay in the port. The commander, M. de la Giraudais, ſent word, that inſtead of leaving France in the month of December, various accidents had combined to detain him two months beyond that time: that when he had been three months at ſea, his rigging was ſo greatly damaged, and his veſſel admitted ſo much water, that he was obliged to make the harbour of Montevideo, whence he ſailed for his preſent ſtation, and had come to an anchor but a few days before M. Bougainville. The Etoile had at this time ſalt proviſions ſufficient to ſupply both veſſels for almoſt a year and a half; but as her ſtock of bread, &c. was inſufficient for the conſumption of more than ſeven weeks, M. Bougainville reſolved on ſailing to Rio de la Plata, to take in a ſtock, as neither flour, wheat, nor biſcuit could be purchaſed at Rio Janeiro.

On the 22d of June, 1767, M. Bougainville and his officers, paid a viſit to the viceroy of the Braſils, which was returned three days afterwards on board the Boudeuſe; when the viceroy gave permiſſion for the purchaſe of a ſloop, which the adventurers imagined might be very ſerviceable during the long voyage they propoſed to make. The chaplain of the Etoile having been murdered ſome days before the arrival of the Boudeuſe, under the windows of the viceroy's palace, that gentleman promiſed that he would endeavour to find out, and ſeverely puniſh the perpetrators of the horrid deed: he appeared very remiſs in regard to the fulfilling his promiſe in the execution of this neceſſary piece of juſtice. Yet, contrary to his uſual cuſtom, he behaved with politeneſs to the French officers, for ſeveral days after this viſit; and acquainted them, that he propoſed to entertain them with an elegant collation in bowers of orange-trees and jaſmine, on the banks of the river; and he actually gave orders that a box at the opera ſhould be aſſigned for their reception.*

At this time there lay in the harbour of Rio de Janeiro a French ſhip called the Morning Star, and a Spaniſh man of war, named the Diligent; and while the viceroy behaved with all imaginable politeneſs to the Frenchmen, he had artfully protracted the ſtay of the Spaniard no leſs than eight months, during all which time her commander had not been able to procure the articles neceſſary for the repair of his veſſel, and without which ſhe could not proceed on her voyage. In this dilemma, Don Franciſco de Medina, captain of the Diligent, applied to M. Bougainville for the aſſiſtance of his carpenters and caulkers, who were immediately ſent, both from the Boudeuſe and the Etoile.

The complaiſance with which the viceroy treated the gentlemen on board the French veſſels, ſurpriſed the Spaniards, who told them, that they muſt not long expect ſo great a ſhare of his favours; and they had ſoon reaſon to be convinced that the prediction was founded in truth; for though the viceroy had permitted M. Bougainville to purchaſe a ſloop, and he had actually agreed for one, his excellency thought proper to forbid the delivery of it, and notwithſtanding they had contracted with this tyrannical governor for the purchaſe of ſome timber from the royal dock yards, he afterwards changed his mind, and would not let them have it. He even went ſo far as to refuſe M. Bougainville, and the gentlemen on board his ſhip, permiſſion to lodge in a houſe near the town, while the Boudueſe was repairing, though the owner had given his conſent.

The French commander now determined with two of his officers, to pay the viceroy a viſit, in order to make proper remonſtrances on the line of conduct he had purſued; but this haughty man would not hear him ſpeak: on the contrary, he commanded him to leave his houſe. M. Bougainville refuſed to do ſo, and even kept his ſeat ſome time after the guards had been called, who neglected to obey the ſummons; and the French departed quitely. Not long after this affair, an additional number of guns were placed round the palace, and the viceroy commanded that every Frenchman, who might be ſeen in the ſtreets after ſunſet, ſhould be taken into cuſtody. He likewiſe ordered the captain of the French ſhip called the Morning Star, to quit the ſituation where he lay, and to anchor his veſſel under the fort of Villagahon, which order was accordingly complied with.

Baniſhment and impriſonment were the fate of two of the Portugueſe officers for having behaved civilly to M. Bougainville, and the French apprehending nothing but ill uſage from the effects of the viceroy, the Count D'Acunha's tyrannical diſpoſition prepared to quit the place; though the inhabitants were willing enough to hold an intercourſe with them. M. Bougainville was ſupplied with ſome timber proper for the repairs of his veſſel by a captain of a Spaniſh man of war, and ſome planks were alſo ſold him by an inhabitant of Rio Janeiro.

M. Bougainville's account of this place being remarkable, and containing many intereſting particulars, we ſhall here recite it, though we have formerly given our reader ſome account of this ſettlement.

"The mines (ſays our author) which lie neareſt Rio Janeiro, are not leſs than an hundred and twenty miles from that city, and are denominated *The General Mines*. The king of Portugal, who has a fifth ſhare in theſe mines, ſeldom receives leſs than one hundred and twelve arobas of gold from their annual produce.

"There are mines at Sero Frio, Sabara, and Rio des Mortes, which are under the juriſdiction of the managers of the General Mines. Near Sero Frio is a river, the ſtream of which being turned out of its uſual channel, diamonds, topazes, chryſolites, and other valuable ſtones are found among the pebbles in the bed of the river; nor are any diamonds brought from the Braſils but ſuch as are found on this particular ſpot.

"The ſtones thus found are deemed the property of the owners of the mines: but the king of Portugal has appointed a ſurveyor, to whom they muſt give an account of what diamonds are found, with the utmoſt exactneſs. Theſe the ſurveyor puts into a caſket which has three locks, and is incloſed in iron plates, the viceroy keeping one of the keys, the *Provador de Hazienda Reale* the ſecond, and the ſurveyor the third. This caſket, and the keys with which it is locked, are then incloſed in a ſecond caſket, on which theſe three gentlemen affix their ſeals, and this again is placed in a third, whereon the viceroy puts his ſeal, and thus ſhips the treaſure for Portugal, where the coffers are opened in the preſence of his Moſt Faithful Majeſty, who having ſelected ſuch of the diamonds as he pleaſes, the owners of the mines are paid for them, at a rate ſtipulated by a previous agreement.

"The number of ſlaves employed in ſearching for diamonds is about eight hundred, and for every day's labour of each of theſe, the king of Portugal receives a Spaniſh dollar from the proprietors of the mines. It is extremely dangerous for any perſon to ſecrete a diamond; yet the practice is very common, as they can be ſo eaſily hidden. When a perſon is detected in this illicit trade, if he is rich, he is ſentenced to deliver up the diamonds, to pay twice their value, ſuffer one year's impriſonment, and then be baniſhed to the coaſt of Africa for life; but if the offender be poor, he is generally doomed to ſuffer capital puniſhment. In every diſtrict of the Braſils where gold is found, a houſe is erected, to which it muſt be

6 carried,

* Here, ſays our author, a band of Mulattoes performed the beſt pieces of Metaſtaſio, while the compoſitions that the greateſt geniuſes of Italy ever produced were executed by an orcheſtra, which was under the direction of a hump-backed prieſt in his canonicals.

Engraved
for Moores Voyages
and Travels.
ANIMALS of MARAGNAN,
an Island on the Coast of Brazil,
in South America.
F. Smith sculp.

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carried, and the king's ſhare paid; the reſt is ſent to Rio Janeiro, where it is melted into wedges, and in that ſtate returned to the owners: theſe wedges being numbered, and ſtamped with the king's arms, the weight is marked on each wedge, the gold is likewiſe aſſayed, and the alloy ſtamped on it, for the greater expedition when it comes to be coined.

"About ninety miles from Rio Janeiro is a place called Praybuna, where there is an office for regiſtering the ingots which are the property of private people, and as all perſons coming from the mines muſt neceſſarily paſs by this place, two military officers are ſtationed here, having fifty men under their command, whoſe buſineſs it is ſtrictly to examine, that no illicit trade is carried on, ſo that every one who paſſes is obliged to ſubmit to the ſtricteſt ſearch. At this place, excluſive of the tax to the king, men and boats are taxed with a farther toll of a real and a half each, the moiety of which becomes the property of the officers and ſoldiers, and the other moiety goes to his Portugueſe Majeſty.

"The ingots of gold, which belong to private people having been regiſtered at Praybuna, are then carried to Rio Janeiro, where the proprietors are paid their value in demi-doubloons, which are worth about thirty ſhillings each of Engliſh money, but there is a profit to the king, for alloy, and for carrying theſe demi-doubloons, of about four ſhillings and ſixpence on each. The mint at Rio Janeiro is a very noble building, admirably adapted for the purpoſe of coining money, which is performed with great expedition; and this, indeed, is rendered neceſſary, becauſe two Portugueſe fleets uſually arrive nearly at the ſame time that the gold is brought from the mines.

"The fleet which arrives from Porto brings coarſe cloth, ſeveral articles of food, with brandy, wines, and vinegar, and this, with the fleet that comes from Liſbon, occaſions Rio Janeiro, to be a place of very conſiderable trade; the effects, on being landed, are charged with a duty of ten per cent. to his Portugueſe Majeſty.

"Soon after the earthquake at Liſbon, in the year 1755, an impoſt of two and a half per cent. under the name of a free gift to the king, was laid on all goods landed at Rio Janeiro, ſo that the whole duty paid is no leſs than twelve and a half per cent. The latter duty is inſtantly paid on the goods being brought on ſhore, but the officers of the cuſtom-houſe will take ſecurity for the payment of the former at the expiration of half a year. There are two diſtricts, named Pratacon and Quiaba, the mines of which produce diamonds; but no perſon is permitted to ſeek for them, that the market may not be overſtocked; for it is evident, that to make diamonds plentiful, would be to render them of little value. His Portugueſe Majeſty is at an expence of about 145,000l. ſterling, annually, for repairing the ſhips and public buildings, working the mines, and paying all his ſervants, civil and military. *

The Boudeuſe and Etoile weighed their anchor on the 14th of July, 1767; but as the wind abated ſoon afterwards, they were obliged again to bring to, before they could get out of the harbour. They ſailed, however, on the following day, and in the night of the 19th, the main-top-ſail of the Boudeuſe was carried away by the violence of the wind. †

1767

On the morning of the 28th the French voyagers had ſight of the Caſtilles, at the diſtance of ſomething more than 30 miles. They ſaw the entrance of a bay, which M. Bougainville conjectured to be the ſame on the banks of which the Spaniards have erected a fort. The veſſels ſailed into Rio de la Plata, and were within ſight of the Maldonados on the 29th. Early in the morning of the 31ſt they had a view of the Iſle of Lobos, and before night came to an anchor in the bay of Montevideo. As ſoon as the veſſels were anchored, the governor ſent a gentleman on board Monſ. Bougainville's ſhip, who acquainted him, that moſt of the Jeſuits in thoſe parts had been lately ſeized, and their eſtates confiſcated, in conſequence of an order received from the court of Spain, and it ſeemed that theſe victims of ſuperior power had ſcarcely made the leaſt reſiſtance, and that they bore their misfortunes with fortitude. No leſs than forty of them had been taken away in the veſſels which brought the orders for their diſgrace.

As it was neceſſary that M. Bougainville ſhould remain in his preſent ſtation, till the equinox was paſſed; his firſt care was to build an hoſpital for the ſick, and to take lodgings at Montevideo. This being done, he repaired to Buenos Ayres, in order to haſten the proviſion of ſuch neceſſaries as he wanted, for which he was to pay the ſame price as the king of Spain uſually gave for the ſame commodities.——He was alſo deſirous of converſing with the governor-general, Don Franciſco Buccarelli about the behaviour of the governor of Rio Janeiro; and he ſoon learnt that Don Buccarelli, inſtead of making repriſals on the viceroy of the Braſils, which he could have done, very much to the prejudice of Portugal, had, more prudently, only ſent a narrative of his proceedings to the court of Spain. Don Buccarelli was however ſo ready to ſupply M. Bougainville with ſuch articles as he ſtood in need of, that in leſs than three weeks two veſſels ſailed for Montevideo, with ladings of flour and biſcuits for the uſe of the French ſhips. M. Bougainville alſo went to Montevideo, leaving an inferior officer at Buenos Ayres, to ſee the remainder of the proviſions ſupplied. They now expected to ſail very ſhortly, when an accident happened that detained them ſome weeks beyond the intended time. A Spaniſh regiſter ſhip being at anchor, a violent hurricane aroſe in the night, and driving her againſt the Etoile, carried away part of the head of that veſſel, and broke her bowſprit on a level with the deck. The leaks of the latter being encreaſed by this accident, it was abſolutely neceſſary that ſhe ſhould undergo a thorough repair, but as there was not timber enough at Montevideo for this purpoſe, M. Bougainville obtained Don Buccarelli's permiſſion that ſhe might go up the river, to the Encenada de Baragan, a little bay formed by its mouth, and in this bay by the 21ſt of October ſhe was put in a condition proper for ſailing, and began to take in the neceſſary proviſions.

In the road of Encenada, M. Bougainville found a frigate and ſeveral merchant ſhips which were bound for Europe, and two Spaniſh veſſels, which having taken in a ſtore of ammunition and proviſions, were

* The amount ariſing to the king of Portugal in ſterling money, from the royal revenues of Rio Janeiro is as follows:

	Dollars.
The king's fifths are generally, one year with another, about one hundred and fifty arobas of gold, which make in Spaniſh dollars	1,125,000
The duty on diamonds amounts to	240,000
The profit ariſing from the coinage of money is	400,000
The duty of ten per cent. paid at the cuſtom-houſe is	350,000
The free gift of two and a half per cent. amounts to about	87,000
Various produces of the mines, with the poll-tax, and monies ariſing from the ſale of offices and employments	225,000
A duty laid on negro ſlaves produces	110,000
A tenth on all the food of the country, and the taxes on ſoap, ſalt and train-oil, bring a revenue of	130,000
Total	2,667,000

From whence it appears that the king of Portugal's revenues ariſing from Rio Janeiro, amount anually to above 450,000 l. ſterling.

† On board of M. Bougainville's ſhip was a profeſſor of aſtronomy, who made the expedition with a view of diſcovering the longitude at ſea, and as an eclipſe of the ſun was to happen on the 25th of the month, great hopes were formed that an opportunity would thereby be obtained of making the wiſhed-for diſcovery; but it happened that theſe ſanguine expectations were all fruſtrated, by the intervention of clouds, which obſcured the face of the ſun almoſt during the whole time of the eclipſe.

1767 were to go to Falkland's Iſlands; and from thence to the South Seas, to take on board the Jeſuits of Peru and Chili, two xebecks likewiſe lay here, one of which was loaded with preſents from his moſt Catholic Majeſty, to the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, in return for their conduct towards the crew of the Conception, which about two years before was wrecked upon the coaſt.

The French commander obſerves that the people on the bank of the Encenada de Baragan live in mean huts, conſtructed of ruſhes, and covered with leather, which are ſituate on a ſoil ſo barren that common neceſſaries are hard to be got. This ſhip ſailed from the road of Encenada de Baragan for Spain, which had on board 250 Jeſuits and moſt of the French families that had left Falkland's Iſlands. Two Spaniſh regiſter ſhips arrived at this time, one of which being in great diſtreſs, M. Bougainville ſhewed his humanity by ſending many of his crew on board her, and ſhe was brought to Montevideo harbour by their aſſiſtance.

From the Encenada the Etoile ſailed on the 30th of October, and was followed the next day by the Boudeuſe, having on board proviſions for ten months, and in their paſſage to Montevideo, they loſt three men, a boat which they were in, running foul of the ſhip as ſhe was wearing; it was with difficulty that two others were ſaved and the boat was recovered.

A ſtorm ſoon overtook them after they had ſailed from Montevideo, in which both the veſſels loſt moſt of the cattle which they had purchaſed for ſtore.

At this time they had uncertain winds, and violent currents which drove the veſſels to the 45th degree of ſouth latitude, and at length they made Cape Virgin, which Sir John Narborough called, Cape Virgin Mary.

In their courſe they ſaw many albatroſſes and petrels, penguins, ſeals, and whales; and the ſkins of the latter appeared to be covered with little worms, ſomewhat like theſe that are found at the bottoms of veſſels in harbour, which lie there till they are rotting.

They made the land of Terra del Fuego, ſoon after they had ſight of Cape Virgin, and for many days afterwards had nothing but contrary winds and ſtorms. The wind blowing more in their favour for a little while, on the third of December they tried to reach the ſtreights mouth, but a calm and a thick fog ſucceeded, when the breeze roſe up again, night coming on, they ſteered to the weſtward.

They ſtood in for land again on the 4th, as the wind was once more favourable; but the rain and hazy weather hindering them from ſeeing the coaſt, they were obliged to keep the ſea; when it cleared up a little after, they made another attempt to enter the ſtreights, when the wind changed, the fog returned, and they were obliged to lie to between the main land, and the two ſhores of Terra del Fuego. On the 4th of December the foreſail of the Boudeuſe was ſplit by the fury of the winds, and as at this time they were in no deeper water than 20 fathom, they determined to ſcud under their bare poles, leſt they ſhould run foul of ſome breakers which lie off Cape Virgin to the ſouth ſouth-eaſt. They now made other fruitleſs attempts to enter the ſtreights, ſometimes being within ſight of the cape, and at other times a conſiderable diſtance from it. The night of the 15th was ſpent in ſtanding off and on; and early in the morning of the 6th they were in ſight of Cape Poſſeſſion, and likewiſe of Terra del Fuego. They now took the advantage of a weſterly tide, and tried to get cloſe to the coaſt of Patagonia. They kept ſounding all the night between the 6th and 7th, not ſailing at a greater diſtance from the coaſt than three leagues. What they had gained by plying to the windward, they loſt by the oppoſition of the currents, and about noon on the 7th, were in their former ſtation. This day they had ſight of Cape Orange, which forms the firſt narrow paſs in the ſtreights. This narrow paſs M. Bougainville called a gut. It is rather more than forty miles from Cape Virgin to this firſt gut, and the ſtreights for this diſtance are of different breadths, but ſeldom leſs than five, or more than ſeven leagues. On the north coaſt the land is high and healthy, and of a regular appearance, as far as Cape Poſſeſſion, in the bays of which there are ſeveral dangerous rocks, to which Sir John Narborough gave the name of Aſſes Ears. In the afternoon when they had reached the entrance of the gut, though the wind blew freſh, and all their ſails were ſet, the tide ran with ſo great force, that they were driven backwards, inſtead of advancing in their voyage. In the evening the ſhips were anchored in Poſſeſſion Bay, and on the eighth, by the aſſiſtance of a ſtrong breeze, they ſtemmed the tide, and afterwards, by different tacks, they got through the firſt narrow entrance of the gut, with the wind againſt them.—During the preceding night, they had obſerved fires on the ſhore, and this morning they diſcovered a white flag, which the Patagonians had erected on a riſing ground; on which a white flag was likewiſe hoiſted at the maſt head of each veſſel. The flag which theſe Patagonians held up, was one given them by the commander of the Etoile, when that ſhip lay in Boucault's Bay, in the month of June, 1766, ſo that it is evident that the people were the ſame. M. Bougainville ſpeaks in very grateful terms of the care theſe Indians had taken to preſerve the flag.

As the ſhips were paſſing the above-mentioned gut, a number of men cloathed in the ſkins of beaſts were obſerved on Terra del Fuego, who ran along the ſhore with the utmoſt expedition, in order to keep pace with the veſſel; they alſo frequently beckoned with their hands, as if they wiſhed the voyagers to ſtop. The Spaniards ſay that the natives of that part of Terra del Fuego, are leſs ſavage in their manners than moſt other Indians. When M. Bougainville ſailed from Rio de la Plata, a Spaniſh ſhip was on the point of ſailing thence to convey ſome prieſts to inſtruct theſe people in the doctrines of Chriſtianity. The ſhip having come to an anchor in the afternoon, in Boucault's Bay, ſeveral officers from each veſſel, having fire-arms with them, embarked in boats, and went on ſhore at the bottom of the bay. The common ſailors were ordered to remain in the boats, and to keep them a-float. The gentlemen were no ſooner landed than half a dozen of the natives came riding up to them in full ſpeed. When they were advanced within fifty yards of the French, they diſmounted and came forward, pronouncing the word *Shawa*. Having come up quite cloſe, they held out their arms, and laid them on thoſe of the officers, whom they ſhook hands with, and embraced them, repeatedly ſaying *Shawa*, which word was repeated by M. Bougainville and his officers. The Patagonians appeared to be much pleaſed with the company of their new friends; but it was obſerved that ſome of them had a mixture of fear imprinted on their countenances: this, however, was ſoon removed by the hoſpitality of the officers, who ſent to the boats for bread cakes, which were as readily eaten as they were chearfully given. More of the Indians ſoon approached, among whom were ſome children. They expreſſed no kind of ſurpriſe at the ſight of their viſitants, and ſeemed not to be unacquainted with the uſe of fire-arms, as appeared by their making a noiſe which reſembled the report of a gun. The good-nature of theſe people was expreſſed in all their actions: ſome of the French gentlemen being engaged in collecting plants, the Patagonians no ſooner ſaw what kinds they collected than they immediately began to pull up and bring the ſame ſorts. One of them obſerving an officer engaged in this employment, went to him, and pointing to his eye, which had received an injury, intimated his wiſh, that ſome herb might be ſhewn him the virtues of which would cure the diſorder; and this was deemed to be a concluſive proof that they had an idea of the medical powers of herbs. M. Bougainville received from theſe Patagonians a number of ſkins of the guanacoe and other beaſts, in exchange for a few trinkets on which they

they ſeemed to ſet a great value. Some of the gentlemen having red cloaths on, the natives advanced, and ſtroaked them with their hands, ſeeming highly delighted with every thing of that colour; they alſo made ſigns for ſome tobacco, and as often as any thing was given them, they cried out *Shawa*, in a very loud and diſagreeable tone. A ſmall quantity of brandy being preſented to each of the Patagonians, they had no ſooner drank, than they ſtruck their hands repeatedly againſt their throats, and blew with their mouths, ſo as to produce a kind of trembling ſound, at the concluſion of which they had a ſingular quivering of the lips. The evening advanced, and the gentlemen repaired to their ſhips, which was no ſooner obſerved by the Indians, than their uneaſineſs was expreſſed in their countenance, and they intimated by ſigns, that they wiſhed them to remain longer, as they expected more of their brethren. The French, on the contrary, made ſigns that they would come again the next day, and bring ſuch articles as the natives had requeſted of them. M. Bougainville and his party now walked to their boats accompanied by the Indians, one of whom ſung ſongs till they reached the coaſt, and ſeveral of them went into the water, as far as where the boats lay, and ſeized all the articles they could lay their hands on, but when they ſaw they were obſerved, they made no ſcruple to return them. As the boats were rowing off, many more Patagonians were obſerved galloping down to their countrymen; and the crews of the boats now cried out *ſhawa* ſo loud, that the people on ſhore could not fail to hear them. M. Bougainville ſays, that theſe Indians were the ſame that were ſeen by the crew of the Etoile, in the year 1765, for one of the ſeamen recollected a perſon among them whom he had before ſeen. Theſe people are well made, and appear to be about the height deſcribed by other voyagers. Our author ſays, that it is the thickneſs of their limbs, the largeneſs of their heads, and the extraordinary breadth of their ſhoulders, that make them appear to be of a gigantic race. The colour of the Patagonians is brown. Their muſcles are ſtrong, and their nerves well braced, and as their food abounds with juices proper for the nouriſhment of the human frame, it is no wonder that they arrive at their full growth. Their eyes are ſparkling, their teeth very white, their faces extremely round, but rather flat, and many of them are rather comely men. Some of them have whiſkers, which grow long, but are very thin, and they all tie their hair, which is long and black, on the top of the head; the cheeks of ſome of them are painted red. Their language has an agreeable and melodious ſound. Our voyagers did not ſee any of the Patagonian women, though it was conjectured, that the men intended to have brought them from a kind of camp, which appeared to be about three miles diſtant. M. Bougainville ſays theſe people wear a piece of leather round the waiſt, and a kind of cloak made of ſkins, which deſcend to the bottom of the leg, and is girt round the body, the part that would otherwiſe cover the ſhoulders, is permitted to fall back, ſo that the greater part of the body is left naked, though the climate is ſo cold as apparently to require more covering than the whole which they wear. [It was in the ſummer that M. Bougainville was on the coaſt of Patagonia, yet, he ſays, there was only a ſingle day on which the thermometer was obſerved to riſe to ten degrees higher than the freezing point.] The reſt of the dreſs of the Patagonians conſiſted of a ſort of half-boots, made of the ſkins of the horſe, and left open at the back part of the leg. A few of them wore on the thigh a ring of copper, two inches in breadth; and the necks of two very young men were adorned with beads. Some ſmall knives, of the manufacture of England, were ſeen in their poſſeſſion, which our author concludes were the gift of Commodore Byron; and their only arms conſiſted of a twiſted gut, in the two ends of which were incloſed a round pebble, and weapons of that kind, he ſays, are uſed in all that part of the American continent. Their horſes are very poor, and of a ſmall ſize, and the ſaddles and bridles were ſuch as are uſed by the natives of Rio de la Plata. One of theſe people was obſerved to have gilt nails on his ſaddle, ſtirrups made of wood encloſed with copper, a bridle made of leather twiſted, and a complete Spaniſh harneſs. Their food conſiſts chiefly, as has been obſerved, of guanacoes and vicunnas, and they eat both the fleſh and marrow of thoſe animals. They devour this raw, with great avidity, and carry it with them on their horſes. Freſh water being very ſcarce in this country, the horſes drink the ſea-water, as do likewiſe the dogs, which are both ſmall and ugly. 1767

It was obſerved that ſome of them pronounced *capitan*, *chico bueno*, and other Spaniſh words. M. Bougainville concludes that the Patagonians lead the ſame kind of life as the Tartars, as they are always on horſeback, traverſing immenſe plains, in purſuit of wild beaſts, and game; and he imagines that they alſo, like the Tartars, plunder the caravans of travellers; but this remark ſeems unlikely. Our author concludes with ſaying, that he has "Since found a nation in the Pacific Ocean, where the people are taller than the Patagonians." M. Bougainville tells us, that the ſoil of this country is extremely dry, and very much like that of Falkland's Iſlands, the coaſt, likewiſe, exhibits the ſame kind of ſea-weeds, and ſhells of ſimilar ſorts are ſtrewed upon the beach. The country yields ſhrubs, but affords no woods for ſhelter.

On the 9th of December, 1767, all the ſails of the veſſels were ſet, to make head againſt the fury of the tide; but they were obliged again to come to an anchor, after ſailing only three miles. During two whole days the weather was ſo tempeſtuous that not a boat could put off from the ſhips, which was a mortifying circumſtance, as great numbers of the Patagonians were by this time got together, on the ſpot where they had converſed with the officers who were concerned that they were not able to keep their promiſe with theſe friendly people, whoſe little wants might have been eaſily ſupplied. It appeared by the help of glaſſes, that they had built ſeveral huts on the ſhore, and it was obſerved, that ſome of them were conſtantly galloping backwards and forwards from this place to a ſpot where it was ſuppoſed the main body of them lay. Early on the morning of the 12th the Boudeuſe loſt an anchor, by the parting of the cable, ſoon after which they ſet all their ſails, and by the aſſiance of the ebb tide, and a favourable wind they got through the ſecond gut in the afternoon, and anchored on the north ſide of the iſle of Elizabeth. As they were detained here two days by tempeſtuous weather, and contrary winds, M. Bougainville reſolved to land on the iſle of Elizabeth, where he met with a few buſtards that were at this time hatching their eggs, but theſe birds were ſo intimidated at the ſight of our adventurers, that they could not approach near enough to have even a ſingle ſhot at them. The iſland produces no wood, but only a kind of heath which might ſupply its place, as fuel for the fire. The water of this place is brackiſh, and the ſoil extremely dry. Several places were likewiſe obſerved, which had been marſhes that had become dry, and the ground on ſome parts of them were covered with a thin cruſt of ſalt. It was evident that the iſland was occaſionally viſited by the Indians, as the ſhells of ſome fiſh they had eaten were found near where a dead dog was lying, and where it was plain that fires had been made. The adventurers were now on the point of entering that part of the ſtreights of Maghellan which abounds in woods, and the principal difficulties were already overcome. On the afternoon of the 30th the anchors were weighed, and they ſailed with a ſtrong wind in a channel between the iſlands of Barthelemi and Lions, and that of Elizabeth. They were now obliged to coaſt the laſt named iſland, to ſteer clear of a number of breakers, with which the other iſlands are encompaſſed. Having ſailed beyond Cape Noir, they obſerved that the country had a pleaſant appearance, being almoſt every where covered

1767 with woods, which afforded a moſt delightful proſpect to the eye. In the evening the weather became ſuddenly calm and pleaſant, ſo that M. Bougainville pleaſed himſelf with the hope of being able to double Cape Round before the morning; but in this climate the moſt flattering appearances are by no means to be relied on; a truth that was fully evident in the preſent inſtance; for ſoon after twelve at night the wind ſuddenly ſhifted, and blew moſt violently, bringing with it ſtorms of hail, and deluges of rain, while a fog, apparently impenetrable, covered the whole coaſt. The main-ſail of the Boudeuſe being ſplit by this ſtorm, they endeavoured to make Port Famine, where they hoped to be ſheltered from the tempeſt; but this attempt was fruitleſs, for the violence of the current was ſuch that they loſt nine miles in as many hours, and were hurried with amazing rapidity into a large bay, formed part of the coaſt of Terra del Fuego, which M. Bougainville called *Bay Duclos*, from the name of the officer who was next in command under the commodore of the expedition, and whoſe knowledge and experience are mentioned as circumſtances highly advantageous to the enterprize. This bay is deſcribed as being very convenient for ſhips to anchor in, on account of weſterly winds blowing over the coaſt. Two ſmall rivers diſcharge their ſtreams into the bay, the water of which is excellent at about a quarter of a mile from the ſea-coaſt, though nearer than that diſtance it is impregnated with ſaline particles. The landing place is a ſandy beach, above which a pleaſant meadow ſtretches itſelf to a conſiderable diſtance. Behind this meadow the woods raiſe their lofty heads, and form a kind of amphitheatre. Our adventurers traverſed a conſiderable track of the country, without meeting with any living animal, except a very few parroquets, buſtards, ducks, teals, and two or three ſnipes.

Bay Duclos.

Several huts were ſeen at the mouth of a river which had been conſtructed by twiſting branches of trees into the form of an oven. In theſe huts were found a large number of limpets, muſcles, and calcined ſhells, and the huts themſelves appeared to have been recently made. Our adventurers going ſome miles up the river, obſerved the track of human creatures, and remarked that the flood came from the eaſt at the riſing of the tide, which they had not before obſerved in any other part of the ſtreights. The ſeamen were now engaged in cutting wood till the 16th, when the veſſels ſailed with a favourable wind, and paſſed Point St. Anne, which covers Port Famine.

There are four bays proper for the anchoring of veſſels, between Cape Forward and Cape Round, and two of theſe bays are ſeparated by a cape of a moſt ſingular kind, which conſiſts of petrified ſhells, lying horizontally, and riſing more than fifty yards above the level of the ſea. M. Bougainville took ſoundings at the foot of this cape, but a line of an hundred fathom would not reach the bottom.

As the ſhips were now becalmed for two hours, the commodore took this opportunity of taking the ſoundings near, and the bearings of Cape Forward, which he mentions as the moſt ſouthern point of land on the continent, in the known world; and he fixes its latitude at fifty-four deg. five min. and forty-five ſeconds ſouth. Its ſurface conſiſts of two hills, ſomething more than two miles in extent, one of which is conſiderably higher than the other. The tops of theſe hills are covered with ſnow, which gradually melting, by the warmth of the ſun, ſupply with perpetual moiſture the roots of trees which are fixed in the crevices of the rocks.

Having returned to the ſhip, and the wind coming about favourable, M. Bougainville ſailed in ſearch of a harbour, which received the name of *French Bay*, where he reſolved to take in a quantity of wood and water, as a ſupply during their voyage acroſs the great South Sea. In conſequence of this reſolution all the boats were inſtantly hoiſted out, with a view to begin this neceſſary buſineſs the next morning. The night proving exceſſively ſtormy and tempeſtuous, it was paſſed in fears and apprehenſions which baffle all deſcription.

French Bay.

Early in the morning a boat was ſent out to ſound the mouth of a river which had been previouſly denominated *Gennes River*, from the name of a gentleman who was partaker in the dangers and hardſhips of this expedition. As it was low-water when the boat reached the ſhore, her crew could not land without running her a-ground on a ſand, and it was evident that the larger boats could only make the ſhore at high water, ſo that their wood and water could be brought on board only once a day. For theſe reaſons M. Bougainville determined to anchor in a ſmall bay about three miles diſtant, called after his own name, where he had taken in a loading of wood for Falkland's Iſlands in the year 1765.

Gennes River.

Bougainville Bay, to which they now ſailed, is ſurrounded by high mountains, which ſecure it from the winds blowing from every point of the compaſs, ſo that the ſurface of the water is unruffled by a ſingle breeze. Having caſt their anchors in this bay, and made faſt the veſſels by means of hawſers tied to ſome trees on the coaſt; they landed, and found two Indian huts conſtructed of the branches of trees, but they did not appear to have been lately inhabited. In the year 1765, M. Bougainville had cauſed a hut of bark to be erected on this ſpot, in which he left ſome trifles by way of preſent to ſuch of the natives as might happen to wander that way: on this hut he had put up a white flag, but both the flag and the preſents had been taken away, and the hut levelled with the ground. On the morning of the 18th of December, a kind of Camp was formed on ſhore, by way of guarding the effects which were landed, and protecting the men who were to be employed in taking in wood and water. Small ponds were now dug for the accommodation of thoſe deſtined to waſh the linen, and the water-caſks were ſent on ſhore to be repaired. The crew of the Eagle having cut down many more trees than were wanted for that veſſel, the labour of this taſk was ſaved to our preſent adventurers, who were likewiſe happy in finding roads ready made through the woods, for the convenience of bringing down the timber to the ſea-ſhore. At this place the remainder of the month was ſpent in the neceſſary employment above-mentioned, and in repairing the ſhips, particularly the Etoile, which had ſo large a leak in her ſtern, that moſt of the hands on board her were fatigued beyond expreſſion, by ſtanding at the pumps night and day alternately.

M. Verron, the aſtronomer, now landed on a little iſland which was denominated the *The Iſle of Obſervatory*, from its being a place admirably calculated for making aſtronomical obſervations; but his labours were fruitleſs, owing to the cloudineſs of the weather, which is almoſt perpetual in this country. At ſome periods, however, the ſun appeared free from clouds, and melted a part of the ſnow which had lodged on the mountains of the main land. Whenever this fine weather happened, the prince of Naſſau, attended by M. de Commerſon, a celebrated botaniſt, went in ſearch of plants and herbs, and they were very ſucceſsful in their reſearches: but the gentlemen who endeavoured to fiſh or to hunt for animals, were not ſo lucky, for they never caught any fiſh;—and a fox was only killed, ſo little ſucceſs had they in their ſearch after quadrupeds.

Iſle of Obſervatory.

The French commander intending to take a ſurvey of the coaſts of the main land, and of thoſe of Terra del Fuego, went in his boat on the 22d in the morning, having two gentlemen in company who intended to go with him as far as Cape Holland. At firſt, they had fair weather, but were afterwards overtaken by a hurricane, and obliged to run into the mouth of a ſmall river for ſhelter. They waited in hope that the tempeſt would abate; but in the mean while were benumbed with cold, and wet to the ſkin, and at length were forced to land and cut down ſome branches of trees for the purpoſe of conſtructing ſome huts in which they might lodge for the night, to defend them from the in-

clemency of the weather; but it continued to blow and rain violently, and was ſo cold, that the gentlemen found their ſituation untenable, and therefore they ſheltered themſelves in the beſt manner they could under the ſail of the boat, keeping up a large fire all night. They loſt no time in returning to the boat in the morning, which carried them to their ſhip in good time; as it ſeemed very probable that if they had ſtayed much longer, the weather growing more and more boiſtrous, would not have admitted of their return, and this on ſuch a coaſt, that their caſe muſt have been deſperate.* Nevertheleſs, when the tempeſt had ſubſided, M. Bougainville, with the true ſpirit of one bent upon diſcovery, reſolved to go upon a ſecond expedition. Early in the morning of the 29th, he embarked with the prince of Naſſau, and two others; the long-boat of the Boudeuſe, and the Etoile's barge having been equipped and provided with muſquets and ſwivel guns for that purpoſe. In about ſix hours they gained the coaſt of Terra del Fuego, and landing, ſat down to a repaſt in a place where the natives had left a number of huts ſtanding. They afterwards coaſted the country for a conſiderable time, and then croſſed an inlet, which M. Bougainville, for many reaſons, ſuppoſed to be a ſtreight leading to the ſea, at no great diſtance from Cape Horne. Having almoſt reached the oppoſite ſide of the inlet, the French diſcovered ſeveral of the inhabitants on the point of a bay, whither the adventurers ſteered, and the commander recollected that the people he then ſaw, were the ſame who he had remembered in the courſe of his former voyage. They generally made uſe of the word *Pecherais* in the ſame manner as thoſe already deſcribed had done of *Shawa*, and thence they had obtained their name, beſtowed (as moſt appellations of new-diſcovered people and places are in a whimſical manner) by the French.

Pecherais.

Theſe Indians were ſeen aſſembled to about the number of forty of both ſexes, and ſeveral of their canos were obſerved in a creek adjacent. The evening however advancing, M. Bougainville could not ſtay long with the Pecherais; but left them with a view to reach an inlet where he intended to ſpend the night. Failing however of accompliſhing this purpoſe, for want of time, he landed on the bank of a river, and ordered tents to be ſupplied by the ſails, and making a large fire, the party were better accommodated than they had been the foregoing night. The inlet abovementioned was found to form an excellent harbour, and on that account received the name of *Beaubaſſin*† from the adventurers.

Beaubaſſin.

M. Bounard was left here to take an account of every thing that might be thought worth notice, with orders to return after he had made the ſurvey in the long-boat to the ſhips. But the commander himſelf, with part of the company, embarking in the barge, rowed to the weſtward and diſcovered an iſland, on the coaſt of which they ſaw ſeveral of the natives catching fiſh. They arrived at a bay before evening, to which they gave the name of *de la Cormorandiere*, from a rock that lay about a mile diſtant from it.

Cormorandiere Bay.

They left this bay on the 29th early in the morning, and paſſed between two iſlands, which M. Bougainville called *The Two Siſters*, which are about nine miles from Cape Forward, ſo often mentioned in our voyages. They ſoon after ſaw a mountain, whoſe figure was like that of a cane, which they denominated *The Sugar-loaf*, and in the courſe of this day, they came to a convenient bay and port, into which there fell a remarkable caſcade; which were therefore diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *The Bay and Port of the Caſcade*. They found good anchorage there, and it is deſcribed as a place very proper for wooding and watering veſſels. The water-fall is formed by the ſtream of a ſmall river, that meanders between a number of lofty hills; and it deſcends from the ſide of a rock above forty yards perpendicular. The French commander went to the top of the caſcade, and from thence took a view of the adjacent country. He ſays that there are ſmall plains, in ſome parts of which produce a ſort of ſpungy moſs, but in others the ground is covered with thickets. As to the trees and plants they appeared to be the ſame as thoſe of the Patagonian coaſts; and the country in general has much the appearance of Falkland's Iſlands. He deſcribes all that part of Terra del Fuego, from the ſpot where he then was, to that which lay oppoſite Elizabeth Iſland, in general covered with ſnow. No traces of inhabitants were found here, the reaſon of which was ſuppoſed to be the natives being no where able to obtain the neceſſaries of life, except upon the ſea-coaſts. 1768

Two Siſters. Sugar-loaf Mountain.

The Bay and Port of the Caſcade.

The French remained at Port Caſcade during the night of the 29th, which was rendered highly diſagreeable by inceſſant rain, and intenſe cold; and on the morning of the following day they croſſed the ſtreight with a boiſterous wind, and a rough ſea, which made the navigation dangerous to ſmall veſſels. The rain kept pouring down almoſt the whole of this day, which was employed in viewing the coaſt, and making ſuch remarks as may be uſeful to future navigators. Our voyagers had now a very narrow eſcape with their lives, the boat having been nearly overſet in croſſing a bay, owing to a miſtake of the ſteerſman in the management of the helm; at length, however, they got ſafe on board the Boudeuſe, and as the commanding officer, during M. Bougainville's abſence, had ſhipped every thing that was neceſſary, preparations were immediately made for ſailing. They departed from Bougainville Bay in the afternoon of the 31ſt of December, 1767, and in the evening came to an anchor in the road of Port Gallant, which is ſituated at the bottom of Forteſcue Bay, were detained no leſs than three weeks by ſuch bad weather, as the inhabitants of theſe milder climes cannot form an adequate idea of. On the firſt of January, 1768, M. Bougainville diſpatched a party in a boat, to make remarks on the coaſt, as far as Elizabeth Bay, and to take a view of the numerous iſlands, with which this part of the ſtreights of Maghellan abounds. Two of theſe iſlands, to which Sir John Narborough formerly gave the name of Charles and Monmouth, were diſtinctly ſeen from the place where the ſhips lay at anchor; but thoſe which he had denominated the Royal Iſles, and Rupert Iſland, were at too great a diſtance to be viewed from M. Bougainville's preſent ſtation. Notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the weather, and the almoſt inceſſant rains, the crew which had been ſent out, landed on different places, at one of which it was evident that ſome Engliſh ſhips had lately touched; for on ſeveral trees they ſaw initial letters, and even whole names cut in the wood; they alſo ſaw many ſpice laurel trees, the bark of which had been lately taken off, with other plain indications who they were that had viſited the ſpot, but what put the matter beyond all doubt, were the words "Chatham, March, 1766," which were very legible on a piece of wood, of that kind which is frequently affixed to pieces of cloth in the royal marine warehouſes of Great Britain. The aſtronomer, M. Verron, in the mean time had his aſtronomical inſtruments conveyed to a peninſula, by which the harbour is formed, in order to make obſervations for aſcertaining the bearing and diſtances of particular capes; but the reſult of his obſervations would afford neither inſtruction nor entertainment to our readers.

The weather was ſo exquiſitely ſevere on the 4th and 5th of January, that no pen can deſcribe it, nor any imagination conceive an idea of it. A violent ſtorm of wind was attended with inceſſant rain or ſnow, and the keeneſt biting coldneſs in the air. M. Bougainville informs us that during this ſevere weather he ſent out a boat to ſearch for a convenient anchoring place on the coaſt of Terra del Fuego, and an excellent one was found to ſouth-weſt of Charles and

* The ſnow was almoſt continual, though it was Midſummer, and the day in theſe parts was then eighteen hours long.

† Beautiful Bay.

1768 and Monmouth Iſlands. On the 6th the weather was more moderate than it had been for ſome days paſt. In the morning of this day four ſmall boats, with Indians on board them, were obſerved at the point of Cape Gallant, one of which advanced towards M. Bougainville's ſhip, while the reſt rowed towards the bottom of the bay. In the boat which approached the Boudeuſe, were a man, his wife and two children, the former of whom went on board, without the leaſt apparent ſign of fear, leaving the woman and children in the boat. Soon after this man had gone on board two Indians from the other boats followed his example, bringing their children with them. Theſe people ſeemed not to expreſs the leaſt ſurpriſe either at the ſtructure of the ſhip, or at any thing they ſaw on board her.

The commodore prevailed on them to dance and ſing, and alſo treated them with a kind of concert of muſic. He likewiſe gave them bread, and different kinds of meat, all of which they devoured with avidity, ſeeming equally pleaſed with every thing that was given them, and with every occurrence that paſſed; nor could they be perſuaded to quit the ſhip till ſeveral pieces of ſalt meat had been put into the boats. He ſays they are clothed with ſeal ſkins, which are by far too ſmall to cover the whole of the body; and with theſe ſkins they make the ſails of their boats and the covering of their huts. They are likewiſe poſſeſſed of a few of the ſkins of the guanacoe, but our author does not mention to what uſe they apply them; tho' it ſhould ſeem probable that they form a part of their clothing. M. Bougainville deſcribes theſe Indians as thin, ſhort, and ugly; and that a moſt offenſive ſmell is the conſequence of keeping them company. The women are ſtill more diſagreeable than the men, who do not appear by any means fond of them. It is the duty of the females to ſteer the boats, and to repair any damage that may happen to them; and they are often obliged to ſwim after them through the ſea-weeds; nor are even women who have ſucking children excuſed this duty; but the child is carried on the mother's back, encloſed in the ſeal-ſkin that forms her dreſs. When the women are on ſhore, their buſineſs is to collect ſhells and wood; nor do the men even ſhare with them in this employment.

The boats are conſtructed of the bark of trees, faſtened together with ruſhes, and the ſeams are caulked with moſs. A fire is conſtantly kept in the middle of the boat, on a heap of ſand, which is placed to prevent the turning of the veſſel. Their arms conſiſt of bows and arrows formed of the branches of the barberry-buſh, which grows plentifully in theſe parts. The arrows are pointed with ſharp ſtones, and the ſtring of the bow is made of the gut of ſome animal; but they uſe not theſe weapons againſt an enemy; they are deſigned only for the deſtruction of birds or other animals proper for the ſupport of life.

M. Bougainville ſays that theſe Indians uſe a kind of harpoon, for the purpoſe of ſtriking fiſh, which is made of bones, it is about twelve inches in length, pointed at the end, and indented on one of its ſides. The principal ſubſiſtance of thoſe people is fiſh; but it is ſuppoſed that they ſometimes catch game, as they have dogs of the ſporting kind, and ſprings or nooſes, adapted for the ſnaring of quadrupeds. The teeth of all the natives are very bad, which our author attributes to the eating of fiſh when boiling hot; though they do not half boil it before it is ſo eaten. They live in huts which have no partition of rooms, in the middle of which a fire is lighted, that ſerves the whole family. The diſpoſition of theſe people is of the amiable kind; but their extreme good nature borders on weakneſs; they believe in evil genii, and have prieſts and phyſicians, whom they ſuppoſe capable of deprecating the vengeance of theſe inviſible enemies. M. Bougainville obſerves, that the *Pecherais* have the feweſt conveniences of life of any people he has ever known, yet they do not repine, but appear to be contented with their ſimple ſituation; although they live in the moſt inclement climate hitherto diſcovered in that habitable part of the globe.——Beſides the other peculiarities of their fate, they are fewer in number than any other known race of men: yet this little ſociety, cut off as it is from all intercourſe with the reſt of mankind, is not totally free from the vices common to larger ſtates, as a conteſt for dominion exiſts even among them, and the more powerful are perpetually labouring to diſtreſs the weaker.

The inclemency of the weather, during the 7th and 8th of the month, was ſuch, that the crews of the ſhips could not venture on ſhore; and though it was even now the ſummer time, the adjacent country was covered with ſnow, which alſo lay on the ſhip to the depth of ſeveral inches. On the 9th the Indians who had previouſly painted their bodies with red and white ſtreaks, advanced towards the ſhips, but ſeeing the boats go off towards their habitations, all of them, except one followed the ſhips boats, and that went on board the Etoile, where ſhe remained but a little while, and then followed the others. The crews of the boats having landed, went to the huts of the Indians, who ſeemed by no means to reliſh this unexpected viſit, which was particularly evinced by the women having all retreated to one hut, the men invited the French ſailors into thoſe huts where the women were not to be found, and the Frenchmen having accepted the invitation, were treated with ſhell-fiſh, which the Indians ſucked before they delivered them to their viſitors. The behaviour of the natives was lively, and they entertained their gueſts with dancing and ſinging; they revelled with uncontrouled delight, when, their mirth was interrupted by an unexpected accident; a boy, who was the ſon of one of the Indians, was ſuddenly ſeized with a diſorder which occaſioned the moſt violent convulſions, and ſpitting of blood. This child had been on board the Etoile, where the ſeamen had preſented him with ſome pieces of glaſs, and as theſe Indians are accuſtomed to put things of this kind up their noſtrils, and into their throats, it was ſuppoſed this youth had taken the ſame meaſure, and that the fatal effects which followed were the conſequence of his having ſwallowed the glaſs. It is here proper to remark, that the *Pecherais* conſider the ſwallowing of ſubſtances which reſemble glaſs, as a preventive remedy againſt certain diſorders to which they are liable. The lips, palate, and gums of the boy where cut: and as he bled freely, the Indians conceived an idea that the Frenchmen had violated the rights of hoſpitality, and injured him, whom, by all the laws of honour, they were bound to treat with civility. This circumſtance gave riſe to a jealouſy and diſtruſt no way favourable to their European viſitors, whom they could not look on in a favourable light, while they thoguht they had cauſed the child's illneſs. A linen jacket having been given to this child by the French, he was ſtript of it, and it was thrown at their feet, but it was inſtantly ſeized by an Indian, who did not ſeem to dread the powers of inchantment. The child being laid on his back, a conjurer knelt between his legs, and preſſing the body forcibly with his hand and head, utterred a number of inarticulate vociferations. At repeated intervals, during this ceremony, he aroſe and opening his hands, which had been before graſped, he blew in the air with his mouth, as if deſirous of driving away ſome evil genius. While this buſineſs was tranſacting, an ancient woman bawled in the ears of the child ſo as to deafen him with her noiſe, and indeed the remedy ſeemed to be, in the literal phraſe, worſe than the diſeaſe. The conjurer having retired for ſome time, returned in a new dreſs, and, with an air of triumph, renewed his incantations, but with no better ſucceſs than before. His hair had been powdered, and his head was diſtinguiſhed by two wings ſimilar to thoſe with which Mercury is repreſented by the painters. The life of the child now appearing to be even in more danger than before, the French captain haſtily baptiſed him, unobſerved by the Indians. Some officers having repaired on board the ſhip and acquainted the commodore with what was tranſacting, he went on ſhore with the ſurgeon, who

took ſome gruel and milk with him; and when they came to the ſpot, they found that the juggler was aſſiſted by another perſon habited like himſelf, and that the patient had ſuffered much from their abſurd attempts to relieve him, yet were theſe attempts continued, without any complaint on the part of the poor boy. The affection of the parents, and indeed, of the whole company of Indians, was manifeſted by floods of tears, and by many other expreſſions of grief; and when it was obſerved, that the Frenchmen ſeemed to ſhare in their misfortune, they appeared to be leſs diffident of the conduct of the ſtrangers, and at length they permitted the ſurgeon to examine the mouth of the ſick youth, which being bloody, had been repeatedly ſucked by his father and another man. After ſome time the father accepted the gruel, and permitted his ſon to drink ſome milk, but not till the French gentleman had repeatedly taſted it in his preſence. The conjurers appeared to be jealous of the ſurgeon, but they could not help confeſſing the ſuperiority of his abilities. It was remarked, that while one of thoſe Indian phyſicians was endeavouring to drive away the diſorder, the other was buſily employed in deprecating that vengeance which they ſuppoſed the viſit of the ſtrangers had occaſioned. In the evening the child appeared to be in leſs pain; but, from many circumſtances, it was ſtill evident, he had ſwallowed ſome pieces of glaſs. M. Bougainville and the ſurgeon now went on board, and it is conjectured, that the boy died about two o'clock the next morning; for ſoon after that time loud cries were heard, and at day-break the Indians departed from a place which had been ſo peculiarly fatal to them; for the loſs of even one member of ſo ſmall a community, could not but be an object of great and public concern. On the 13th and 14th the weather was ſo bad that it was impoſſible to think of ſailing, and on the 15th the veſſels were detained by a ſtrong contrary wind; but on the following day they ſailed, with a favourable breeze, which, however, ſoon ſhifted, and prevented their reaching Ruport Iſland, off which it was M. Bougainville's intention to have anchored. After a whole day of fatigue and danger, they returned to Port Galant, and anchored again near their former ſtation.

On the 17th the ſtorms were more violent than they had ever yet been; the ſea ran to a mountainous height, and the wind blew in ſuch contrary directions, that the oppoſing waves deſtroyed each other. The ſtorm having in ſome degree ſubſided before noon, a loud peal of thunder was preſently heard, after which the winds blew with increaſing violence. The anchors of the ſhips having dragged, the top-maſts and lower yards were ſtruck, to avoid the dreadful conſequences of the ſtorm. At this time, however, the ſhrubs and plants were in bloom, and the trees were covered with a luxuriance of verdure.

On the 21ſt and the following days the weather was extremely windy, while it rained and ſnowed inceſſantly. The night of the 21ſt indeed was moderately calm; but this calm ſerved only as the prelude to a ſtorm, which deſcended with aggravated fury; ſuch a ſtorm as the oldeſt ſailor on board had never remembered, but its continuance was by no means proportioned to its violence. On the 24th the weather being fine and ſerene, preparations were made for ſailing, and on the following day the anchors were weighed, and the veſſels got under way. Having arrived at Cape Quod, the commodore thus deſcribes it: Its figure, he ſays, is very ſingular, conſiſting of craggy rocks, the moſt elevated of which bear a ſtrong reſemblance to the ruins of ancient building. From Bay Galant to this Cape, the verdant appearance of the trees takes off, in ſome degree, that horror which would otherwiſe ariſe in the mind from the conſtant ſight of the ſummits of mountains which are always frozen. After paſſing Cape Quod, the face of the country was totally changed, both ſides of the ſtreights exhibiting a proſpect of rocks, which are uncovered even with the ſlighteſt layer of earth. The tops of theſe rocks are cloathed with external ſnow, while the valleys between them are choaked up with prodigious quantities of ice, which have the appearance of having been congealed for a long ſeries of years. So dreadful is the appearance of this part of the ſtreight, that Sir John Narborough gave it the name of *Deſolation*; and in fact it is deſolate and dreary beyond all deſcription. 1767

When M. Bougainville's ſhip was oppoſite Cape Quod, the coaſt of Terra del Fuego, at the diſtance of forty miles appeared as is terminated by a projecting cape. There are three capes on the continent which our adventurers called *Etoile Cape*, *Boudeuſe Cape*, *Split Cape*, the laſt of which is ſo denominated from its figure. The ſtreight which in this part is about ſix miles wide, received the name of *Long Reach*. As the evening of 26th was very fine, M. Bougainville determined to continue his way under an eaſy ſail; about two hours before midnight a thick fog came on, the wind aroſe, and the rain poured down in torrents, while it became ſo exceſſive dark that no land could be ſeen. The ſituation of the ſhips was now ſuppoſed to be oppoſite Cape Monday, and the night was ſpent in ſtanding off and on ſhore, in momentary expectation of ſome fatal accident. The land being ſeen at day-break, they hoiſted additional ſails and proceeded with rapidity, till they reached Cape Pillar, when they had ſight of the main ocean, into which they arrived under a full ſail, on the evening of the ſame day; having by the advantage of thirty-ſix hours fair wind, ſailed from Port Galant into the great South Sea, without once coming to anchor. M. Bougainville was ſeven weeks and three days in paſſing the ſtreights of Maghellan, the whole length of which from Cape Virgin Mary to Cape Pillar, he computes at about 340 miles. Though the paſſing the ſtreights is a work of ſome difficulty and danger, our author recommends it as more ſafe than the doubling of Cape Horn, if undertaken between the months of September and April; but during the reſt of the year he adviſes the paſſing through the open ſea, and he obſerves that the loſt time in ſailing through the Maghellanic Streights is amply repaired by the conveniences of taking in wood and water, and the chance there is of the ſcurvy making leſs havock among a crew when they have repeated opportunities of landing. He adds, that when he left the ſtreights he had not a ſingle invalid on board eitheir of his veſſels.

Etoile Cape, Boudeuſe Cape, Split Cape, Long Reach.

The commodore now ſailed nearly a weſterly courſe, having previouſly agreed with the captain of the Etoile that he ſhould keep company with the Boudeuſe during the nights, and in the morning of each day ſhould ſail as far as he could to the ſouthward, without loſing ſight of the other veſſel, in order that the ſhips might command as extenſive a proſpect as poſſible by which means it was hoped that ſome new diſcoveries might be made.

On the 30th of January, while the ſea ran very high, one of the crew of the Boudeuſe fell overboard, and was drowned, notwithſtanding every endeavour to preſerve his life.—From this time till the 17th of February, M. Bougainville ſailed in ſearch of what is called Davis's Land, which was diſcovered by our countryman of that name, in 1686, and he ſays, that following the directions laid down in M. de Bellin's chart, he muſt have ſailed over this land.—On the 17th, ſea gulls were ſeen, and as theſe birds do not go above eighty leagues from land, it was reſolved not to alter the courſe of the ſhips for three days; but within this period no land was diſcovered. The weſterly wind, with a ſlight variation to the north and ſouth, prevailed from the 23d of February to the 3d of March, during which time they had rain and thunder every day, immediately before or ſoon after the ſun had reached the meridian. This variation of the wind, from what is commonly called the trade wind, is mentioned by M. Bougainville as an extraordinary circumſtance.—Soon after the ſhips had got clear of the ſtreights of Maghellan, an epidemical

1767 sore throat attacked almoſt every man on board, which was cured by putting vinegar and red hot bullets into the water-caſks, ſo that by the end of March, the crew were recovered. For ſeveral days after this period, ſuch a quantity of bonettas, and other fiſh was caught, as afforded one meal daily to every man on board. On the 21ſt a runny fiſh was taken, in the belly of which were a number of ſmall fiſh, ſuch kinds as are known not to ſwim far out to ſea, whence it was concluded, that land could not be at any great diſtance, and on the following day this conjecture appeared to be well founded, for four very ſmall iſlands were then diſcovered, to which M. Bougainville gave the name of *Les quatre Facardins*; but as theſe were too much to the windward of the ſhips, they held on their way, ſteering for another iſland, which was almoſt right a-head.

Les quatre Facardins.

As the veſſel advanced towards this latter iſland, it was obſerved, that it abounded with cocoa-nut trees, the fruit of which had a very tempting appearance. Theſe trees grew on plats of graſs, ſtrewed with an abundance of beautiful flowers; and the reſt of the iſland was cloathed with trees of various kinds. Immenſe numbers of birds were ſeen on the coaſt, which was therefore ſuppoſed to afford a plenty of fiſh, but the ſea running high, and no harbour being diſcovered, in which the voyagers might hope for protection from the fury of its waves, they were prevented from landing, when they had coaſted the iſland for about two miles, they had ſight of three men, who advanced haſtily towards the ſhore. M. Bougainville at firſt imagined that theſe people were part of the crew of ſome European ſhip, which had been wrecked on the coaſt, and impreſſed with this idea, he gave the neceſſary orders for affording them the wiſhed for relief: but he ſoon diſcovered that his conjecture was ill-founded, for the people retired to the woods, from whence, in a ſhort time, iſſued a number of them, ſuppoſed to be near twenty, with long ſtaves in their hands, which they held up with an air of threatening and defiance. This being done, they retreated to the woods, in which, by the help of glaſſes, their habitations were plainly ſeen. Theſe iſlanders were very tall, and of a copper complexion.* During the night between the 22d and 23d, they had much rain, accompanied with violent thunder, while the wind blew almoſt a tempeſt.——At the dawn of day land was diſcovered, which appeared to be a regular level, ſufficiently cloathed with verdure. Breakers being obſerved on the coaſt, the ſhips ſtood out to ſea, till the weather becoming more calm, they might approach the ſhore with greater ſafety, which happened before noon; they then coaſted the iſland, which is ſhaped like a horſe-ſhoe, and its inſide is filled by the ſea. Some parts of this iſland produce cocoa-nut and other trees, which afford a very agreeable ſhade, but the greater part of it is only a ſand, on which grows no kind of verdure.——Many Indians were obſerved in boats, ſome of them rowing, and others ſailing, on the lake, formed by the ſhape of the iſland. Theſe people were all naked, and in the evening, large numbers of them were ſeen on the ſhore, with pikes in their hands, like thoſe with which the inhabitants of the Iſle of Lance-bearers were armed.—Night advanced before any proper place was found for the ſhip's boats to land, nor were they more ſucceſsful in their reſearches in the morning, wherefore they held on their courſe, M. Bougainville having called the place *Harp Iſland*; the inhabitants of which had the appearance of being tall, and genteelly made. In the evening of the day on which Harp Iſland was diſcovered, they had ſight of other land, at the diſtance of ſomething more than twenty miles, which had the appearance of being, what it afterwards was found to be, a cluſter of iſlands, eleven of which was ſeen, and received the name of the *Dangerous Archipelago*. Our author conjectures, that they are more numerous, and obſerves, that it is dangerous ſailing among them, as they are ſurrounded with ſhoals and breakers, through which a veſſel ought to ſteer with peculiar care. The ſhips now ſtood to the ſouth, and by the 28th of the month, were out of ſight of all land.†

Harp Iſland.

Dangerous Archipelago.

Nothing material happened from this time till towards the end of March, when the weather was boiſterous and ſtormy to a very great degree, for ſeveral days ſucceſſively; and the ſcurvy now began to attack ſeveral of the crew. To combat the ill effects of this diſorder, every invalid received daily a pint of lemonade, in which was infuſed a powder that had been frequently uſed with ſucceſs during the voyage. About this time they were much in want of freſh water, which was procured by the diſtillation of ſea-water, according to a proceſs invented by M. Poiſſonier; and the water thus procured was uſed in boiling meat and making broth. The bread was kneaded with ſalt-water.—A ſteep mountain, which appeared to be encompaſſed by the ſea, was diſcovered on the ſecond of April, and received the name of the *Boudoir*, or *Boudeuſe Peak*, from that of M. Bougainville's ſhip. Bearing to the northward of this peak, they had ſight of land, which extended farther than the eye could reach. By this time it was become neceſſary for the ſhip to put in at ſome port, where they might obtain refreſhments, and take in a ſupply of wood. For the greater part of this day the weather was wholly calm;——in the evening a breeze ſprang up, which conveyed the ſhips near the newly diſcovered land; but it was thought prudent to ſtand off and on, for the night. In the morning they had ſight of more land to the northward, but were not able to diſtinguiſh whether it was another iſland, or a part of that which they had before ſeen. In the night between the 3d and 4th of the month, fires were obſerved on ſeveral places, from whence it was conjectured that the country abounded with inhabitants. Juſt before ſun-riſing on the 4th, it was diſcovered that the two lands, which had been ſuppoſed to be ſeparate iſlands, were connected with a flat country, bending like a bow, and forming a fine bay. While the ſhips were ſtanding in towards the land, a boat was ſeen coming from the offing, which ſoon after croſſed a-head of the ſhip, and joined a number of other boats, that had aſſembled from various parts of the iſland. This aſſemblage of boats was preceded by one which was rowed by twelve Indians, quite naked, who advanced towards the ſide of the ſhip, and held up the boughs of the banana-tree. Conſidering this as a token of friendſhip, the French in their turn, endeavoured to expreſs a reciprocal regard. This being done, the natives rowed alongſide the Boudeuſe, and a rope being lowered into the boat, one of them affixed to it a branch of the banana tree, a quantity of the fruit of that tree, and a ſmall pig. This preſent was accepted, and, in return for it, M. Bougainville gave them ſome handkerchiefs and caps; and thus a friendly intercourſe was eſtabliſhed with theſe people. In a ſhort time, upwards of a hundred boats ſurrounded the French ſhips: the former were laden with bananas, cocoa-nuts, and various other kinds of fruit, highly acceptable to the French, who gave them a number of toys, which proved equally acceptable to the Indians.—In order to carry on this traffic, the voyagers held up ſuch articles as they meant to give for the fruit, and when the natives were ſatisfied with the quantity which was offered

Boudeuſe Peak.

* The French voyager ſeems to think it a ſort of myſtery how this ſolitary iſland was firſt peopled; however, we find he had ſeen four others, about the inhabiting of which the ſame doubts might have ariſen, and ſome time afterwards he diſcovered a larger iſland, from whence the natives here ſpoken of might poſſibly have come.

† The cluſter of iſlands above-mentioned were firſt diſcovered by Quiros, in the year 1606, and again viſited by Roggewein, in the year 1722, who gave them the name of the Labyrinth.

fered, it was let down by the ſhip's ſide in a net or baſket, and the Indians having taken it out, returned their commodities by the ſame conveyance; but ſometimes the baſket was lowered when empty, and the natives put their effects into it before they had received the European goods, without ſeeming to harbour the leaſt diſtruſt or jealouſy of thoſe with whom they dealt, thereby giving the beſt proof of the integrity of their own hearts. When the evening advanced, the ſhips ſtood out farther from the coaſt, and the natives rowed back to the ſhore. During the night a number of fires were ſeen on the iſland, at ſmall and nearly equal diſtances from each other, which the French imagining to be illuminations in honour of themſelves, a number of ſky-rockets were fired from both the ſhips, to return the compliment. On the morning of the 5th, the boats were ſent in ſearch of an anchoring-place, while the day was ſpent in plying to the windward of the iſland. The deſcription which M. Bougainville gives of the appearance of this place, as ſeen from the ſhip, is very beautiful. "The mountains, though of great height, are every where cloathed with the fineſt verdure, even to the extreme points of their moſt lofty ſummits, one peak in particular, runs up to an enormous height, tapering gradually as it riſes; yet it was every where cloathed with the moſt beautiful foliage, forming the appearance of a pyramid, adorned with garlands, and well carved. The lower land conſiſts of an intermixture of woods and meadows, while the coaſt is a level ground, ſheltered by the mountains, and abounding in cocoa-nut and other trees, beneath the ſhade of which are ſituated the houſes of the inhabitants."——As M. Bougainville coaſted the iſland he was charmed with the appearance of a noble caſcade, which falling immediately from the ſummit of a mountain into the ſea, produced a moſt elegant effect. On the ſhore, very near to the fall of this caſcade, was a little town, and the coaſt appeared to be free from breakers. It was the wiſh of the adventurers to have caſt their anchor within view of ſuch an enchanting proſpect; but after repeated ſoundings, they found that the bottom conſiſted only of rocks; and they were therefore under a neceſſity of ſeeking another anchoring place. Soon after the dawn of the day, the natives rowed along-ſide the ſhips, and brought with them fowls, pigeons, ſhells, and other things which they bartered for earrings, and pieces of iron. Both parties dealt with the ſame eaſe and mutual confidence as they had done on the preceding day; and among the number of viſitors were ſeveral women, whoſe cloaths barely ſufficed to hide their charms, which could not fail of attracting the eyes of the ſeamen. One of the Indians ſlept all night on board the Etoile, and ſeemed not to entertain any fear. The ſhips plied to windward during the night, and by the morning of the 6th they had nearly reached its moſt northern extremity, when they diſcovered another iſle; but as the paſſage between the two iſlands appeared to be rendered dangerous by a number of breakers, M. Bougainville came to a reſolution of returning to the bay which they had ſeen when they firſt diſcovered land, where he hoped to find a convenient anchoring-place, and where after different ſoundings, the ſhips were at length ſafely moored. The natives now put off in their boats and ſurrounded the ſhips in greater numbers than they had yet done, exhibiting many tokens of regard, and perpetually crying out *Tayo*, which was afterwards found, (as we have obſerved) to ſignify Friend. The ſtrangers were much pleaſed with ſome nails and toys which the officers and ſailors gave them. Theſe boats were crowded with women, whoſe beauty of face was at leaſt equal to that of the ladies of Europe, and their ſymmetry of body much ſuperior. Almoſt all of them were naked, the old men and women having taken previous care to diveſt them of thoſe coverings which might otherwiſe have prevented their charms from taking the wiſhed-for effect.

Theſe lovely laſſes eyed the ſailors with looks the moſt emphatically expreſſive, yet with a degree of timidity, which is at once the characteriſtic and the ornament of the ſex. It was not however neceſſary that theſe females ſhould give any plain indications of their meaning: the Indian men ſaved them this trouble, intimating that the favours of the ladies might be purchaſed upon eaſy terms: they even urged each of the ſeamen reſpectively to make choice of a girl with whom he would chuſe to retire to the ſhore; and their geſtures appeared not leſs extravagant than thoſe of the ſame people as recited in the account of Captain Cook's voyage. M. Bougainville and his officers did all in their power to preſerve order and decorum, and to prevent any of theſe tempting creatures from coming into the ſhip; but their efforts were unſucceſsful:—one of them, notwithſtanding every precaution got on board, and took her ſeat on the quarter-deck, near the hatch-way, which was open to give air to ſome of the crew, while others were working at the capſtern. She had ſcarcely ſeated herſelf when ſhe let fall a cloth that covered her, with an air of negligence, and both ſeamen and marines now eagerly crowded to the hatch-way; and the capſtern was worked with great chearfulneſs and expedition. After ſome time the officers ſucceeded in bringing the crew into ſome kind of order, though as M. Bougainville confeſſes, they found it equally difficult to reſtrain the force of their own paſſions. The commodore's cook, having eluded the vigilance of the officers, got from the ſhip, and having ſelected a miſtreſs from one of the boats, went on ſhore with her; where he had no ſooner arrived than the natives crowded about him, and pulled off all his cloaths. They now examined with curious attention every part of his body, while he ſtood trembling under their hands, in continual apprehenſion of being murdered, or otherwiſe abuſed; but his fears were ill founded; for they had no ſooner finiſhed the examination than they gave him back his cloaths, put into his pockets ſeveral things which they had taken out of them, and then introduced his girl to him, urging him to gratify thoſe paſſions which had impelled him to come on ſhore; but his fears had deſtroyed all ideas of love, nor could even the beauty of his miſtreſs recal them: the natives were obliged to take him back to the ſhip, where he told M. Bougainville, that he had nothing to fear from his anger, for he had lately ſuffered ſuch exquiſite miſery, that all other puniſhment would be light in compariſon of it. The commander and ſome of his officers now went on ſhore to take a view of the watering-place, and were no ſooner landed than the natives flocked round them in prodigious numbers, regarding them with looks of inexpreſſible curioſity; ſome of them, bolder than the reſt, came and touched the French, and put aſide their cloaths, to find if they were formed like themſelves. The iſlanders, who wore no kind of arms, teſtified great pleaſure at this viſit of our voyagers. A perſon, who appeared to be the principal man among the Indians, took M. Bougainville's party to his houſe, where they found an old man, the father of the chief, and ſeveral women. Theſe laſt paid their compliments to the ſtrangers, by placing their hands on their breaſts, and frequently repeating the word *Tayo*. The old man was a venerable figure, whoſe long white beard and hair added dignity to his perſon, which was exceedingly graceful and well formed. He had none of the decrepitude of age, no wrinkles on his face, and his body was nervous and fleſhy. The behaviour of this man was wholly different from that of all the reſt of his countrymen; for he expreſſed no ſign of admiration or curioſity, and left the room without returning the compliments of his viſitors, and with an air that teſtified his uneaſineſs at their arrival. M. Bougainville even imagines, that he feared a new race of men were coming to ſettle on the iſland, and might diſturb that happy repoſe in which its inhabitants had hitherto lived. The houſe of the chief was about twenty feet in width, and eight in length, and covered with thatch, from which hung a cylinder, above a yard long, formed of the twigs of the ozier, and adorned with

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1767 with feathers. Two wooden figures were obſerved, which M. Bougainville thought were idols, and that one of them was the god of the natives. The figure which our author took for the god, was fixed upright againſt one of the pillars of the houſe, and over-againſt it ſtood the other, which he calls the goddeſs, leaning againſt and faſtened to the reeds which form the walls of the houſe. Theſe figures ſtood on pedeſtals of hard black wood, about two yards high, one yard in circumference, ſhaped like a tower hollowed out, and carved. The chief having deſired his gueſts to ſeat themſelves on a graſs-plat in the front of his houſe, he preſented them with a collation, conſiſting of broiled fiſh, water, and fruit. While they were regaling themſelves, he produced two collars, formed of ozier, and adorned with ſharks teeth, and black feathers. Theſe collars, which reſembled the prodigious large ruffs worn by the French in the reign of Francis the Firſt, were put on the necks of M. Bougainville, and a gentleman of his party. The chief having likewiſe preſented our author with ſome pieces of cloth, the French were about to take their leave of this hoſpitable Indian, when one of them found that his pocket had been picked of his piſtol; on which a complaint was made to the chief, who immediately reprimanded ſeveral of his houſhold, and would have ſearched them all, but this the commodore would not permit, contenting himſelf with intimating to the chief, that the weapon which had been ſtolen would kill the thief.—M. Bougainville was attended to the coaſt by the chief and his family. As the company paſſed along, they obſerved an Indian, remarkable for the fine proportion and ſymmetry of his figure, reclined at the foot of a tree, who prevailed on the French to ſit down by him, and ſung them an excellent ſong, to the ſlow muſic of a flute, which another blew with his noſe, in the manner already deſcribed. The company now proceeded to their boats, in which a few of the Indians embarked, and went to ſpend the evening and ſleep on board. The iſlanders ſeemed to be under no kind of reſtraint, but to have the fulleſt confidence in the hoſpitality of the French, who treated them in a very elegant manner, and concluded the evening with a band of muſic, and a diſplay of fire-works; at which, however, the Indians, ſeemed more terrified than delighted. The chief went on board M. Bougainvelle's ſhip the following day, and took with him a preſent of ſome fowls and a hog: he likewiſe gave a full proof of the integrity of his heart, by returning the ſtolen piſtol. The name of this chief was *Ereti*: he remained on board ſeveral hours, and then went on ſhore with M. Bougainville, who by this time had made the neceſſary preparations for landing the ſick, and filling the water caſks.

As ſoon as the boats crew had landed, the commodore fixed on a ſpot on the borders of a rivulet, where he gave orders for the forming of a camp, for the protection as well of the ſick men and their attendants, as the waterers and others, whoſe buſineſs might call them on ſhore. For ſome time Ereti beheld the marines under arms, and regarded the preparations which were making to form the camp, without any apparent uneaſineſs, and then took his leave. In a few hours, however, he returned, bringing with him his father and ſome others of the moſt eminent men on that part of the iſland, who remonſtrated with M. Bougainville on the impropriety and injuſtice of his taking poſſeſſion of their country, at the ſame time intimating that they were welcome to remain there during the day, for any period of time he might think proper, but inſiſting that the party ſhould return on board every night. The commodore, on the contrary, as peremptorily inſiſted that he would form the encampment, and endeavoured to convince the natives how neceſſary it was that he ſhould do ſo in order to procure wood and water, and to have the better opportunity of trafficking with the iſlanders.

The Indians now retired and held a conference on the occaſion, at the cloſe of which Ereti came to M. Bougainville, and deſired to know whether the French propoſed to take up their reſidence on the iſland for life, and if not, how long they intended to ſtay?—In anſwer to this, the commodore put eighteen ſmall ſtones into his hands, intimating, that he ſhould remain there only ſo many days. Hereupon a third council was held, the reſult of which was, that an elderly man, of great authority, was diſpatched to the commodore, and endeavoured to prevail on him to depart in nine days; which, however, he poſitively refuſed to do, and thus the matter ended.

After this the iſlanders became again eaſy and happy. Ereti complimented M. Bougainville with the uſe of a large building, that had been erected on the ſide of the rivulet, for the purpoſe of laying up the Indian boats, which were inſtantly removed at the command of the chief. Under this building tents were ſet up for the accommodation of the ſick, and other tents for various uſes. A ſufficient number of muſquets were carried on ſhore, to arm thirty mariners, all the workmen, and even the invalids, in caſe of neceſſity. M. Bougainville paſſed the firſt night on ſhore, in company with Ereti, who added his ſupper to that of the commodore's, invited a few ſelect friends to partake of the repaſt, and gave orders that a crowd of Indians, whoſe curioſity had brought them to the ſpot, ſhould be diſperſed. He then deſired to ſee ſome fire-works, which he beheld with a mixture of pleaſure and aſtoniſhment. Late in the evening he ſent for one of his wives, who ſlept in the tent allotted to the uſe of the prince of Naſſau. [M. Bougainville ſays that this woman was old and ugly.]

The camp was compleated on the following day, and the building intirely incloſed, except at one entrance, where a guard was conſtantly ſtationed. None of the Indians were admitted into this building but Ereti, and his friends of both ſexes. A crowd of people were conſtantly about the place, but they made way for any one who had permiſſion to enter, on the motion of a ſmall ſtick, which a Frenchman held in his hand. To this place the natives reſorted from all quarters, bringing poultry, hogs, fiſh, fruit, and cloth, in exchange for which they received buttons, beads, tools, nails, and trinkets of various kinds, on which they appeared to ſet a high value. Theſe benevolent iſlanders vied with each other which ſhould oblige their viſitors moſt; and when the French were obſerved collecting ſhells, and gathering plants, a number of women and children inſtantly employed themſelves in the ſame manner, bringing the ſame plants in great abundance, and variety of fine ſhells. M. Bougainville now applied to Ereti, for information where he might cut wood, and was directed to the mountains, where the hard wood grows, the low lands producing only a gum-tree, and fruit-trees of various kinds. The chief even marked the trees which were proper for cutting, and pointed out the ſide on which they ſhould be felled. The iſlanders aſſiſted them in cutting the wood, and carrying it down to the boats, and likewiſe helped them to fill water, and roll the caſks to the coaſts. For theſe ſervices they received a number of nails proportioned to the induſtry they had exerted, but it was neceſſary for the French to be conſtantly on their guard, to prevent their thieving the articles which were brought on ſhore, nor were even their pockets ſafe from the depredations of theſe people, who, as M. Bougainville ſays, are as ingenious in the art, as the pick-pockets of Europe. Yet he ſuppoſes that theſe iſlanders do not rob each other, as none of their effects were kept under locks and keys, and he attributes their attempts to rob Europeans to an inſatiable curioſity for articles which they had never before ſeen. Guards were ſtationed, and patroles appointed, to protect the French property, notwithſtanding which, the iſlanders found means to ſteal ſeveral things, and they even pelted the guards with ſtones. Theſe pillagers hid themſelves in a marſh behind the camp, which was over-grown with reeds; but a part of this marſh was cleared, by order of the com-

modore, who directed, that when any more thieves were ſeen, they ſhould be fired at, Ereti even hinted, that this meaſure was neceſſary, but, pointing to his own houſe, ſeemed very ſolicitous that M. Bougainville would not fire that way. Orders were now given for ſome of the ſhips boats to anchor before the camp, and point their ſeveral guns ſo as to protect it. The article of thieving excepted, every other intercourſe between the French and Indians was carried on in the moſt harmonious manner. The ſeamen made ſeveral incurſions into the iſland unarmed, ſometimes in ſmall parties, and ſometimes ſingly; when the natives invited them into their houſes, gave them proviſions, and preſented the young damſels to their embraces. On theſe occaſions the hut was inſtantly crowded with numbers of both ſexes, who ſurrounded the young lovers, and eyed them with looks of the moſt intenſe curioſity. Leaves and flowers were immediately ſtrewed on the ground, and while ſome played on flutes, others ſang a kind of ſong ſacred to the rites of love.—The people of Otaheite ſeemed aſtoniſhed at the embarraſſment of ſome of the Frenchmen on theſe occaſions; but M. Bougainville is of opinion, that there was not a man of the whole crew who had not got the better of his European delicacy, by making a public ſacrifice to Venus.

M. Bougainville now proceeds to a deſcription of the beauties of the interior parts of the iſland. He has often walked out, with only a few attendants, and arrived at places beautiful beyond the power of pen or pencil to paint. Trees abounding with fruit of the moſt delicious kinds, were frequently found on meadows interſected by rivulets, which gave an agreeable coolneſs to the air. On theſe enchanting ſpots numbers of the natives revel in the profuſe gifts of nature, unincumbered with the cares of the buſy world. Our author met with many little ſocieties, repoſing at their eaſe, under the ſhade of trees, who welcomed the ſtrangers in the moſt friendly manner. Thoſe he ſaw on his way made room for his paſſage with a degree of civility that would have done honour to the moſt poliſhed European; and in every place he found evident marks of the content and happineſs of the people; while he was treated with the utmoſt hoſpitality. M. Bougainville gave Ereti ſome ducks and geeſe, and a couple of turkies, that might raiſe a breed of thoſe birds. He likewiſe preſented him with ſome garden ſeeds, and adviſed him to cultivate ſome ground in the European manner; and a ſpot being fixed on by the French, it was incloſed, and ſeveral of the crew employed in digging it. The natives were much pleaſed with the implements of gardening, and happy in having wheat, barley, oats, rice, &c. put into the ground; as were likewiſe onions, and a variety of pot-herbs. The commodore is of opinion, that his generoſity in this particular will not be thrown away, as the people of Otaheite ſeem to have a taſte for agriculture; and he thinks they might ſoon be brought to cultivate, in a proper manner the fineſt ſoil in the world: they have indeed a ſort of kitchen gardens near their huts, which produce yams, potatoes, and other edible roots.

Soon after the camp was formed, the commodore was viſited on board the ſhip by Toutaa, [Tootahah] the chief of a diſtrict near that of Ereti, who was a very tall man, and moſt admirably well made; he was attended by ſeveral gentlemen, hardly one of whom was leſs than ſix feet in height. Toutaa brought with him cloth, hogs, fowls, and fruit, which he preſented to M. Bougainville, who complimented him with ſome ſilk ſtuffs, trinkets, nails, &c.

Toutaa invited M. Bougainville to his houſe, where in the midſt of a large aſſembly, he preſented him with a fine young girl, whom the commodore conjectures to have been one of his wives; and the muſicians inſtantly began the bridal hymn—the reader may gueſs the reſt.—One of the Indians happening to be killed, his countrymen complained to M. Bougainville of this violation of the rights of hoſpitality. The dead body being conveyed to one of the huts, ſome perſons were ſent to examine it, when it appeared that he fell by a gun-ſhot wound; on which all poſſible enquiry was made after the offender, but he could not be diſcovered; and how he came to be ſhot remained a myſtery; for M. Bougainville ſays, that none of the crew had that day left the ſhip with fire-arms, nor had any of thoſe on ſhore been permitted to leave the camp. It was evident, however, that the natives in general conceived their countryman to have been the aggreſſor; for their dealings with the Europeans were not intermitted; tho' ſome few of them moved off their furniture to the mountains, and even the houſe of Ereti was ſtripped; but a few preſents from the commodore regained his friendſhip and eſteem. Early in the morning of the 12th, the cable of the Boudeuſe parting, that ſhip ran foul of the Etoile, but the veſſels were happily got clear of each other, before any damage had been ſuſtained. A boat was now ſent to ſound for ſome convenient paſſage, as the ſhips were in evident danger of being driven on ſhore; and at this unfortunate juncture, news arrived that three of the Indians had been either murdered or wounded in their huts, and that in conſequence of this unhappy circumſtance a general terror had ſeized the inhabitants. The women, children, and old men, had fled up the country, taking their effects with them, and even carrying off the bodies of the deceaſed. The commodore, on receiving this intelligence, went on ſhore, and ſelecting four marines, on whom reſted the ſuſpicion of having perpetrated this foul deed, he ordered them to be put in irons in the preſence of Ereti, a circumſtance that conciliated the affection of the Indians. M. Bougainville, apprehenſive that the natives might revenge the injury they had ſuſtained in the perſons of their countrymen, ſpent a conſiderable part of the night in the camp, and gave orders for a reinforcement of the guards.——But the ſituation of the French was every way ſo advantageous, that in all probability, they might have been an over-match for the united forces of the natives. The night however was ſpent in perfect repoſe, except ſome ſlight alarms, occaſioned by thieving interlopers. 1768

The commodore's concern aroſe more from the apprehended loſs of his ſhips, than from any hoſtile efforts that might be made by the Indians. After ten at night, the wind blew violently; the ſea rolled to an enormous height; the rain deſcended in torrents, and the whole ſcene was tempeſtuous in a high degree. M. Bougainville went on board ſoon after midnight, when a violent ſquall of wind was driving the ſhips towards the ſhore. Happily the ſtorm was ſoon over, and a breeze from the ſhore prevented the veſſels being ſtranded. About day-break another cable, and the hawſer of the Boudeuſe parted, when ſhe was almoſt cloſe on the ſhore, on which the ſurges beat with unremitting fury. At this time too, as an aggravation of their misfortunes, the buoys of the anchors were miſſing; but it was doubtful whether the natives had ſtolen them, or whether they had ſunk.

Some little time before noon another cable parted, and the Boudeuſe drove towards the ſhore. They now let go their ſheet anchor, but it could be of no ſervice to them, as they were ſo near the breakers, that the ſhip muſt have ſtranded before a ſufficient length of cable could have been veered out, to have given the anchor time to reach the bottom. Thus ſituated, within a moment of deſpair, a breeze off ſhore operated in their favour; yet this wind ſoon changed, though not till it enabled them to get a diſtance from the ſhore, by the help of a hawſer from a ſtream-anchor of the Etoile, which ſhip happening to be anchored in firmer ground than the Boudeuſe, was, undoubtedly, the great means of ſaving that veſſel and her crew from deſtruction. On occaſion of this ſingular eſcape, M. Bougainville pays a grateful compliment to M. de la Giraudais, the commander of the Etoile, to whoſe friendſhip and abili-

1768 ties he deems himself greatly indebted for the preservation of the Boudeuse.

Soon after day-light, it was observed, that the camp was totally destitute of its usual visitors, not an Indian was to be seen near it, nor even a single boat sailing on the river. The natives had quitted their houses, and the whole country appeared to be depopulated. The prince of Nassau now went on shore, with a small party, and, at about three miles from the camp, found Ereti, with a considerable number of his subjects. When the chief recollected the prince, he advanced towards him with a mixed countenance expressive of hope and terror. Many women were now with Ereti, who dropping on their knees at the foot of the prince, kissed his hands, and bathed in tears, exclaimed, *Taye mati*, You are our friends, and you kill us.—The prince succeeded in his endeavours to inspire them with fresh confidence; and M. Bougainville had the pleasure of observing from on board, by the help of his glasses, that the natives hastened to the camp, carrying with them fowls, fruits, &c. so that there could be no doubt but that peace was re-established. The commodore instantly left the ship, and taking with him a quantity of silk, stuffs, and a variety of other articles, he presented them to the principal persons, intimating how unhappy he was on account of the misfortune which had happened, and assuring them that the perpetrators of so foul a deed should not escape unpunished. The Indians caressed the commander; the natives in general were happy that peace was restored, and the market soon became more crowded than ever; so that in two days only, more refreshments were brought in than had been before, and the whole place had the appearance of a fair. The Indians having requested to see some musquets fired; were not a little alarmed when they found that the animals fired at were instantly killed. The boat which the commodore had sent to sound, having found an excellent passage to the northward, the Etoile sailed on the 14th, and being got safe without the reef, her commander sent the boat to the Boudeuse, in which was an officer, who having surveyed the passage, and conducted the Etoile to a place of safety, returned to take the same care of M. Bougainville's ship. The crew of the Boudeuse now laboured incessantly in compleating her stock of water and in bringing her effects on board. The commodore took possession of the island, for his sovereign, by an inscription carved on an oak plank, and burying in a bottle, near the building they had occupied, a writing, containing the names of the several officers concerned in this expedition; and this method he followed invariably, at all the places he discovered in the course of his voyage. The Boudeuse set sail early in the morning of the 15th, and the commodore congratulated himself on having got clear of the reefs, when the wind suddenly dying away, the tide, and a swelling sea drove the ship violently towards the rocks, on which she must have been instantly dashed in pieces, and every man on board have perished, except the few who could swim remarkably well. But at the moment when she was ready to strike, a western breeze sprang up, which in about two hours, conveyed the voyagers clear of all those dangers they had dreaded. M. Bougainville joined the Etoile before the evening, and a strong gale springing up about midnight, they set all their sails and soon got perfectly clear of the coast. What happened at his taking leave of the people of Otaheite is related as follows. ——Soon after the dawn of day, when the Indians observed that their visitors were making preparations for their departure, Ereti came hastily on board, in the first boat that was ready. He now clasped in his arms, embraced, and wept over these new-made acquaintances, whom he was about to part with for ever. This scene was scarcely ended, when a larger boat in which were the wives of the generous chief, came along side the ship, laden with a variety of refreshments. This vessel likewise brought off the Indian who, on their first arrival, had slept on board the Etoile. This man was called *Aotourou*. Ereti presented him to M. Bougainville, intimating his determined resolution to sail with the strangers, and intreating permission that he might do so. His request being complied with, Ereti presented him to the officers respectively, saying, That he intrusted a well-beloved friend to the care and protection of friends equally beloved. Ereti having accepted some presents returned to the boat, in which were a number of weeping beauties, made still more lovely by their tears. With him went Aotourou, to take a melancholy leave of a lovely girl. He took three pearls from his ears, which he delivered as a love-token to the desponding beauty; embraced her affectionately, tore himself from her arms, and left it to time and tears to restore her serenity of mind. The following is M. Bougainville's description of the island.—"There is a fine bay about ten miles in depth, between a cape which advances to the north and the south-east point of the island. Towards the bottom of this bay the coast is almost level, and this part appears to be the first peopled, as well as the most agreeable part of the country. In a passage between the two most northerly islands, there is good anchorage for thirty vessels. The rest of the coast is mountainous land, and in most places is incompassed by reefs of rocks, some of which are almost covered by the sea, while others are left sufficiently destitute of water to be considered as islands. On these the natives kindle fires every night, that the crews of their boats may fish in safety. Between these rocks are spaces through which a ship may enter, but she will find it difficult to get anchorage. The mountains at a distance from the coast are much higher than it is usual for hills to be in countries of no greater extent. These, being covered with verdure and fruits of various, beautiful, and delicious kinds, afford the richest prospect that the imagination can form an idea of. Springs issuing from the mountains form themselves into rivulets, which meandring thro' the country, serve at once to fertilise and adorn it. On the level parts of the island the houses are erected, under the shade of fruit trees; not in regular towns and villages, but separately, and where the fancy of the owner shall fix the spot. Public walks, kept in the neatest order, lead from one residence to another throughout the island, so that the whole appears one scene of inchanted ground. The principal fruits of the island are plaintains, cocoa-nuts, yams, curassol okras, and the bread-fruit. Indico and sugar-canes grow wild; and two substances proper for dying, one red and the other yellow, were found among the natives; but the French could not learn from what vegetable they were produced.

"While Aotourou was on board the Boudeuse it appeared, that he was acquainted with many of the plants and fruits in the possession of the French, which he called by their Indian names. Indeed, the same productions are common to most countries within the tropics. The natives use the cedar-wood, which grows on the mountains, for the construction of the largest boats, and they make a sort of pikes of a very heavy black wood. Their smaller boats are made of the wood of the bread-fruit tree, which is extremely soft, and full of gum. The island of Otaheite produces very rich pearls, which are worn by the women and children, but they were secreted almost as soon as the French landed, and were seen no more during their stay. A sort of castanets, instruments used by the Indian dancers, are formed out of the shells of the pearl-oysters.

"M. Bougainville obtained by his traffic with the natives, about 140 hogs, and more than 800 fowls; and he might have procured much larger numbers, if his stay had been longer. No venomous animals were seen on this island, nor any of those noxious insects, which are common to, and the greatest curse of, hot climates. There can remain no doubt of the salubrity of the air of Otaheite; for though the French laboured hard all day in the heat of the sun, were frequently in the water, and slept all night in the

open

open air, on the bare ground, not a ſingle perſon contracted any diſorder, while thoſe who landed for the cure of the ſcurvy recovered very faſt, and many of them acquired ſo much ſtrength, that their cure was perfected on board the ſhips. And what affords an undoubted proof of the healthineſs of the climate, is the ſtrength of its inhabitants, who grow to an extreme old age, without feeling any of its inconveniences, though they ſleep only on a few leaves ſtrewed on the ground, in huts ill adapted to defend themſelves from the inclemencies of the weather. The chief articles of food are fiſh and vegetable, fleſh is ſeldom eaten even by grown perſons, and by the young women and children never. Their drink is pure water; and from this temperance doubtleſs ariſes, in a great meaſure, that freedom from diſeaſe, which is one of their greateſt bleſſings. Theſe people were averſe to the taſte and ſmell of every thing ſtrong, particularly of tobacco, ſpices, brandy and wine. The natives of Otaheite are of two diſtinct tribes, having hardly any perſonal reſemblance, yet practiſing the ſame cuſtoms, aſſociating together in the moſt friendly manner, and converſing in the ſame dialect." [The firſt race of theſe people are much taller, larger, and better proportioned than the other. Few of theſe are leſs than ſix feet high, and ſo extremely well made, that, as our author ſays, 'in order to paint a 'Hercules or a Mars, one could no where find ſuch 'beautiful models.'] Their features are perfectly like thoſe of the inhabitants of Europe, their hair is black, and their ſkins rather brown, but this is attributed to their being ſo much expoſed to the ſun and air.

"The other Indians are about the middle ſtature, have almoſt the features and complexion of Malattos, and rough, curled hair, as ſtrong as the briſtles of a hog. Aotourou was of this tribe, and the ſon of one of the chiefs of the iſland. *

"Both the tribes ſhave the upper part of the face, permitting the beard on the chin to grow, and a whiſker on each lip; ſome of them bind the hair on the top of the head, while others cut it ſhort, but all of them rub the oil of the cocoa-nut into the hair and beard. They permit all their nails to grow a great length, except that of the middle-finger of the right-hand. Among theſe people one cripple only was ſeen, and it was ſuppoſed that he got his hurt by a fall.†" There are ſome other particulars mentioned by the French author which are ſo exactly alike with the accounts of the Captains Wallis and Cook, that we have purpoſely omitted them.

"The people of Otaheite ſtain the lower parts of their backs, and their thighs, with a deep blue, the method of doing which having been already mentioned in our account of Captain Cooks's voyage, need not be here repeated. M. Bougainville mentions it as a ſingular circumſtance, that the practice of painting the body has always prevailed among the people of all countries, at the time when they bordered on a ſtate of nature, it is, indeed, a well known fact, that the ancient Britons were found ſtained with wood, when Julius Cæſar made his firſt deſcent on this iſland. Our author repreſents theſe iſlanders as good natured and benevolent in a high degree. He ſays, that, though the ſeveral diſtricts are governed each by its own chief, public war, or private animoſity ſeemed to be equally unknown on the iſland. The natives ſeem not to entertain even the ſlighteſt doubt of the integrity of each other, and appear to enjoy, in common, whatever is neceſſary to the ſupport of life. Their houſes are always open night and day, and whoever enters may freely eat of whatever he finds. In like manner they gather fruit from every tree, and all the level country being a kind of continued orchard, ſeems to be but one common property. Yet were theſe people, with ſuch exalted ideas of general benevolence, moſt dextrous in ſtealing the property of the French. The chiefs, however, did not encourage their inferiors in theſe depredations, on the contrary, they requeſted the officers to kill thoſe who ſhould be detected in an act of theft, but they would never take this diſagreeable taſk on themſelves. When a thief was pointed out to Ereti, he would run after till he had overtaken him, and then compelling him to reſtore the ſtolen goods, he puniſhed the offence by a number of ſtripes.—Although the inhabitants of Otaheite maintain perpetual peace among themſelves, yet it ſeldom happens, but that they are engaged in war with the natives of the adjacent iſlands.—

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"They have large veſſels, called Periaguas, in which they deſcend on the enemies country, and even engage in ſea-fights. A pike and a bow with a ſling are all their arms. If Aotourou's information is to be depended on, the conſequence of their battles are very fatal to the vanquiſhed. The men and boys, who are made priſoners, are ſtripped of their ſkins, and the beards of the men are taken off, and carried away in triumph, as enſigns of the victory. The conquerors take with them the women and girls, with whom they frequently cohabit. Aotourou declared himſelf the ſon of one of theſe alliances, his mother being a native of *Opiri*, an iſland not far diſtant from Otaheite, with the inhabitants of which they are frequently at war. M. Bougainville aſcribes the difference between theſe two races of people, to this intercourſe with the captive women of the adjacent iſlands. The principal people on the iſland have a number of ſervants, who ſubmit to their orders with the moſt unreſerved obedience; and, in each diſtrict, the will of the chief is a law, from the authority of which there is no appeal; but the chief himſelf does not come to any reſolution reſpecting matters of great importance, till he has previouſly conſulted with the principal inhabitants."

M. Bougainville ſays, that when the moon exhibits a certain aſpect, which bears the name of *Malama Tamai*, [the moon in a ſtate of war] the natives offer up human ſacrifices. He alſo mentions one circumſtance, as a proof that theſe people originated on the continent, from whence their anceſtors muſt have emigrated. When any one ſneezes his companions cry out, *Evaroua-t-eatoua*, that is, may the good genius awaken thee; or, may not the evil genius lull thee aſleep.

The principal people on the iſland appear to have many wives; and our author ſays polygamy is common among them all, as the rich are chiefly diſtinguiſhed from the poor by keeping a greater number of the fair ſex; for univerſal love is the characteriſtic of the inhabitants of Otaheite. Both the parents ſeem equally fond of nurſing their infants. The men employ themſelves principally in war, fiſhing and agriculture, while the women have little to do, but to render themſelves agreeable by their aſſiduity to pleaſe; they ſubmit implicitly to the will of the men, and the woman who ſhould proſtitute herſelf without the permiſſion of her huſband, would atone for her infidelity with her life. But that liberty to gratify her paſſions, in what way ſhe pleaſes, is ſo eaſily obtained, that theſe fair ones are not under the leaſt temptation, to diſobedience; in fact, the wife generally yields her perſon at the ſolicitation of her huſband.

The commodore having engaged Aotourou to come on

* Our author ſays that this Indian's want of perſonal beauty was amply recompenſed by the goodneſs of his underſtanding; but this aſſertion has been flatly contradicted by the teſtimony of ſeveral Engliſh gentlemen, who ſaw Aotourou, during his reſidence at Paris, and who repreſented him as one of the moſt ignorant blockheads they ever knew.

† The ſurgeon informed M. Bougainville, that many of the natives were marked with the ſmall-pox; and he ſays, he took every precaution that the venereal diſeaſe ſhould not be communicated to theſe unhappy, unoffending people, but it appears from Captain Cook's account, that ſome of the Frenchmen were baſe enough to plant this dreadful malady in a country where, from Bougainville's own account, it is more likely to ſpread than any other part of the world, on account of the extreme attachment of the inhabitants to the act of venery.

1768 on board, was at great expence to bring him to Paris, and to render his residence easy, improving, and entertaining. M. Bougainville informs us, that a gentleman of Paris, distinguished by his skill in teaching the art of speech to persons born deaf and dumb, repeatedly examined Aotourou, and found that he could not naturally pronounce any of the French nasal vowels, and but very few of the consonants.

Aotourou informed the commodore, that an English ship had arrived at Otaheite about eight months before the French touched at that island. This (says our author) was the vessel commanded by Captain Wallace; and he ascribes the knowledge of iron, which was observed among the natives, to this visit of the English, especially as they call it *Aouri*, which he says is not unlike our word *iron*. On the morning of the 16th of April, 1768, M. Bougainville discovered what he thought to be three other islands; but it was afterwards found to be only one, the high lands, of which had, at a distance, given it the appearance of separate islands. At a considerable distance from this island they saw another, which Aotourou told them was called *Oumaitia*; that the natives of it were in alliance with the people of Otaheite; that there was a girl on the island to whom he had a strong attachment; and that if the commodore would touch there, he would meet with the same kind of necessaries, and the same hospitable treatment as he had experienced among his countrymen.

The commander, however, deaf to all these persuasive arguments, held on his way, and lost sight of the island the same day. The succeeding night proved remarkably fair, and the stars appearing with unclouded lustre, Aotourou pointed out a constellation in the shoulder of Orion, and expressed a wish that the ship's course might be directed by it, in consequence of which they would, in two days time, arrive at a fine island where he had a numerous acquaintance, and it was conjectured from his hints, that he had also a child there. As M. Bouganville persisted in his resolution not to alter the ship's course, Aotourou became very uneasy, and endeavoured to persuade him to steer for the desired port, by assuring him that the island abounded in hogs, fowls, fruits, and what he seemed to think would be the most prevailing argument, fine women, who were abundantly liberal of their favours. Being angry that his reasons did not operate with the commodore, he ran to the steerage, and seizing the wheel of the helm tried to steer for his favourite isle, nor was it without great difficulty on the part of the helm's-man, and equal vexation on the part of the poor Indian, that he was prevented from carrying his design into execution.

Early on the following morning, he climbed to the mast-head, where he remained several hours, anxiously looking out for the spot which had so much attracted his regard. On the preceding night he pointed out a great number of stars, and informed M. Bougainville of their names in the language of Otaheite; and it was afterwards certainly known, that this islander was not unacquainted with the phases of the moon, and that he was learned in those prognosticks which evince an approaching change in the weather. It likewise appeared that his countrymen were not uninformed in this kind of knowledge, so useful to people whose wants or curiosity frequently carry them to sea, where they have no compass to direct their course, except their own judgment and the sight of the cœlestial constellations; and M. Bougainville says that the natives of Otaheite are fully convinced that the sun and moon are peopled.

The weather continued fine till the end of April, at which time the principal pilot on board the Boudeuse, died of an apoplectic fit. In the beginning of the month of May, three islands were discovered at the distance of ten or twelve leagues to the north-west; but these were unknown to Aotourou, who imagined that it was M. Bougainville's country. The moon shone bright in the night, during which they kept sight of islands, and in the morning steered for the largest, the eastern shore of which they coasted, and found it about nine miles in length. The coasts of this island are remarkably steep, and, indeed, the whole of it is little else than an enormous hill cloathed with trees. Several fires were seen on shore, and a small number of houses covered with reeds, under the shade of cocoa-nut-trees, and more than twenty of the natives running hastily along the coast. The two smaller islands were each about a mile and a half in length, and separated from the larger one by an arm of the sea. In shape and appearance they were very like the former.

The commodore had given directions to steer between the islands, when a boat with five Indians in her was observed coming off towards the ship; she advanced very near, and though every sign of friendly invitation was made, not one of the natives would venture on board. They had no kind of cloathing but a bandage round the waist, and as they could not be prevailed on to come up the ship's side, Aotourou stripped himself, leaving on nothing more than what they wore, and addressed them in the language of Otaheite; but they understood not a word of what he said. As they held up some cocoa-nuts and other vegetables, and seemed to wish to barter them for some trinkets which were shewn them, M. Bougainville ordered out one of the ship's boats, with a view to visit the strangers; but they no sooner learned his intention, than they rowed off with all possible expedition, and he did not think proper to follow them. In a little time many boats advanced towards the ships, some of them rowing and others sailing. These, less diffident than the former, came close under the ship's side, but none of the islanders would venture on board. They exchanged pieces of an exquisitely fine shell, yams, cocoa-nuts, and a water-hen of most beautiful plumage, for small pieces of red stuff; but they did not seem fond of ear-rings, knives, nails, nor iron of any kind; which had been so eagerly coveted by the inhabitants of Otaheite. One of these Indians brought a cock with him, but he would not part with it upon any terms. They had also some pieces of cloth of the same kind as that manufactured at Otaheite; but not of so fine a fabrick, and died black, brown, and red, but none of the colours were good of their kinds. They were likewise possessed of a kind of wood hardened by fire, lances, mats, and fish-hooks made of bones. M. Bougainville conjectures from the features of those islanders, that they are not of so amiable a disposition as the natives of Otaheite; and he represents them as such dextrous thieves, that it was almost impossible to guard against their depredations. These people are of the middle size, and exceedingly alert; they are of a deep brown complexion, but one was seen among them who was much fairer than any of the others; they had no beards, so it was supposed they were plucked up by the roots, and their hair, which was universally black, stood almost erect on their heads; their hands and breasts were painted with deep blue.

Their boats are built in a most ingenious taste, and are furnished with out-riggers. The head and stern of the vessel are equally flat with its sides, and over each is a small deck. In the centre is a row of wooden pegs, the tops of which are inclosed in a shell of the purest white; the sail is formed of matting, and its shape triangular, being extended by means of sticks. In these boats the islanders followed the French vessels a considerable distance out to sea, while several others from the smaller islands, joined the naval procession, and produced an effect that was highly agreeable. In one of these last-mentioned boats was an old woman remarkably distinguished by the ugliness of her features. As the weather now fell calm, the commodore gave up, from an apprehension of danger, his project of sailing between the islands, though the breadth of the channel was more than four miles. They now therefore sailed in the open sea, and on the evening of the same day, the man at the mast-head had sight of other land, even while they were yet in

view, by the aid of a bright moon, of the islands they had lately left.

On the morning of the 5th, it appeared that the newly discovered land was a beautiful island consisting of alternate mountains and vallies, clothed with the richest verdure, and finely shadowed by the spreading branches of the cocoa-nut, and a variety of other trees. Near the westermost point of this island is a ledge of rocks, and the sea breaks with violence on many parts of the coasts, so that it would be difficult to land, except in very few places. Many boats put off from the island, and sailed round the ships, though they were then going at the rate of at least seven knots an hour. These boats, however, one only excepted, would not venture near the ships; but that one went along-side, and her crew made signs for the French to land, which they would have done, but the breakers rendered it impossible. At this time the man at the mast-head observed a number of the Indians boats sailing to the southward. On the following day another island was seen to the westward of the ships course, in the neighbourhood of which were two smaller islands; but none of these could be distinctly beheld on account of some thick fogs, which intercepted the view. The last-mentioned islands are situated nearly where Tasman the Dutch navigator has placed a number of islands which he discovered, and to which he gave the names of Heemskirk, Prince William, Pylstaart, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam.—The longitude of these islands corresponds likewise very nearly with those which navigators have called Solomon's Isles, so that it is most probable they are the same. M. Bougainville conjectures that the number of boats which were observed sailing to the southward, is a vindication that there are other islands at no great distance; and, indeed, this opinion seems to be well grounded. To all these islands the commodore gave the general name of the *Archipelago of the Navigators*.

Archipelago of the Navigators.

On the morning of the 11th, another island was discovered, which received the name of the *Forlorne Hope*. At a distance, it had the appearance of two islands, but this deception was occasioned by its shape; for it consisted of two hills joined by a low land, which could not be seen far out at sea. At this period, and some days before and afterwards, the weather was extremely unfavourable, the winds being adverse, and the rains and calms alternate. M. Bougainville (on this circumstance) observes, that in the ocean which has obtained the name of Pacific, the approach to land is generally announced by violent tempests, which becomes still more violent in proportion as the moon decreases, the vicinity of the islands is generally foreboded by thick clouds at the horizon, and squally weather; and the precaution necessary to be taken to prevent a vessel's running foul of shoals, may be more easily conceived than described. In the present instance it was impossible to proceed with the necessary degree of precaution; for the crew were in want of provisions, and water in particular, grew very scarce; so that they were obliged to take advantage of every breeze of wind, both by night and day, and run all hazards for fear of starving. Thus situated, it may be presumed that they thought themselves sufficiently unhappy; but their distress was aggravated by the greater number of the crew of each ship being attacked by the scurvy, which inflamed their mouths to such a degree, that they could scarcely have swallowed those refreshments of which they stood much in need. Salt beef, pork, and dried pulse, constituted the whole fare of those who remained in health for the sick, however, there were yet some few articles of fresh provisions remaining. At this unfortunate juncture the disease, consequent on an illicit commerce between the sexes made its appearance, attended by all its most disagreeable symptoms, Aotourou was so extremely ill of it, that though seeming to despise its effects, he was obliged to submit himself to the care of the surgeons.

Forlorn Hope.

The ships now steered a westerly course, and on the morning of the 22d, two islands were discovered, one of which received the name of *Aurora*, from the early hour on which it was seen, and the other of *Whitsuntide Isle*, from the day on which it was discovered. The track of the vessels was now so directed as that they might have passed between the two islands, but an unexpected calm prevented this manœuvre. Proceeding to the northward of this first-discovered island, a rising land, in a conical form, was observed to bear north by west; which received the name of the *Peak of the Etoile*. In the afternoon, mountainous lands at thirty miles distant were seen appearing, as it were over and beyond the island of Aurora.

1767
Aurora Island.
Whitsuntide Isle.
Peak Etoile.

On the 23d it was discovered, that the land last seen was a separate island, the appearance of which was lofty, its descent steep, and the whole cloathed with trees. A number of boats were seen coasting the shore, but none of them approached the ships: smoke was seen issuing from among the woods, but no habitation was observed. In the morning the commodore dispatched three boats very well manned and armed to take in wood, and to learn the necessary particulars respecting the country, while the ship's guns were brought to bear on the island, in order to protect the boat's crew from any insult that might be offered them by the natives. M. Bougainville himself went on shore in the afternoon, where he found the Indians assisting the French, in carrying to the boats a quantity of wood which had been cut.

The information obtained from the officer commanding the boat's crew was, That on his first landing, the natives assembled on the shore, armed with bows and arrows, intimating, by signs, that the strangers must retreat. The French officer, however, gave orders for landing, and while his people advanced, the Indians retreated, but with their bows bent, and in an attitude of self-defence. At length, they were ordered to halt, while the prince of Nassau approached the Indians, who no longer retired when they saw only one person advancing. The prince having given them some remnants of red cloth, their esteem appeared to be at once conciliated. The commanding officer now stationed himself at the entrance of a wood, and sent out a party in search of refreshments, while another was dispatched to cut fire-wood. The natives now came forward with an appearance of friendship, and distributed some fruit among the seamen, to whom they likewise gave some arrows, but refused to accept any thing in exchange. Their numbers were considerable, and those who were not armed with bows and arrows, had provided themselves with stones, as instruments of defence.

These people intimated, that they were at war with the natives of a different district on the island, and even while they were hinting this circumstance, an armed party of Indians approached from the westward, while the former appeared determined not to retreat from their enemies; but the valour of these latter was rendered unnecessary to be exerted by the want of courage in the others. Matters were in this situation when M. Bougainville landed on the island, where he remained till his boats were laden with the articles he wanted. This being done, he took possession of the place, by the act of burying at the foot of a tree an inscription, carved on an oak-plank, and then he retreated to the ship. It was imagined, that this early retreat of the French prevented an attack which the islanders had meditated, as they seemed to be making preparations for what they had not yet in their power to carry into execution, but no sooner had the boats put off, than the Indians hastened to the beach, and complimented them with a shower of arrows, and a volley of stones; some of them even plunged into the waves, aiming their fury at the supposed invaders, and hurling their vengeance on the insolent strangers. When, at length, one of the seamen having been wounded by a stone, a discharge of musquets drove the islanders to their native woods, evidently wounded, from their cries and exclamations.

M. Bougainville gives the following description of the natives of this island, which he called the *Isle of Lepers*,

Isle of Lepers.

1768 *Lepers*, from obſerving that many of the inhabitants were afflicted with the leproſy: Some of them are mulattoes, and others perfect negros; their hair is woolly, and generally black, but in ſome inſtances very light-brown, approaching to yellow. Few women were ſeen among them, but thoſe few were equally diſagreeable as the men, who are repreſented as low in ſtature, ill favoured, and diſproportionably made.

The women of this ſingular country carry their children in a bag of cloth, ſlung at their backs. On theſe cloths there are elegant drawings in a fine dye of crimſon. The noſes of the men are pierced and hung with ornaments; and it is preſumed, that they pluck out their beards, as none of them were obſerved to have any. They wear a bracelet on the arm, which had the appearance of ivory, and pieces of tortoiſe-ſhells round their necks. Clubs, ſtones, bows and arrows form the armour of theſe people, the arrows are made of reeds pointed with bone. On the points of theſe bones are inverted darts, which prevent the arrow's being drawn without tearing the fleſh of the wounded perſon. The boats of theſe iſlanders bore a ſtrong reſemblance to thoſe of the Indians of the Iſle of Navigators, but theſe veſſels did not approach the ſhips ſo near as to furniſh the French with an opportunity of giving a deſcription of their conſtruction. —Near the beach on which M. Bougainville landed, is a lofty hill, extremely ſteep, yet cloathed with a ſuper-abundance of verdure. The vegetable productions of the Iſle of Lepers, are far inferior to thoſe of Otaheite, owing, as is ſuppoſed, to the lightneſs of the ſoil, and its want of depth. Figs of a ſpecies not before known, were found in this country, and ſeveral paths were ſeen cut through the woods, and incloſed by palliſadoes about a yard in height. It was conjectured, that theſe incloſures marked the boundaries of the landed property of different perſons. Half a dozen hovels only were ſeen, into which no perſon could enter but upon hands and knees, yet the inhabitants were very numerous, and it is ſuppoſed they muſt be very miſerable, from the perpetual wars among the natives of different diſtricts on the iſland. M. Bougainville ſays, that the ſound of a drum, harſh and diſſonant to the ear, was frequently heard in the wood, near the top of the above-mentioned hill; and this he imagines to have been a ſignal for the Indians to rally their forces; for no ſooner had the diſcharge of the fire-arms diſperſed the multitude, than this drum was heard, and when the iſlanders in enmity with the others appeared, the drum was beat with ſuſpended violence.

Aotourou formed a very contemptible opinion of the inhabitants of the Iſle of Lepers, whoſe perſons appeared beyond deſcription odious in his eyes; and of whoſe language he had not the ſlighteſt idea.

On the 23d more land was diſcovered, which on the 25th was obſerved to encloſe almoſt all the horizon, ſo that the ſhips were ſurrounded in one extenſive gulph, while the coaſt of the newly diſcovered country contained many other gulphs, or large inlets, acroſs which ſeveral boats were obſerved rowing from one ſhore to the other.

The night of the 25th was ſpent in tacking, and in the morning it was obſerved, that the currents had carried the veſſel ſeveral miles more to the ſouth than their reckoning. The number of iſles now ſeen was ſo great, that they could not be counted, nor could the end of the extenſive countries be diſcerned. Steering north-weſt by weſt, the land had a very beautiful aſpect, being diverſified with fine trees, between ſpots of land that had the appearance of being cultivated. Some parts of the mountains being barren, and ſpotted in different places with a red earth, M. Bougainville conjectures from that circumſtance, that they contained ſome mineral ſubſtances.

A great inlet to the weſtward having been ſeen on the preceding day, the ſhips now arrived in it, and ſaw a number of negro Indians on the ſouth coaſt of it, while others approached the veſſels in their boats, but when they came to about the diſtance of a muſquet-ſhot, they would advance no nearer, nor could any ſign of invitation from the French induce them to alter their reſolution.—The land on the north ſhore is of a moderate height, and cloathed with trees. On this ſhore many negros were ſeen, and ſeveral boats put off towards the ſhips; but theſe, like the former, refuſed to come on board. At the diſtance of about eight miles from this ſpot, two iſlands were ſeen, which formed the entrance of a fine bay, which the boats were ſent to examine, and after they had been gone a few hours, the ſound of muſquets was heard, which made the commodore very uneaſy. On their return in the evening it appeared, that one of them, in diſobedience to the orders of the commander, had left her conſort, and going near on ſhore, the Indians diſcharged two arrows at the crew, which outrage was returned by the muſquetry, and ſome larger guns. A projecting point of land prevented the boat's being ſeen from the ſhips, but the inceſſant firing induced the commodore to imagine, that ſhe was engaged with a very large number of the enemies boats, two of which ſhe had certainly encountered.

Preparations were making for diſpatching the long-boat to her aſſiſtance, when ſhe was deſcried, coming round the above-mentioned point of land.

The drums were now heard inceſſantly beating, and the cries of the wounded Indians, who retreated to the woods. "I immediately made ſignal to the boat (ſays he) to come on board, and I took my meaſures to prevent our being diſhonoured for the future, by ſuch an abuſe of the ſuperiority of our power." The country laſt-mentioned, conſiſted of a number of ſmall iſlands, off which there is tolerable good anchorage, but at ſuch a diſtance from the coaſt, that a ſhip could not cover any boats that ſhould land, which, as the iſlands are cloathed with thick woods, would be the more neceſſary. Theſe Indians went naked, and, except a bandage round the waiſt, wore the ſame kind of ornaments as thoſe on the Iſland of Lepers, whom they reſembled in all reſpects, except not being quite ſo black; and the productions of the iſland were likewiſe the ſame. The commodore very properly declined any attempt to trade with theſe people, whom he could not ſuppoſe would barter their effects with thoſe from whom they had received ſuch eſſential injuries. On the morning of the 27th they again ſailed, and, in a few hours had ſight of a fine plantation of trees, between which there were regular walks reſembling thoſe of an European garden. Many of the natives were ſeen near this ſpot, and as an inlet was obſerved at no ſmall diſtance, the commodore ordered the boats to be hoiſted out, but they found that it was impracticable to land.

The ſhips now quitted the great cluſter of iſlands they had lately viſited, which received the general name of *The Archipelago of the great Cyclades*, which it is conjectured, occupies no leſs than three degrees of latitude, and five of longitude. M. Bougainville ſays, that theſe iſlands are not the ſame that Quiros called *Tierra Auſtral del Eſpirito Santo*; but that Roggewein ſaw the northern extremity of them, which he denominated *Groningen*, and *Tienhoven*. Our author now recites a very ſingular fact: On board the ſtore-ſhip was a perſon reported to be a woman, which was almoſt confirmed by her want of beard and voice, and her ſhape. The commodore going on board the Etoile, enquired into the fact, when the party confeſſed her ſex, while floods of tears ſtreamed down her face: her ſtory is extraordinary.—Born in Burgundy, and left an orphan, ſhe was ruined by the fatal iſſue of a law ſuit; on which ſhe reſolved to drop the habit of her ſex, and ſerved a gentleman at Paris; but hearing of M. Bougainville's intended expedition round the world, ſhe repaired to Rochfort, where juſt before the ſhips embarked, ſhe entered into the ſervice of M. de Commerſon, who went out with a view of increaſing his botanical knowledge. She followed her maſter, with aſtoniſhing courage and reſolution, through deep ſnows to the hoary tops of the mountains

Archipelago of the great Cyclades.

tains in the ſtreights of Maghellan, carrying loads of herbs, plants, arms, and proviſions, with unſpeakable courage and unwearied toil. While our adventurers were at Otaheite, the men of that iſland flocked round our heroine, and exclaiming, "this is a woman," would have treated her as ſuch, but that an officer reſcued her from their hands, and ordered her to be delivered, unviolated, on board the ſhip. M. Bougainville obſerves, that this is the firſt woman that ever circumnavigated the globe, and remarks on the ſingularity of her ſituation, if the ſhips ſhould have been wrecked on ſome deſart iſle in the great ocean. The name of this extraordinary woman is Baré; and ſhe is as celebrated for her chaſtity as her courage.

On the night between the 4th and 5th of June, ſome breakers were ſeen at half a league diſtance, by the light of the moon. In the morning it appeared to be a low, flat, ſandy iſle abounding in birds, which received the name of the *Shoal of Diana*. About this period ſeveral ſpecies of fruit, and ſome pieces of wood floated by the ſhip, and a kind of flying fiſh was ſeen, larger than the common ſort, the body of which was black, and the wings red. A ſand-bank was diſcovered on the 6th, on which the ſea broke violently, and the tops of rocks were ſeen at intermediate ſpaces. At this time the ſalt proviſions on board were become ſo putrid, that it was almoſt impoſſible for men, even on the point of ſtarving to ſwallow them; and therefore the rats were induſtriouſly ſought after, and eaten in preference to them. The remaining peaſe would ſerve only forty days, and the bread two months; ſo that it become highly neceſſary to think of ſteering to the northward.

On the 10th, before day-break, an agreeable fragrancy impregnated the air, announcing that land was near; and it was accordingly diſcovered before ſun-riſing. This is deſcribed as a moſt delicious country, divided near the ſea-coaſt into groves and plains, behind which the land riſes in the form of an amphitheatre, till the tops of the mountains are loſt in the clouds. The moſt lofty of this chain of mountains was ſeen above ſeventy miles in-land. The whole country appeared to be rich and fertile, but the deplorable ſituation the ſhips companies were reduced to, would not admit of their ſtaying to take a more accurate ſurvey of it. On the 10th a prodigious ſwell from the ſouth-eaſt drove the ſhips violently towards land, and they were ſoon within about two miles of it; and the night was paſſed in this dangerous ſituation, taking advantage of every ſlight breeze to clear the ſhore. A number of boats were now ſeen coaſting the iſland, on many parts of which fires were obſerved. A turtle was found here in the belly of a ſhark. For ſeveral ſucceſſive days there was ſo thick a fog, that the Boudeuſe was obliged to fire frequent guns to keep company with the Etoile, on board of which was a part of their proviſions. Several ſhell fiſh, called cornets, leaped into the ſhip in the night, and it is known of theſe fiſh, that they are accuſtomed to keep at the bottom of the ſea, it is evident that the veſſels muſt have been in very ſhallow water. On the 16th the weather became fine, and on the following day ſeveral iſlands were diſcovered, one of which was called, *Uſhant*, from its ſimilitude to the iſland of that name. By this time our voyagers were reduced to very great extremities. The allowance of bread and peaſe was conſiderably reduced; and a fear of the conſequences that might ariſe, obliged the commodore to forbid the eating of leather.* On the 18th not leſs than nine or ten iſlands were diſcovered, and on the 20th, a ſtill farther number. The navigators now ſtruggled at once with a variety of inconveniences occaſioned by foul ſhips, damaged rigging, crazy maſts and tempeſtuous weather. On the 25th, high land was diſcovered, which appeared to terminate in a cape, which they doubled with a degree of tranſport that may be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed, as it was the point they had wiſhed for a ſight of, from a certainty that it would enable them to quit the Archipelago of iſlands, amidſt which they had been long in hourly dangers of ſhipwreck or ſtarving. This cape was called *Cape Deliverance*, and the name of the gulph of the Louiſiade, was given to the bay, of which the cape forms the eaſtermoſt point. — North of Cape Deliverance, about ſixty leagues, land was diſcovered, which proved to be two ſmall iſlands; and two days afterwards an officer was ſent to examine ſeveral creeks, in the hope of finding anchorage, while the ſhips ſailed ſlowly after the boats, ready to join them on the firſt ſignal. 1768

Cape Deliverance.

Gulph of Louiſiade.

The natives now advanced towards the ſhip in ſeveral boats, carrying from two or three to upwards of twenty men each. Theſe boats had no out-riggers, and their crews were as black as the negros on the coaſt of Guinea, ſome of them had reddiſh hair, and that of all of them, were long and curled. They wore white ornaments on their foreheads and necks, and were armed with lances and bows; they kept almoſt a continual ſhouting, and ſeemed rather inclined for war than peace. When the boats returned on board, the officer reported, that the ſea broke on all parts of the coaſt, that he had found only one ſmall river, that the land was every way covered with wood, and that the mountains ran down cloſe to the ſea-ſhore. The natives dwell on the mountains, but they have a few huts on the banks of ſome of the ſmall creeks. Some of them followed one of the ſhip's boats, and ſeemed almoſt reſolved on the attack; and one of the Indians repeatedly put himſelf in an attitude to have thrown his lance; but he deſiſted from his purpoſe and no miſchief was done.

M. Bougainville ſays, that he was now advanced too far to return; but that he hoped to find a paſſage, though the weather was ſo foggy that he could not diſcern any object at the diſtance of more than two leagues. In the morning of the 1ſt of July, the ſhips were juſt on the ſtation they had quitted the preceding night, having been impelled forward, and driven back, by the tides. Nothing remarkable happened but the diſcovery of a race, in the middle of a paſſage, to which was given the name of *Dennis's Race*, from that of the maſter of the Boudeuſe. A race is a part of any channel or ſtreight where there are oppoſite tides, or a rapid and dangerous current, and ſuch are even ſometimes met with in the open ſeas. Boats were now ſent to find anchorage in a fine bay; and the account of their expedition is as follows: That a number of the Indian boats, in which were 150 of the natives, armed with ſhields, lances, and bows, came from the banks of a rivulet on which their habitations were ſituated, and rowed haſtily towards the French boats, which they ſurrounded, and, with hideous outcries, began the attack with their bows and lances. The French diſcharged their muſquets; but the natives covering themſelves with their ſhields, the fight continued till a ſecond firing terrified them ſo, that they made a haſty retreat, ſome of them ſwimming to ſhore.

Dennis's Race

Two of their boats were taken, on the ſtern of which was the figure of a man's head with a long beard, the eyes being mother of pearl, the ears tortoiſe-ſhell, and the lips were dyed of a bright red, beſides their weapons and uteniſils, there were found in their boats cocoa-nuts, and ſeveral fruits, the ſpecies of which were not known, the jaw of a man half broiled, and various other things. The natives of this coaſt are negros, whoſe hair curls naturally, and they have a method of colouring it yellow, red, and white; their cloathing conſiſts only of a piece of matting round

* There was yet on board a ſhe-goat, which had been brought from Falkland's Iſlands; ſhe yielded milk daily; but this was inſufficient to ſave her life, the ſtarving crew demanded the victim, and the butcher who had hitherto been her feeder, wept as he plunged the knife into the breaſt of his favourite. Soon after this, a dog, which had been put on board at the ſtreights of Maghellan fell alſo a ſacrifice to the dire demands of hunger.

1768 round their waiſts. This river received the name of *Warrior's River*, and the whole ſpot, that of the *Iſle and Bay of Choiſeul*. Two days afterwards a cape was diſcovered which was called *Cape L' Averdi*, on which were mountains of an aſtoniſhing height. On the 4th other mountains had been diſcovered, from which came off five or ſix Indians, and after lying on their oars ſome time, they accepted ſome trifles which were thrown to them. They now exhibited ſome cocoa-nuts, ſaying, *bouca, bouca, oneille!* and ſeemed greatly pleaſed when the French repeated the ſame words. They then intreated that they would fetch ſome cocoa-nuts, but they had ſcarcely left the ſhip's ſide, when one of them diſcharged an arrow, by which, however, no perſon was wounded. The people were altogether naked, had long ears bored, and curled ſhort hair, which ſome of them had dyed red, and they had alſo white ſpots on their bodies. Their teeth were red, probably from the chewing of betel.

Warriors River.

Iſle and Bay of Choiſeul.

Cape L' Averdi.

Bouka Iſland. This iſland, which was named *Bouka*, appeared to be cultivated, and, from the number of huts that were ſeen, it probably abounds with inhabitants. The cocoa-nut, and other trees, diſperſed over a beautiful plain, was a ſufficient tempation for landing, but the rapidity of the current prevented the poſſibility of it.

Two more iſlands were ſeen on the 5th, and, as wood and water were expended, and diſeaſe reigning aboard, the commodore reſolved to land here, and on the following afternoon, the ſhips came to an anchor. The caſks were ſent on ſhore, and tents erected for the ſick, on a commodious ſpot, where there were four rivulets near together, and where wood for the carpenters uſe, as well for burning, was very plenty, there were no inhabitants near the place, ſo that the ſick had an opportunity of ranging the woods, fearleſs of any attack of the natives, and every thing ſeemed to conſpire to render this ſpot the moſt eligible imaginable; but there was one great inconvenience, no fruit could be found. Two huts were diſcovered on the bank of a rivulet not far from the encampment, and a boat, near which was ſeen the remains of fires, ſome calcined ſhells, and the ſkeletons of ſome animals heads, which were taken for thoſe of the wild boar, ſome freſh bananas were found, which proves that the natives lately left the place. This iſland produces a large blue creſted pigeon, which has ſo plaintive a note, that the ſeamen miſtook it for the cries of men in the neighbourhood of the mountains.

M. Bougainville now relates an extraordinary incident: A ſeaman being looking over the ſhells, found a plate of lead, buried in the ſand, on which the following letters were very viſible;

HOR'D HERE

ICK MAJESTY's

The mark of the nails with which the lead had been faſtened appeared; and it is plain that the natives muſt have torn off the plate and broke it. This circumſtance gave riſe to a diligent ſearch, and, at about ſix miles from the watering-place, the ſpot was found where the Engliſh had formed their encampment. Several trees were ſeen which had been felled, and others which had been ſawn in pieces. A very large and conſpicuous tree was found, on which the inſcription had been nailed; it ſtood in the midſt of a ſpacious place, and it appeared that the plate had been pulled down but a very ſhort time. There were other trees to which the ends of ropes were faſtened. One of the trees which had been cut down, had put forth freſh twigs, apparantly of the growth of four months. M. Bougainville mentioned it as a very ſingular circumſtance, that, amidſt ſo many iſlands, he ſhould happen to land on that ſo lately viſited by a rival nation. Diligent ſearch was now made for food and refreſhments, but almoſt in vain; for nothing could be found but a few cabbage-trees, and thatch palms. No fiſh could be caught, and though a few wild boars were ſeen, not one of them was taken. A ſmall number of pigeons indeed were ſhot, the feathers of which were of green and gold.*

No time was now loſt in the neceſſary repairs of the ſhips, and an equal diviſion was made of the proviſions, which now began to run extremely ſhort. A third part of the late allowance of peaſe was taken off. From the commodore, to the loweſt perſon on board, all fared alike: their ſituation, like death, baniſhed all diſtinction. On the 13th, there was an eclipſe of the ſun, which was clearly ſeen, and the proper aſtronomical and nautical remarks made on it. The name of *Port Praſlin* was given to this harbour, an inſcription having been firſt buried under the ſpot where the eclipſe had been obſerved.

Port Praſlin.

The Etoile being a light veſſel, and there being no ſtones to ballaſt her, after the proviſions had been taken out, this important buſineſs was neceſſarily performed with wood, a fatiguing and unwholeſome taſk in ſo damp a country.

A ſailor who was hauling the fiſhing-net, in ſearch of a ſcarce fiſh called the Hammer-oyſter, having been bitten by a ſhark whoſe bite is poiſonous, was cured in a few hours by a profuſe perſpiration, produced by taking flower-de-luce water and treacle.

Aotourou having remarked the progreſs of the cure, intimated that at Otaheite there were ſea-ſnakes, whoſe bite is mortal in every inſtance. On the 22d repeated ſhocks of an earth-quake were felt for about two minutes. The ſea roſe and fell ſeveral times, ſo that the concuſſions were felt on board the ſhips.—Notwithſtanding the extreme bad weather which prevailed, the crews divided into ſeparate parties, went to the woods every day, in hopes to ſhoot ſome turtle-doves, and gather cabbage-trees and thatch-palms: but it generally happened that they returned without any ſucceſs, and wet to the ſkin. At length, however, they found ſome mangle apples, and a kind of pruens, but too late to be of any ſervice, as they were now on the point of departure. A kind of ivy was ſucceſsfully applied in the cure of the ſcurvy.

An immenſe caſcade was ſeen, falling from numerous rocks into a hundred baſons of water, and at once ſhaded and adorned by ſtately trees, ſome of which grow even in the reſervoirs.—The ſituation of the ſhips companies now became ſo dreadful, that no time could be loſt. In the afternoon of the 24th, a favourable breeze enabling the ſhips to get to ſea, they ſailed accordingly, though the crew were ſtill in a ſad ſituation.

M. Bougainville remarks that this country muſt be *New Britain*, and that the great bay muſt be the ſame which Dampier calls St. George's Bay, but that he had the happineſs to land on a part of it where his wants could be ſupplied by the inhabitants. A ſucceſſion of iſlands having been ſeen in the offing, M. Bougainville named them after the officers. The field-tents were now cut up, to make trowſers for the ſeamen, who had been repeatedly cloathed during the voyage, to enable them to ſuſtain the inclemencies of ſo many different climates. But the beſt change of cloathing was now delivered out; and at this period an ounce of bread was deducted from their ſcanty allowance. Their ſalt proviſions were now ſo bad, as to be nauſeous in a high degree; yet their ſtarving ſituation impelled them to feed on them; but even at this melancholy period, no one yielded himſelf a prey to melancholy; and the ſailors, influenced by the example of the officers, employed every evening in dancing,

* An inſect of a moſt wonderful texture was found on this iſland, the body and wings of which appeared ſo much like the leaf of a tree as ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed from it, even on a nice inſpection. When the wings are extended, each forms the half of a leaf, and when they are incloſed it is intire. The upper ſide of the body is of a brighter hue than the under parts, and it has ſix legs, the upper joints of which reſemble parts of leaves. This curioſity was preſerved in ſpirits, and is in the cabinet of the French king.

dancing, diſpelling by their mirth, ſome of the pangs of hunger. New Britain continued in ſight till the beginning of Auguſt, when the ſhips being nearer to land than they had been before, ſeveral Indians boats came off, the crews of which were negros, with woolly heads, which they had covered with powder. They were tall and active, and wore no other cloaths than leaves round the middle. They held out ſomething that had the appearance of bread, and invited the French to land, but they refuſed to enter the ſhips, though an attempt was made to conciliate their friendſhip, by preſents of ſome pieces of ſtuff. They accepted what was given, and threw a ſtone from a ſling in return; inſtantly retreating, with loud vociferations. On the following day a large number aſſembled along-ſide the Boudeuſe; a perſon, who had the appearance of authority, carrying a red ſtaff, knobbed at each end, in his hand. On approaching the ſhip, he held his hand over his head for a conſiderable time. The hair of theſe negroes was painted red, ſome of them were adorned with feathers, ear-rings made of the ſeed of ſome herb, or circular plates deſcending from their necks; others had the noſe pierced, and rings ran through it, but the general ornament was a bracelet, made of the half of a ſhell. The French were anxious to gain the eſteem of theſe people, but in vain;—they eagerly graſped at whatever was given them, but would make no preſent in return. The roots of a few yams were all that could be obtained from them. Two of their boats being obſerved approaching in the night, a rocket was fired, on which they inſtantly rowed off.

On the 31ſt a number of Indian boats attacked the Etoile with a volley of ſtones and arrows, but by a ſingle diſcharge of muſquetry, ſhe got rid of theſe troubleſome companions.

Two iſlands were ſeen on the 4th of Auguſt, that were ſuppoſed to be the ſame as thoſe called by Dampier, Matthias and Stormy Iſlands. A third iſland was ſeen on the 5th, and afterwards they diſcovered the northern point of New Britain.

They ſaw a flat iſland on the 7th of the ſame month, which abounded with cocoa-nut trees, and from the houſes appearing on the ſhore, ſeemed to have been well inhabited. To this they gave the name of the *Iſle of Anchorets*. Many fiſhing-boats were ſeen here; but no notice was taken of the veſſel by the fiſhermen. A great number of ſmall iſlands were diſcovered the next day, in the endeavour to clear which, the commodore experienced many and great dangers. At laſt, however, he effected his purpoſe, a breeze that increaſed with the riſing ſun, greatly contributed to his deliverance.

Iſle of Anchorets.

Coaſting along he afterwards came in ſight of two lofty peaks, to which he gave the appellation of the *Two Cyclops*; and on the 15th ſaw two high mountains upon the continent, near which were two ſmall iſlands; and two others were obſerved on the 23d, when the French attempted to land; but two boats crews ſent for that purpoſe reported that there were no fruits fit for food growing upon them, and that they were entirely uninhabited.

Two Cyclops.

From the rippling of a ſtrong tide, it was this day reported that there were breakers a-head; and afterwards the ſhips actually paſſed over a ſhoal, but without much danger or damage. Forty of the company were now afflicted with the ſcurvy, of which M. Denys, firſt maſter of the Boudeuſe died, greatly regretted by his companions.*

Still ſurrounded by iſlands,† they now ſteered a ſoutherly courſe, and on the following night ſailed out of this labyrinth, through a channel about three leagues in width. There were a number of ſmall iſles ſeen on each ſide of the channel, which they had denominated *French Paſſage*. On the 26th, they ſaw a ſmall iſland, and afterwards a ſteep hill, which they called in their langurge, *Big Thomas*, and three iſlands more were diſcovered in the vicinity.

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French Paſſage.

Big Thomas.

To the ſouth-weſt of ſeveral other iſles that were ſeen the next day, M. Bougainville gave orders to a boat belonging to the Etoile, to ſteer in queſt of anchorage, and for the ſake of enquiring into the nature of their produce. On two of theſe the crew landed, but had no reaſon to ſuppoſe that they were inhabited, and the French were juſt on the point of returning when an Indian made up to the boat, to whom they intimated that they were in want of refreſhment. This man preſented them with a kind of meal and ſome water, in return for which he received a handkerchief, a looking-glaſs, and ſome other trifles, at which he ſeemed to laugh, as thinking them below his notice, from whence it might reaſonably be concluded that he had come from one of the neighbouring Dutch ſettlements.‡ However, a turtle of 200lb. weight was taken by the crew of the Boudeuſe.

The commodore diſcovered the iſland of Ceram, on the laſt day of the month. This place is partly wild, and partly cleared. It is mountainous, and runs in a parallel eaſt and weſt. A number of fires which the adventurers obſerved upon it, intimated that it was well peopled. Early in the morning, on the firſt of September, the French found themſelves at the entrance of a bay, on the banks of which they beheld a number of fires. They ſoon obſerved two boats under ſail, conſtructed on the plan of thoſe of the Malays. A Dutch pendant was now hoiſted, and a gun fired, but the commodore confeſſes his error in this procedure, as the people of Ceram are at variance with the Dutch, whom they have almoſt totally routed from their iſland. M. Bougainville having been thus unſucceſsful through miſtake, returned from the bay, and employed the reſt of the day in plying between the iſlands Bonao, Kelang, and Manepo.—— Sometime before midnight, a number of fires attracted their attention to the iſland of Boero, where there is a Dutch factory, well provided with the neceſſary refreſhments.

The above-mentioned Dutch factory is at the entrance of the gulph of Cajeli, which the French had ſight of at day-break. The joy on this occaſion is not to be expreſſed, for at this time not half the ſeamen were able to perform any duty: and the ſcurvy had raged ſo violently, that no man on board was perfectly clear of it. What few proviſions were on board were abſolutely rotten, and ſtunk intolerably. Thus circumſtanced, their change of ſituation muſt have been peculiarly happy. From midnight the fragrant breeze had wafted the aromatic ſavour of the plants, which abound in the Moluccas. "The aſpect, (ſays our author) of a pretty large town, ſituated in the bottom of a gulph, of ſhips at anchor there, the cattle grazing in the meadows, cauſed tranſports which I have felt, but which I cannot deſcribe." The commodore hoiſted Dutch colours, and fired a gun; but though ſeveral boats were ſailing in the bay, none of them came along-ſide. In a few hours a piragua, rowed by Indians, advanced towards the ſhip, and the commanding officer inquired in Dutch who they were, but refuſed to go on board. M. Bougainville, however, proceeded under all his ſails, and in the afternoon came to an anchor oppoſite the factory.

The Dutch ſoldiers, one of whom ſpoke French, now came on board the Boudeuſe, demanding the reaſon of the commodore's entering that port, when he muſt know that the ſhips of the Dutch Eaſt India Company had an excluſive right to that privilege. He was anſwered in brief, that neceſſity was the motive; that hunger muſt preclude the force of treaties,

* The liberal uſe of wine and lemonade, in ſome meaſure checked the progreſs of this cruel diſorder.

† None of them appeared to be inhabited, though all of them were cloathed with verdure.

‡ Meaning, upon the iſlands formerly ſeven, but by earthquakes, thoſe ſcourges of nature, reduced now to five in number only.

1768 and that they would depart as ſoon as their wants were ſupplied. The ſoldiers ſoon returned with the copy of an order from the governor of Amboyna, who preſides over the reſident of Boero, forbidding him to admit foreign ſhips into that port. The reſident, therefore, intreated M. Bougainville to declare in writing the cauſe of his putting in there, that he might tranſmit ſuch declaration to the governor of Amboyna, in juſtification of his own conduct. This requeſt being complied with, all difficulties were at an end, the reſident having performed his duty as a ſervant of the company, was anxious to diſcharge the ſuperior duties of humanity. The commodore and his officers viſited him on ſhore, were received in the moſt friendly manner, and accepted his invitation to ſupper.

The reſident and his company beheld with equal pleaſure and ſurpriſe the effects that hunger had on the appetites of the gueſts, nor were they willing to eat themſelves, leaſt they ſhould deprive their viſitants of their full ſhare of the repaſt. M. Bougainville profeſſes that he was ſupremely happy, becauſe he had previouſly ſent on board what would be an equal feaſt to both the ſhips companies. A contract was now made, that while the ſhips ſhould remain in that harbour, veniſon ſhould be daily ſupplied to the crews, that eighteen oxen, a number of ſheep and poultry, and a quantity of rice (to ſupply the place of bread) ſhould be put on board. The reſident was likewiſe kind enough to furniſh the ſick with a quantity of pulſe from the company's garden, but much could not be obtained, as it is not generally cultivated on the iſland. The ſick were now brought on ſhore, and the majority of the ſeamen were likewiſe indulged in walking about for their health and pleaſure. The commodore hired the ſlaves belonging to the company to fill the water-caſks, and to carry the ſeveral neceſſaries on board. M. Bougainville and his officers were gratified with the pleaſure of ſtag-hunting, and he mentions the deer of this country as moſt exquiſite food. The Dutch originally tranſported them hither. This iſland is deſcribed as a delightful compoſition of woods, hills, plains, and well cultivated vallies. The town of Cajeli, and about 14 Indian dwellings, formed the Dutch ſettlement. A ſtone fort which the Dutch had originally erected, was accidently blown up in the year 1689; ſince which time it has had no incloſure but that of palliſadoes, with a battery of ſix ſmall cannons. About fifty white people are all that reſide on the iſland, of whom a ſerjeant and twenty-five men, commanded by the reſident, form a part. The negros who reſide in the interior parts of the country ſubſiſt by the cultivation of rice.

The Moors and the Alfourians are the genuine natives of this country, the former are protected by the Dutch factory, who endeavour to inſpire them with the dread of all foreigners. Theſe people are principally kept in awe by the influence of their own chiefs, for whom the Dutch reſident profeſſed a ſincere regard.* The natives of Boero are not treated as ſlaves of the Dutch, their ſlaves being procured from the iſlands of Ceram or Celebes. Unlimited freedom and independance appear to reign among the Alfourians, who, reſiding on the mountains in the interior parts of the iſland, ſubſiſt on the produce of their hunting, with fruits and ſago. It is preſumed they are not Mahometans, becauſe they eat ſwine's fleſh. The principal people among the Alfourians pay occaſional viſits to the Dutch reſident.

The chief products of this iſland are various kinds of wood, particularly black and white ebony; and there is a fine plantation of pepper. The fruits are pine-apples, citrons, lemons, bitter oranges, ſhaddocks, bananas, and cocoa-nuts. Very good barley is likewiſe a produce of this country. Parrots, and a variety of other birds, many of them extremely beautiful, abound in the woods. There is likewiſe the wild cat, whoſe bag under the belly ſerves for the conveyance of its young. The bats and ſerpents are of an enormous ſize, the latter of which are ſaid to have a ſwallow capacious enough for the reception of a whole ſheep. There is a ſnake too, which poſting itſelf to the trees, darts into the eye of the paſſenger who happens to look up, and the bite of this animal is certain death. Crocodiles of an aſtoniſhing ſize reſide on the banks of the rivers, devouring ſuch beaſts as fall in their way; and men are only protected from their fury by carrying torches. M. Bougainville aſſerts, that theſe crocodiles, which roam for prey in the night, have been even known to ſeize people in their boats.

The name of the reſident at Boero is Ouman, he is by birth a Batavian, and is married to a native of Amboyna. He lives in great elegance and ſplendour, attended by no leſs than 100 ſlaves. M. Bougainville ſpeaks of his politeneſs and hoſpitality in very high terms. After having twice regaled the French officers in the ceremonious way, he bid adieu to all ſet forms, but his houſe was conſtantly as open to them as if it had been their own; they always found good viands and liquors, and our author thinks this was no inconſiderable degree of civility to perſons, ſo lately on the point of ſtarving. The reſident's houſe is conſtructed in the Chineſe taſte, in the middle of a garden, which is interſected by a river; the houſe itſelf is elegantly furniſhed. Its approach is through an avenue of trees, which are planted down to the ſea-ſide. The wife and daughter were habited in the Chineſe manner, and were no way deficient in the eſſential requeſts of good breeding. Their chief employ conſiſts in making noſegays, and ſelecting flowers proper for diſtillation. The aſtoniſhment of Aotourou, at the firſt ſight of an European ſettlement, may be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed. He regarded every object with an intenſeneſs of curioſity ſcarcely to be ſatisfied, but he was particularly charmed with the hoſpitality of the Dutch. He ſuppoſed every thing freely given, as he did not ſee any thing returned by way of barter. M. Bougainville ſays, that he behaved ſenſibly with reſpect to the Dutch, to whom he intimated the conſequence he was of in his own country, and that his preſent voyage was merely pleaſurable, with friends whom he eſteemed. His conſtant practice was to imitate the manners of the French, both in their viſits, and in their rural amuſements. The knees of this Indian being diſtorted, he attributed to that circumſtance, his not being taken with the commodore on his viſit to the reſident, and actually deſired ſome of the ſeamen to preſs their weight on his knees to make them ſtrait. He would frequently enquire whether Paris was as grand a place as Boero. Though the French were only ſix days on ſhore, the healthful air of the place, had ſo far contributed to the recovery of the ſick, that by the help of the refreſhments now ready to be put on board, it was very poſſible to perfect the cure at ſea. The ſick people were conveyed to the ſhips in the morning of the 7th, and before evening every one was on board, in expectation of the land-breeze, by which after much difficulty in weighing the anchor, they were enabled to ſail about an hour before midnight, and get clear of the gulph of Cajeli before morning.

Having coaſted the iſland of Boero, the iſles of Manipa and Kilang were ſeen on the morning of the 8th, and on the 9th they had ſight of the iſland of Xullabeſſic, where the Dutch have a factory, named Cleverblad, that is, clover leaf. There is a garriſon conſiſting of twenty-five men, under the diſcipline of a ſerjeant, and commanded by a perſon who holds no higher rank than book-keeper to the Dutch Eaſt India Company. On the 10th the commodore buried his

* Dutch policy, in this, as in all their other ſettlement, is the ſame, by fomenting a jealouſy among the chiefs of their reſpective dependants;—a plot is no ſooner formed by one chief, than it is revealed by another.

his taylor, who fell a ſacrifice to the ſcurvy, encreaſed when on the point of cure, by an exceſſive drinking of brandy. On the morning of the 11th they had ſight of the iſland of Wawoni, and in a few hours ſaw that of Buton, the ſtreights of which they entered on the following day, and obſerved a veſſel of a ſquare form, ranging the ſhore, and towing a piragua. The French ſhips were no ſooner obſerved by this veſſel than ſhe furled her ſail, and concealed herſelf behind a ſmall iſland. A French ſeaman, whom M. Bougainville had engaged at Boero, ſaid that the veſſel in queſtion was manned by a ſet of Indian pirates, who made a practice of taking priſoners in order to ſell them. In the afternoon the ſhip ſailed by a beautiful port on the coaſt of Celebes, the view of which was moſt delightfully variagated by mountains, hills and valleys, and clothed with an exuberance of verdure. In a few hours afterwards the iſland of Pangaſani was in ſight, to the northward of which appeared the higheſt mountains of Celebes. Pangaſani is a flat iſland abounding in trees, and our author conjectures, that it produces ſpices; it is however certain, that it is well inhabited, from the number of fires that were ſeen on it during the night. On the morning of the 13th the ſhips were ſurrounded with Indian boats, bringing paroquets, cockatoes, fowls, eggs, and bananas, which the natives ſold for Dutch money, or exchanged for knives. Theſe people were inhabitants of a conſiderable diſtrict on the mountains of Buton, oppoſite the place where the ſhips lay at anchor. On this ſpot the land is cleared and cultivated, the property of different perſons being divided by ditches. Some of the fields are incloſed by hedges, and there are houſes in theſe fields, beſides which there are ſeveral villages.

The produce of this country conſiſts in potatoes, yams, rice, maize, &c. and the bananas are deemed as good as in any part of the world. Pine-apples, cocoa-nuts, and citrons, are very plentiful. The natives, are of a brown complexion, ordinary features, and low of ſtature. They profeſs the Mahometan faith, and ſpeak the language common in the Molucca iſles. They are very honeſt, though expert traders. They offered M. Bougainville ſome pieces of coarſe cloth; but he does not ſay whether he dealt with them or not, he aſked them for ſome nutmegs, which they ſaid they procured from the Iſland of Ceram, and the neighbourhood of Banda; and his remark is, that the Dutch cannot ſupply them from thoſe places. The coaſt of Pangaſani is deſcribed as riſing in the form of an amphitheatre, from the level of the coaſt which he imagines is frequently overflowed, becauſe the dwellings of the natives were obſerved to be ſituated on the ſlope of the hills. The people of Buton conſider the inhabitants of Pangaſani as pirates, and each party is provided againſt the attacks of the other by a dagger, which is always worn, ſtuck in the girdle.

The ſhips ſailed on the morning of the 14th, but coming to anchor in a few hours afterwards a number of piraguas ſurrounded the Boudeuſe, one of which hoiſting Dutch colours, the reſt retreated, that ſhe might come along-ſide. It appeared that this boat belonged to one of the chiefs of the country, to whom alone the Dutch permit the diſtinction of carrying their colours. M. Bougainville ſailed again on the 15th, and in the afternoon of that day diſpatched his barge after a boat which was ſeen in a large bay, with a view to procure a pilot, and the boat readily came, having an Indian on board, who, for thirteen ſhillings readily engaged in the pilotage, but his intended ſervices were rendered unneceſſary, by the ſun happening to ſhine with great luſtre on a ſpot which directed their paſſing out of the channel. As oppoſing winds and tides now obliged the ſhips to come to an anchor, the piraguas come off in great numbers, bringing pieces of cotton, articles of curioſity, and variety of refreſhments. At the approach of evening, the ſhips got clear of the narrow paſs, and anchored in Buton Bay.

The coaſt of Buton abounds in incloſures proper for the catching fiſh, while the riſings are beſpread with habitations. The oppoſite ſhore is perpendicular; and after paſſing the galley both ſides are ſteep, hanging in ſome places over the channel. The coaſt of Pangaſani has two or three ſmall houſes on it, though it is little elſe than a ſolid rock, yet well cloathed with trees. The Indian pilot above-mentioned gave the beſt inſtructions in his power, reſpecting the mode of paſſing the gut; but he appeared totally unſkilled in the European art of navigation. Another Indian, ſuppoſed to be the pilot's father, went on board the Boudeuſe in the morning, and remained till the evening. They both drank plentifully of brandy, but would eat only bananas, and chew betel, abſolutely refuſing to taſte of the ſhip's proviſions. On the morning of the 17th, while the ſhips were under ſail, the Indians came off in great numbers, bringing fruit, poultry, and eggs, which they ſold at ſuch moderate rates, that even the common ſeamen could poſſeſs themſelves of thoſe refreſhments, in very great abundance. 1768

This morning five of the *Orencaies*, or chiefs of Buton, came off in a boat of the European form, with Dutch colours hoiſted at its poop. Theſe people were dreſſed in jackets and long breeches, with turbans, and each of them had a ſilver headed cane, with the company's mark on it. They gave M. Bougainville a roe-buck, and received in return, each a quantity of ſilk ſtuffs. They paid many compliments to the French nation, ſo freely drinking the health of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, and the king of Buton, that they were at length, obliged to be helped down the ſhip's ſide into their boats. The commodore inquired of the Orencaies, whether any ſpices grew on the iſland of Buton, to which they replied in the negative, and were eaſily credited, on account of the weakneſs of the Dutch ſettlement, which is nothing more than a few huts, built of the bamboo cane, and incloſed with palliſadoes. The guard, on the part of the company, conſiſts only of a ſerjeant and three men. The coaſt oppoſite Buton is incloſed, cultivated, and well peopled, nor is the iſland itſelf leſs populous, or leſs fruitful.

In the morning the Indian pilot viſited the commodore and informed him, that the ſouth-eaſt wind would blow freſheſt exactly at noon. This proved to be ſtrictly true, and was a circumſtance ſo well known to the natives, that all the boats which had ſurrounded the ſhip retired before the ſun had gained the meridian.——M. Bougainville, taking advantage of the pilot's advice, got out to ſea with a fair wind, ſteering for the iſland of Saleyor, which he diſcovered on the 18th. On this iſland the Dutch have a ſmall ſettlement, the principal reſident at which is the book-keeper. This day at noon there iſlands were diſcovered, which were called *North Iſland*, *South Iſland*, and *Iſle of Paſſage*; which laſt was ſo denominated from the ſhips paſſing near it, for the advantage of a ſafe navigation. By day-light on the 19th they were within about a league of the coaſt of Celebes, which is deſcribed as one of the fineſt countries in theſe parts.——Immenſe herds of cattle graze on the plains, which are adorned with groves, while the coaſt is one continued plantation of the cocoa-nut-tree. The plains are in moſt places cultivated and covered with houſes, while the mountains behind them add dignity and ornament to the landſcape. North Iſland, South Iſland, Iſle of Paſſage.

This day M. Bougainville chaced a Malayan boat, in hope of obtaining a pilot, acquainted with the coaſt, but ſhe fled at his approach, nor even brought to, after he had fired ſeveral guns at her. He conjectures that the Boudeuſe was miſtaken for a Dutch ſhip, and obſerves that the generality of people on the coaſt are pirates, who are always made ſlaves when they are taken by the Dutch. The ſhips having, during the evening, ſteered between an iſland named Tanakeka, and three ſmall iſles, orders were given at midnight, to carry all the ſail poſſible, in order to come within ſight of the iſles of Alambar.

1768 At midnight, between the 21ſt and 22d, a boat was obſerved advancing towards the ſhips; but tho' guns were fired, ſhe bore off in the apprehenſion, as conjectured, that they were Dutch veſſels.

In the afternoon of the 22d, the north-eaſt of Madura was ſeen from the maſt-head, and a number of fiſhing boats were obſerved, ſome at anchor, and ſome employed in their buſineſs. On the following morning four ſhips were ſeen, two of which hoiſted Dutch colours, and one of them was ſpoken with by the Boudeuſe, which proved to be a ſnow from Malacca, bound for Japara. M. Bougainville now coaſted the land of Java, the ſhore of which is level, but the interior country abounds in lofty mountains. At ſun-riſe on the 26th, the coaſt of Java appeared. In the afternoon the commodore ſpoke with a Dutchman who commanded a boat bound for the iſles of Amboyna and Ternate, who ſaid that, according to his reckoning, he was then twenty-ſix leagues from Batavia.——Having come to an anchor for the night, the ſhip ſailed early in the morning of the 27th, and on the following night, came to an anchor, in the fear of having even paſt the port of Batavia; but having ſight of the church of that town in the morning, they proceeded, and ſoon anchored in the road, happy, after ſo many toils, difficulties and dangers, to have reached a ſpot which they conceived would ſoon put a period to all their misfortunes, by inſuring them a ſafe arrival in Europe.

M. Bougainville reſolved to make his ſtay at Batavia as ſhort as poſſible, but the want of biſcuit, a ſufficient quantity of which was not baked, compelled him to ſtay longer than he had intended. A Dutch officer came on board, with a written paper, of which the Frenchman underſtood not a word, but the cockſwain having enquired who their viſitants were, demanded a certificate written and ſigned by the commanding officer. M. Bougainville, who had ſent an officer on ſhore to wait on the governor, declined to give any anſwer till his return. This officer came back late in the evening, with an account that his excellency was at his country-houſe, but that he had been with the ſhebander, who promiſed to introduce the commodore to the Dutch general, on the following day.——The heat of this climate requires that viſits ſhould be made early in the morning; M. Bougainville therefore ſet out ſoon after day-break, and, after waiting on the ſhebander was by him conducted to the governor-general, who was then at one of his country reſidences, about nine miles from the town. The behaviour of this chief of an important diſtrict, was equally ſincere and obliging, he approved of the conduct of the reſident at Boero, in his treatment of the French, during the hour of their diſtreſs. He gave permiſſion for the ſick to be lodged in the hoſpital, and iſſued the proper orders for their being received. The furniſhing of the neceſſary ſupplies was left to the ſhebander, and when all matters of buſineſs were ended, the governor aſked the commodore if he would ſalute the citadel. To this an affirmative anſwer was given, on condition that the ſalute ſhould be properly returned. Theſe preliminaries being adjuſted, M. Bougainville went on board his ſhip, ſaluted with fifteen guns, and was complimented with the ſame number.

The ſick people were now ſent to the hoſpital, 28 in number, moſt of whom were now troubled with the bloody-flux, and the reſt with the ſcurvy. The officers having taken lodgings in the town, fixed a day for paying a viſit of ceremony to the governor, at his country-ſeat, called Jacatra; after which they viſited in form, an officer called *Schout-by-Nacht*, or rear admiral; who is a member of the regency, and has a vote in every matter reſpecting maritime affairs. This gentleman lives with a degree of ſplendour that would not diſgrace a prince. M. Bougainville mentions the theatre of Batavia as an elegant building; but of the performances he was not qualified to judge, from a total ignorance of the language. His curioſity impelled him to take a view of the Chineſe comedies, but of theſe alſo he could form no judgment but from ſight. Excluſive of the exhibitions on the regular theatres, he ſays that a kind of pantomime is daily performed on ſcaffolds, erected in the Chineſe quarter of the city. It is a ſingularity of the Chineſe comedy, that the characters of men are repreſented by women; nor is it unfrequent to ſee the actors entertain the ſpectators with a boxing-match. Our ingenious voyager repreſents the neighbourhood of Batavia as elegant beyond deſcription. The neatneſs is all Dutch; the magnificence, he ſays, is Pariſian. A clergyman of Batavia, Mr. Mohr, diſtinguiſhed for his immenſe riches, and his extenſive knowledge, has erected in the garden of one of his country-houſes, one of the moſt ſuperb obſervatories in the world, and has furniſhed it with a great variety of inſtruments of the conſtruction of European artiſts; our author obſerves "That he is doubtleſs the richeſt of all the children of Urania."—The water of Batavia is of ſo bad a quality that the people of fortune import Seltzer water from Holland, for their common drinking at a moſt enormous expence. The houſes of this city are built only one ſtory high, on account of the frequent earthquakes, which would be of pernicious conſequence to buildings of a lofty conſtruction. The riches of the Batavians are marked by the magnificent taſte in which their houſes are furniſhed; yet is the city ſaid to be much inferior to what it was ſome years ago; and it is certain the rent of houſes is not half as much as it was; yet will this place always be rich, through the refined policy of the Dutch, which makes it difficult for any man, after he has amaſſed a fortune to tranſmit it to Europe; for any money intended to be ſent to Holland, muſt paſs through the hands of the company, who charge eight *per cent.* for the care of ſending it to Europe; excluſive of which the current money of Batavia would ſuſtain a loſs of no leſs than twenty-eight per cent, even if it could be ſmuggled out of the country. The diſtinction of rank he ſays, is obſerved in the ſtricteſt degree at Batavia, and the *Etiquette* is never diſpenſed with. The gradation of rank is as follows, viz. The high regency, the court of juſtice, the eccleſiaſtics, the company's ſervants, the ſea-officers, and thoſe of the military. There is no appeal from the court of juſtice. This court, about twenty years ſince, ſentenced to death the governor of Ceylon, who had been convicted of moſt infamous oppreſſion in his government; and he was executed oppoſite the citadel at Batavia. If any of the reſpective ſovereigns of the iſland of Java offend againſt the eſtabliſhed Dutch policy, they are put to death in the moſt inhuman manner. On theſe melancholy occaſions, the unhappy ſufferers are dreſſed in white drawers, and are never beheaded, from a conviction prevalent among them that appearing in any other dreſs, or viſiting the other world without their heads, would be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences; nor do the Dutch dare to controul theſe opinions, as the immediate conſequence of ſuch a procedure on their part, would be a revolt of the Javaneſe.—The Dutch company have an excluſive right to a large part of the iſland of Java. The iſland of Madura formerly belonged to them, but the chief of it revolted from their authority, and the ſon of this revolting king, is at preſent the governor of that very iſland of which his father had been ſovereign. The Dutch, equally deep in every ſtroke of their politics, have ſeized the province of Balimburan, in conſequence of the ſovereign of that diſtrict having revolted from their authority. It is aſſerted, that the Engliſh erected him a fort, and ſupplied him with arms and ammunition to combat that ſlavery, which he thought the more an indignity becauſe it was impoſed on him by a merchantile nation. After a war of two years, and after repeated battles, in the laſt of which the Javaneſe prince and his family were made priſoners. The Dutch became final conquerors, and the routed ſovereign being lodged in the citadel at Batavia, ſoon fell a ſacrifice to the grief that preyed on his mind.—When M. Bougainville

arrived at Batavia, it was in agitation to ſend the ſon and the other branches of this unhappy family to the Cape of Good Hope, in order that they might ſpend the remains of a wretched exiſtence on the Iſland of Roben. The ſeveral chiefs of the different diſtricts of the Iſland of Java, are ſurrounded with Dutch guards, ſo that they are kings only in name. From theſe, however, the Dutch receive arrack, rice, ſugar, coffee and tin, in return for which they ſupply opium, the ſale of which is very profitable, from the great quantities conſumed by the Javaneſe.

Before the crews of the Boudeuſe and Etoile had been ten days at Batavia, the diſeaſes common to that climate began to attack them with all their fury. From a vigorous ſtate of health the people were, in a few days, reduced to the brink of the grave, nor could the commodore's utmoſt diligence enable him to tranſact his affairs with a proper degree of diſpatch, as the illneſs of the Shebander himſelf prevented the acceleration of his buſineſs.

Every officer on board the Boudeuſe began to experience the fatal effects of the climate; and, at length Aotourou felt the dreadful influence of this peſtiferous clime, and it is ſuppoſed, that nothing but the readineſs with which he took the preſcriptions offered him, could have ſaved him from the moſt fatal conſequences of the contagion. For a long time after he left Batavia, he diſtinguiſhed it by the name of *Enoua Mate*, "the land which kills."

The ſhips ſailed on the 16th of October, 1768, and cleared the ſtreights of Sunda on the 19th in the afternoon. By this time the crew were all perfectly cured of the ſcurvy; but a few of them remained ill of the bloody-flux. On the 20th, the ſhips were in ſight of the Iſle of France, and on the 8th of November, the Boudeuſe anchored in the port of that iſland, the Etoile, which had been unavoidably left behind, anchoring in the ſame port on the following day. At this place the ſhips were repaired, and the commodore left behind him on the iſland ſeveral perſons, who deſired to add to the numbers already in that colony.—And here he expreſſes his happineſs that he was enabled, after ſo tedious a voyage, to enrich this colony with inhabitants and neceſſaries, but he laments in the moſt pathetic terms the death of the Chevalier de Bouchage, an enſign on board the king's ſhip, whoſe abilities as an officer could be ſurpaſſed only by his virtues and accompliſhments as a man.

M. Bougainville ſpeaks in high terms of the forges for making iron, which are eſtabliſhed on this iſland, and he even prefers them to thoſe of Europe. M. Bougainville ſailed from this place the 12th of December, 1768, leaving the Etoile behind him, to undergo ſome neceſſary repairs, and this ſhip did not arrive in France till a month after the Boudeuſe. Without encountering any ſingular accident, the adventurers had ſight of the Cape of Good Hope on the 18th of January, and came to an anchor in Table Bay, on the following morning. M. Bougainville omits a deſcription of the cape, which has been ſo often and ſo accurately deſcribed by our circumnavigators, and other voyages; one circumſtance, however, he fails not to mention, that they killed a quadruped, named the Giraffe, which was ſeventeen feet in height, and that they took the young one alive, which meaſured ſeven feet. "None of theſe (ſays our author) had been ſeen after that which was brought to Rome in the time of Cæſar, and ſhewn in the amphitheatre." M. Bougainville ſailed from the cape on the 17th, and came to anchor off the iſland of St. Helena, on the 4th of February, where he remained till the 6th, and then got under ſail in purſuance of his voyage to France. On the 25th of this month the commodore fell in with the Swallow, commanded by Captain Carteret, as has been already related.

Nothing material happened from this time till they had ſight of the iſle of Uſhant, when a violent ſquall of wind had nearly blaſted all the hopes of ſo fine a voyage. The commodore bore away for St. Malocs, which port he entered after an abſence of two years and four months from his native country; during all which time he had buried only ſeven of his crew, a circumſtance that will be deemed quite aſtoniſhing, when we reflect on the variety of dangers they had encountered. 1769

We have mentioned that M. Bougainville brought Aotourou to Paris, where he took great pains to have him inſtructed, yet when he had been almoſt two years among Frenchmen, he could ſpeak but a very few words of their language, partly owing to a natural defect in his pronunciation already intimated, and partly to his being arrived at thirty years of age without his memory being exerciſed by ſtudy. M. Bougainville ſays he muſt have created a world of ideas in a mind as indolent as his body, before he could have adapted them to French words proper to expreſs them. Though Aotourou was thus deficient in the language of France, yet the ſtreets of Paris were quite familiar to him. He frequently bought things and was ſeldom defrauded in the purchaſe. None of the publick diverſions had any charms for him but the opera, to which he went regularly; for he knew the nights on which it was to be performed, and paid the ſame for admittance as other people: his great fondneſs for dancing was what rendered the opera ſo agreeable to him. He was exceedingly grateful to thoſe who conferred any obligations on him, nor did he ever forget their perſons or their favours. The Ducheſs of Choiſeul was the firſt in the liſt of his friends, and he expreſſed more gratitude for the polite attention with which ſhe treated him than even for the numerous preſents which he received at her hands: and as often as he heard of that lady's being arrived from her country-ſeat, he would immediately go and viſit her. After a reſidence of eleven months at Paris, Aotourou was put on board the Briſon, at Rochelle, which ſhip was deſtined to convey him thence to his own country. M. Bougainville gave about 1500l. ſterling, towards the fitting out the Briſon for this voyage; and the Ducheſs of Choiſeul ordered a conſiderable ſum to be expended in cattle, ſeeds, implements of huſbandry, &c. which were ſhipped for the uſe of the natives of Otaheite.*

While Aotourou was at Paris, in 1769, a comet appeared, which furniſhed M. Bougainville with an opportunity of knowing that this kind of ſtars had been frequently obſerved at Otaheite; but that the natives do not ſuppoſe that they are in any reſpect portentous of evil conſequences;——but what we call ſhooting-ſtars, are by theſe people deemed evil-genii.

M. Bougainville has made many philoſophical reflections on the character of this Indian; and many others are interſperſed in the courſe of his voyage, the principal of which we have ſelected. The French commander has alſo given a deſcription of the eſtabliſhment of the Spaniards at Rio de la Plata, as alſo an account of the miſſions in Paraguay, which though we conſidered as too long to be inſerted in the midſt of his narration, yet we think of too much importance to be omitted. We ſhall, therefore, here preſent it to our readers.

Paraguay deſcribed.

"The river de la Plata, (ſays our author) takes a ſoutherly courſe to the 34th degree of latitude, where it is united with the river Uraguai, making one ſtream, which runs ſtill ſoutherly to the Ocean. The Jeſuits have advanced a falſe principle of geography, and other authors have fallen into their errors, by ſuppoſing the River de la Plata to ſpring from the lake of Xarages. This lake, which has been the ſubject of much inquiry, is now ſuppoſed to have no exiſtence. By order of the courts of Spain and Portugal, the Marquis of Valdelirais, and Don George Menezes, undertook to determine the limits of the poſſeſſions of theſe two powers; and accordingly ſeveral Spaniſh

* M. Bougainville concludes this part of his narrative with the following very humane and equally political wiſh. "O may Aotourou ſoon ſee his countrymen again!"

1769 and Portugueſe officers, traverſed this large diſtrict of America, between the years 1751 and 1755. The Spaniards embarked on the river Paraguay, and the Portugueſe proceeded from a ſettlement belonging to the crown of Portugal, called Maragoſſo, ſituated on the interior boundaries of the Braſils, at about twelve degrees ſouth latitude, and proceeded up the river Caourou, which, according to the maps of the Jeſuits, is deſcribed as falling into the lake Xarages. But how great was their ſurpriſe and diſappointment at meeting in the 14th degree of ſouth latitude in the river Paraguay, without finding any thing to juſtify the ſuppoſition of the exiſtence of the lake! Hence it was concluded that the periodical inundations of the river over a conſiderable tract of adjacent country, having been received in low grounds, formed a body of water, which, by former navigators was taken for the ideal lake. The ſource of the Paraguay, or Rio de la Plata, is among the mountains, between the two oceans, and between five and ſix degrees ſouth latitude, and it empties itſelf into the river of Amazons. The Uraguai ariſes in the Captainſhip of St. Vincent's in the Braſils; and the Parana, in the mountains to the eaſt north-eaſt of Rio Janeiro, whence it flows to the weſtward, and then changes its courſe to the ſouth.——It appears from the account of the Abbé Prevoſt, that Diaz de Solis, firſt diſcovered the Parana in 1515, and called it after himſelf; but that in 1526, Sebaſtian Cabot named it la Plata, or, Of Silver, on account of the many pieces of ſilver, which he obſerved in the poſſeſſion of the natives of that country. The fort of Eſpiritu Santo was erected by Cabot, who had ſcarcely time to ſee it completed before it was levelled with the earth. In 1535, Don Pedro de Mendoza, great cup-bearer to the emperor, ſailed for the river de la Plata, and founded Buenos Ayres; but this undertaking proved extremely unſucceſsful; and after Mendoza's death, the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, unable to defend themſelves againſt the depredations of the Indians, and living in perpetual dread of famine, fled for ſanctuary to Aſſumption, now the capital of Paraguay, which was built by the followers of Mendoza, ſoon became well inhabited, and of courſe conſiderably enlarged. Don Pedro Artiz de Zarara, governor of Paraguay, rebuilt Buenos Ayres, upon an improved plan, in the year 1580, and it ſoon became the principal reſort of ſhips, navigating the South Seas; ſoon after which it was an epiſcopal ſee, and the place of reſidence of the chief magiſtrate. The ſituation of Buenos Ayres is computed to be in 34 deg. 56 min. ſouth lat. and 61 deg. 5 min. weſt longitude from Paris. The inhabitants, including negros, do not exceed twenty thouſand, notwithſtanding which, the town covers a very large ſpace of ground, owing to the generality of the habitations having no more than a ground-floor, with ſpacious court-yards, and extenſive gardens. The public market is held in a grand ſquare, the angles of which are formed by the governor's palace, the town-hall, the cathedral, and the epiſcopal palace. There is no harbour at Buenos Ayres, ſo that ſhips of any conſiderable burden are obliged to ſail to Encenada de Baragon, about ten leagues eaſt ſouth-eaſt of the town, or elſe receive and deliver their freights by means of ſmall boats. Adjoining to the Jeſuits convent there is a building, called the houſe for the exerciſes of women, where married and unmarried people, without the conſent of their huſbands or friends, ſequeſter themſelves for the ſpace of twelve days, during which time various religious exerciſes are practiſed, almoſt without intermiſſion. There are holy ceremonies appointed for the ſlaves; and ſuch of the negros, as pay four reals per annum to the Dominicans, are admitted members of ſome religious comniunity, and intitled to certain holidays, to hear maſs, and a decent interment at the expence of the friars. This community of negros acknowledge St. Benedict of Palermo, and the Virgin Mary for their patrons, and on the days dedicated to theſe ſaints, they ſelect two perſons to repreſent the kings of Spain and Portugal, who are followed by all the negros of the order, parading through the ſtreets from the riſing to the ſetting of the ſun, ſinging, dancing, repreſenting battles, and repeating religious incantations. The grounds near Buenos Ayres are extremely fruitful, producing all the real neceſſaries of life; but it is entirely uncultivated at only three leagues diſtance; and in croſſing the plains ſcarcely a hovel is to be met with; ſo that paſſengers are frequently under the neceſſity of ſleeping in their carriages, and thoſe who go on horſeback are often, for many ſucceſſive nights, expoſed to the inclemency of the weather. Horſes and black cattle abound in theſe plains, and the latter are frequently killed by travellers, who take away ſufficient for a few meals, and leave the reſt for the birds and beaſts of prey. The only furious animals known here are wild dogs and tygers, the former, which are ſaid to have been originally brought from Europe, are both fierce and numerous, perhaps owing to their food; and the climate ſeems greatly to have altered their ſpecies;—— the latter are of the uſual kind, but are not very frequently met with. In the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres wood is ſo extremely ſcarce, that very little is to be found that will ſerve for fuel, and what is uſed in erecting and repairing houſes, or in refitting veſſels, is tranſported from Paraguay.—The Indians inhabiting this part of America are of a copper complexion, ſeldom exceeding five feet in ſtature, and of a very forbidding aſpect. Their chief is diſtinguiſhed by a thong of leather tied round his forehead, to which are faſtened ſeveral plates of copper. The arms they uſe are bows and arrows, ſlings and balls. Theſe are about the circumference of a two pound cannon ball, and being received in leathern cups at the ends of cords of about ſix or ſeven feet long, they throw them when on horſeback, with ſuch amazing force and dexterity, as to be almoſt at a certainty of killing an animal at the diſtance of three hundred yards. Some years ago a number of delinquents, eſcaping the puniſhment they were ſentenced to, retreated to the north of the Maldonadoes, where being joined by ſome deſerters and Indian women, they have formed a community of deſperadoes. They frequently plunder the Spaniſh ſettlements, and carry their ſpoils to the boundaries of the Braſils, where they receive in exchange for them fire-arms and cloaths from the Pauliſts, another deſperate race of robbers, ſuppoſed to be between ſix and ſeven hundred in number, who removed from Braſil farther to the north weſt about the ſixteenth century, ſince which time they have continually traverſed the adjacent country in parties; and ſuch travellers as are ſo unfortunate as to meet with them, generally fall victims to their cruelty and rapine.—The governments of Tucuman and Paraguay, with the miſſions of the Jeſuits, are dependent upon the governor-general of la Plata, who, in all matters relating to the ſilver mines of Potoſi, is under the juriſdiction of the viceroy of Peru.—A mint having been lately eſtabliſhed at Potoſi, the ſilver will not in future be brought from hence in the ore, but refined on the ſpot.—Two hundred carts, attended by three hundred men, go annually from Buenos Ayres to fetch ſalt from the lakes adjacent to the ſea in 43 deg. ſouth lat. and the neceſſity of obtaining ſalt, is the only motive that induces the Spaniards to travel ſo far ſouth of Buenos Ayres, where the country exhibits a melancholy proſpect of dreary and uncultivated lands.

The principal commerce of Buenos Ayres is with Peru and Chili, to which provinces they ſend cotton, mules, ſome ſkins, and about 400,000 Spaniſh pounds weight of the Paraguay herb, or South Sea tea, every year; great part of which laſt article is conſumed by the laborious in the Peruvian mines, it being eſteemed a moſt excellent preventive againſt the effects of the noxious vapours ariſing from thoſe inexhauſtible funds of treaſure. Notwithſtanding there is but little trade at Buenos Ayres, it is a place of ſuch great riches that the regiſter ſhips frequently carry away a million

of dollars each: and if they were inclined to extend their ſkins and fur trade, thoſe articles alone would, undoubtedly, acquire them immenſe treaſure.

Montevideo was built between forty and fifty years ſince, upon a peninſula, to the north of the river, and about ninety miles above its mouth. The town has a bay, affording ſafe anchorage, but in boiſterous weather ſome ſkill muſt be exerted, to keep clear of a chain of hidden rocks of the coaſt point of the bay, which are called Punta de les Carretas. The town of Montevideo affords every refreſhment; and the air being particuly ſalubrious, renders it ſtill more inviting to voyagers, who generally find here a happy renewal of that health and vigour which from various cauſes, muſt inevitably be impaired by a long reſidence on the ſtormy element.

The Jeſuits took up their reſidence at Paraguay, in the year 1580, and in the time of Philip the Third formed their celebrated miſſions, called by the Europeans [Paraguay or Uraguai.] Theſe miſſions are thirty-ſeven in number; twenty-nine being on one ſide of the river Uraguai, and eight on the oppoſite ſhore.—The Jeſuits undertook to convert the natives of this tract of America to the Roman Catholic religion; and in order to encourage them to purſue this difficult taſk with a proper degree of ſpirit, they were rendered independant of the governor's authority, and allowed an annual ſtipend of ſixty thouſand piaſtres for their neceſſary expences. And, in order to indemnify the crown for this expence, a tax of one piaſtre per head was levied upon all the Indians between the age of eighteen and ſixty. Notwithſtanding the many and great obſtacles which would have diſpirited leſs determined men, the Jeſuits, by a ſteady perſeverance, the moſt ardent zeal, and a ſtrict attention to the genius and diſpoſition of thoſe ſavages, at length civiliſed their manners, implanted in their minds the principles of the chriſtian religion, and made them happy within themſelves and uſeful to the community.—In the year 1757, the Spaniſh Monarch having given up the colonies on the left ſhore of the river to the Portuguſe in exchange for Santo Sacramento, with a view to ſuppreſs the ſmuggling trade, the Indians of the ceded colonies, diſguſted at being driven from their cultivated lands took up arms againſt the Spaniards. Don Joſeph Andonaighi, governor-general of the province De la Plata, and Don Joachim de Viana, governor of Montevideo, marched againſt and entirely defeated them. Soon after this battle the inſurrections being quelled, Viana left Buenos Ayres, and was accompanyed as far as the Maldondoes by ſeven Indian families where they ſettled, leading a life of exemplary prudence and induſtry. The ſituation of theſe reclaimed people gives an idea of what the poets call the golden age: they knew no diſtinction of rank, were neither incumbered with riches, nor oppreſſed with poverty; and as all their wants were ſupplied from the warehouſes appointed to receive the produce of the common labour, they had no incitement to uſe ſiniſter and clandeſtine means to obtain private property. The country, in which the miſſions are ſituated, reaches about four hundred and fifty miles eaſt and weſt, and about ſix hundred miles north and ſouth, and the number of the inhabitants is computed to be three hundred thouſand. There are immenſe foreſts of all kinds of wood, and extenſive meadows, watered by innumerable ſmall rivers and brooks, which produce paſture ſufficient for upwards of two millions of cattle.—The country was divided into diſtricts, over each of which two Jeſuits were appointed to preſide; one of whom acted as rector, and the other as his curate. The Indians lived in a ſtate of the moſt abſolute ſubmiſſion to their rectors, who ſeverely chaſtiſed them for miſdemeanours, and annually appointed a number of inferior officers called corregidors to take cognizance of petty offences. Near the church are two buildings; one of which was inhabited by a great number of girls, who were inſtructed in various occupations. The other building was occupied by young negro men, who were brought up to various handicraft profeſſions, and one department of this building was appointed to the teaching of muſic, ſculpture, architecture, &c. The rector's houſe ſtood between theſe buildings, and had communications with each, which he viſited every day to ſee the proviſions juſtly diſtributed, and the proper decorum in other reſpects ſtrictly obſerved.— 1769

The intire expulſion of the Jeſuits from the Spaniſh dominions having been reſolved upon, Don Francis Buccarelli was appointed to carry this deſign into execution; and he accordingly ſailed for Buenos Ayres, arrived there in the beginning of 1767, and immediately ſent the diſpatches with which he was charged to the governors of Peru and Chili, and the commanders of Cordoua, Mendoza, Corrientes, Santa Fe, Salta, Montevideo, and Paraguay. Theſe diſpatches were accompanied by letters ſtrictly injoining the perſons to whom the diſpatches from the court were directed, not to open them till an appointed day. As it was a matter of doubt whether the Indians would tamely ſubmit to ſee Jeſuits arreſted in the colonies, all the preparations for carrying the king's orders into execution, were conducted with the moſt profound ſecrecy. The time for accompliſhing this grand deſign at length arrived, and the different governors being previouſly inſtructed to open their letters, and to proceed according to their contents with all imaginable diſpatch, the general execution began about two o'clock in the morning, when the Jeſuits with equal horror and aſtoniſhment, found their habitatious inveſted by the Spaniſh troops. They evinced a high degree of philoſophical reſignation and humility in quietly ſubmitting to their fate.

On the thirteenth of September a cacique belonging to each colony, and all the corregidors, arrived at Buenos Ayres. Theſe people were politically detached from their companions by the following ſtratagem, with a deſign of ſecuring them as hoſtages, in caſe any reſiſtance had been made. The governor-general ſent for them under pretence of communicating the ſubſtance of the king's letters; and theſe deluded people were not informed of the events that happened till they received the account from the mouth of the governor, who gave them a general audience immediately upon their arrival; when the governor informed them that he came to free them from the ſlavery they had long groaned under, and directing them to one of the houſes formerly occupied by the Jeſuits, they were there properly provided for at the king's expence. The Jeſuits had eſtabliſhed other miſſions than thoſe above mentioned to the South of Uraguai, and were making great progreſs ſouthward of Chili, towards the iſland of Chiloe, but the unexpected turn of affairs in Europe utterly deſtroyed a work, the completion of which had been an object of great attention for a long ſeries of years.—

Such is M. Bougainville's account of this extraordinary revolution which ſurprized all the world. Our circumnavigator ſeems in this, and many other inſtances, to have proved himſelf an accurate obſerver, and one calculated to do honour to the French nation.

PORTU-

PORTUGUESE VOYAGES TO THE EAST INDIES.

THE VOYAGE OF PEDRO ALVAREZ CABRAL.

1500 AFTER having given an account of the circumnavigators according to our promiſe, we return to the voyages of the Portugueſe, in whoſe ſervice Vaſquez de Gama had opened a way to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and had already made overtures towards a treaty of trade and commerce with the Samorin of Calicut.

A reſolution was now taken by the court of Liſbon to proſecute theſe valuable eaſtern diſcoveries. For this purpoſe, thirteen veſſels of different ſizes were fitted out, and the command given to Pedro Alvarez Cabral, a gentlemen of great merit, to whom, on the 8th of March, in the year 1500, the king delivered the Flag of the Croſs. The fleet contained 1200 men, with whom went eight Franciſcan friars, eight chaplains, and a chaplain-major. Their inſtructions were to begin with preaching, and in caſe that failed, to proceed to the deciſion of the ſword. The names of the captains of the ſhips were Sancho de Toar, of Cabral's veſſel, Nicholas Coello, Don Luis Coutinno, Simon de Myſaranda; Simon Layton, Bartholomew Diaz, who diſcovered the Cape of Good Hope; Diego Diaz (his brother, who had been purſer to De Gama, in the former voyage.) The captain of the caravels were Pedro de Atayde, and Vaſquez de Silveyra; Ayres Correa, was factor of the fleet, and was to remain as ſuch at Calicut.

In caſe the king of Calicut readily conſented to the ſettling of the factory, Cabral was ſecretly to importune him to prohibit the Moors from trading thither, or in any other of his ports; and to promiſe on that condition, to import from Portugal, the ſame ſorts of commodities, better and cheaper, than thoſe the Moors brought. They were alſo to touch at Melinda, on the coaſt of Africa, in order to land the ambaſſador, (brought from thence by Gama) and ſend the king a preſent. The 9th of March the fleet ſet ſail from Belem, the king accompanying Cabral to the water-ſide. On the 18th they came in ſight of the Canaries, and the 22d paſſed by St. Jago. The 28th De Atayde's ſhip was ſeparated, and no more heard of. They ſailed till the 24th of April, and then diſcovered land; which lying ſo far to the weſt, they concluded was ſome coaſt which Gama had not ſeen in his voyage. The men who were ſent on ſhore, brought word that it was a fruitful country, full of trees, and well inhabited. The people were ſwarthy and naked, and uſe bows and arrows. At night a ſtorm ariſing, they ran along coaſt for a port; which having found, they called it Puerto Seguis, or the Safe Port. Here maſs was ſaid on ſhore, great numbers of the natives aſſembling to look on, who were very civil and merry. They trucked parrots for paper and cloth. Cabral called this country Tierra de Santa Cruz, from the ſtone croſs he erected, which afterwards took the name of *Braſil*. Here he left two baniſhed men, to inform themſelves concerning the country, and ſent a letter to Portugal to acquaint the king with this new diſcovery.

Braſil diſcovered.

They departed on the 2d of May for the Cape of Good Hope, and on the 12th there appeared a comet in the eaſt, which for ten days continually increaſed, and was viſible both day and night. This was the fore-runner of a violent ſtorm, which aroſe on the 23d, in the north-eaſt, mixed with rain; it was ſucceeded at night by a calm. On the 28th it blew hard again, and they were forced to take in their ſails; but a water-ſpout appearing to the north-eaſt, and a calm enſuing, they not being acquainted with ſuch a phœnomenon took it for a ſign of fair weather, when on a ſudden a furious wind ſprang up, that not having time to furl their ſails, four ſhips periſhed, with all their men, among whom was Bartholomew Diaz, the diſcoverer of the Cape of Good Hope. The other ſeven remained half full of water, and had ſunk, but that their ſails being torn. The wind veering to the ſouth-weſt, the ſtorm ſtill continued; and in this manner they were toſt about for two days without ſails, the day being ſo dark, that the ſhips could not ſee one another, and expecting every moment to be ſwallowed up. But on the third day the wind abating, the fleet joined again, and they began to hope all was over, when preſently after, the wind coming about to the eaſt and north-eaſt, began to blow with greater fury than ever, and the waves to ſwell as high as mountains; ſo that one moment the ſhips ſeemed to be toſſed above the clouds, and the next to be plunged in the bottom of the deep. This dreadful tempeſt continued for twenty days together: in the day the water looked as black as pitch, and at night appeared like flames of fire. At length, the winds abating, they found they had paſſed the Cape of Good Hope during the ſtorm, which, however, had ſeparated four of the ſhips. On the 16th of July they fell in cloſe with the coaſt of Africa, in twenty-ſeven degrees ſouth, which appeared to be populous: yet none of the natives came to look at them, nor would the general ſuffer his men to land, having no hopes of getting proviſions there. Running on along the ſhore, and being near Sofala (with which as yet the pilot was not acquainted) they ſaw two iſlands, and near one of them two ſhips at anchor, which, on ſight of the Portugueſe, made towards ſhore; but being purſued, were overtaken, and yielded without reſiſtance: They belonged to the Moors, and came from the mines of Sofala, laden for Melinda, with gold, moſt of which they threw into the ſea, in their flight. The general treated the commander courteouſly, expreſſed ſorrow for his loſs, and reſtored all that was taken, as being a relation of the king of Melinda, who was a friend of the Portugueſe. The Moor, being willing to recover his gold again, aſked Cabral if he had any witches on board, who might conjure it up from the bottom of the ſea. The general anſwered, That the Chriſtians neither practiſed nor believed in witchcraft. Being informed that he had overſhot Sofala, he proceeded, and on the 20th arrived at Mozambique, where he took in water, and a pilot to carry him to Quiloa, an iſland 100 leagues beyond, in about nine degrees ſouth, where he was joined by two of the ſeparated ſhips. The dominions of this prince extended from Cape Corientes almoſt as far as Mombaſſa, near 400 leagues of coaſt, which is very populous and full of towns, beſides innumerable iſlands along it, that paid taxes; yet, for all this, he was of no great power, not being able to raiſe any conſiderable force. The country is very fruitful, and ſtored with ſmall cattle. The water is excellent. Quiloa is a place of great trade for Sofala gold, for which there is a great reſort of merchants from Arabia, Fœlix, and other parts. The ſhips here, as in all other places, were built without nails, and rubbed over with wild frankincenſe, inſtead of pitch, there being none in theſe parts.

A terrible tempeſt.

Engraved for Moores New & Complete Collection of Voyages & Travels.

The Dress, Weapons, & manner of living of the TAPOYERS inhabitants of BRASIL in SOUTH-AMERICA.

View of the Harbour of St. VINCENT, subject to the PORTUGUESE.

7 AP 53

Being arrived at the ancient and noble city of Quiloa, (where Ibrahim, a man renowned among his people, and rich with the trade of Sofala, then reigned) the general ſent to acquaint the king, that he was come with a letter from the king of Portugal, and had brought merchandiſe, in order to ſettle trade with him, deſiring an interview, and that it might be on the water, he having expreſs orders not to land. The king conſented, and the next day met him in a pinnace, accompanied with many attendants in boats, the ſtreamers flying, and trumpets ſounding. The king's letter being read, the ſheik conſented to a trade, and deſired an account of the merchandiſe might be ſent him the next day, promiſing to give gold in exchange. But next day, when the factor waited on him, he excuſed himſelf from performing his promiſe, alledging firſt, that the goods were not for his purpoſe; ſecondly, that he ſuſpected the general came with a deſign to conquer his country; but the true reaſon was, that finding they were Chriſtians, he had no mind to have any trade or correſpondence with them. The general, after this baulk, ſtayed three or four days, to ſee if the king would alter his mind: but perceiving, that inſtead of complying with their demands, he was fortifying himſelf for fear of an attack, it was reſolved to go on to Melinda, where he arrived on the ſecond of Auguſt.—Here he found three Mooriſh ſhips of Guzarat, but the general would not ſuffer them to be attacked, in friendſhip to the king of Melinda. Being come to an anchor, he ſaluted the city with his ordnance. The king immediately ſent to viſit him, with a preſent of proviſion and fruits, ſaying he might command whatever his country afforded. Cabral returned thanks by a meſſenger, and gave him to underſtand that he came with a preſent and letter from the king his maſter, offering to ſerve him with his fleet where-ever he ſhould command it. The preſent was the rich furniture of a horſe. Ayres Correa, chief factor of the fleet, being ſent with others to carry the letter and preſent, was met by ſeveral nobles at the water-ſide before the palace, attended by women with perfuming pans, and in this manner he was conducted to the king, who was much pleaſed with the letter, written both in Portugueſe and Arabic, and kept Correa to diſcourſe with him about Portugal. Next day the king had an interview with the general on the water, (the latter not caring to land) told him how much he was embarraſſed by the king of Mombaſſa, for admitting the friendſhip of the Portugueſe, and gave him two Guzarat pilots for Calicut.

Although the place ſtood near the ſhore, the king would ride down to the water-ſide in his new furniture.—On this occaſion, ſome of his courtiers had got a live ſheep at the foot of the ſteps, before his palace, and while the king was coming down, they opened its belly, and took out the bowels, over which the king rode, pronouncing certain words; a ſuperſtitious cuſtom in this place. The general left with the king two baniſhed men to inform themſelves of the country; one of theſe, who was afterwards called Machedo, learned the Arabic, and went by land to the ſtreights of Mecca; from thence paſſing to Balagat, by way of Cambaya, ſettled with Sabay, who was then lord of Goa, pretending to be a Moor; and became afterwards very ſerviceable to Albuquerque.

About the 7th Cabral left Melinda, and on the 20th, arrived at Anſadiva, (Anchediva) where after waiting a few days for the ſhips of Mecca, and finding they did not come, he proceeded on his voyage; and the 13th of September caſt anchor within a league of Calicut; and preſently there came on board ſeveral pinnaces, with proviſions to ſell; and afterwards ſeveral of the principal nayres, with a compliment from the Samorin, expreſſing much ſatisfaction at his arrival, and making great offers of friendſhip. Upon this Cabral went nearer the city with his ſhips, and next day went one Gaſpar to demand a ſafe conduct for a meſſenger, and with him the four Malabars, whom de Gama had carried away, dreſſed in the Portugueſe habit, the citizens ſeeing them return in good health and plight, were very glad, and ſo was the Samorin; but he would not ſee them as being but fiſhermen. He received Gaſper very well, and gave leave for any one to come on ſhore who had a mind. The general here upon ſent Alonſo Hurtado, with an interpreter, to acquaint the king, that he came from Portugal purely to ſettle trade and friendſhip, and deſired hoſtages that he might wait on him in perſon. The pledges he deſired were the cutwal, and Araxemenoka, one of the principal nayres. The king not caring to part with the perſons he required, on account of their age and infirmities, propoſed to ſend others in their ſtead. But afterwards, at the inſtigation of the Moors, was againſt ſending any at all, upon the punctilio that the general's demand argued want of confidence in him. After three days debate, the Samorin being overcome with the proſpect of the advantages ariſing from trade, complied to ſend the hoſtages: whereupon the general reſolved to wait on the king on ſhore; ordering Sancho de Toar, whom he left to command in his abſence, to uſe the hoſtages well, but not to deliver them to any perſon who came to demand them, althqugh it ſhould be in his name. 1500

The 28th of December, the Samorin ſent ſeveral of the principal nayres, with many ſervants and muſical inſtruments to attend the general; who being informed that he waited for him in a gallery built on purpoſe to receive him, near the water-ſide, ſet out in all the ſtate he could, accompanied with the boats of the fleet, and thirty of the principal perſons belonging to it. The hoſtages were very loath to enter the ſhip, till they ſaw the general landed, apprehending, that as ſoon as they were aboard, he would return and detain them. While this parley was on foot, Cabral landed; on the ſhore many kaymals, pinakals, and other principal nayres waited for him. He was immediately taken up in a chair, and accompanied with all his attendants, carried to the ſerame, which was a lodge or hall, hung with carpets of Alkatif; at the farther end whereof, the king ſat in an alcove, like a little oratory. Over his head hung the cloth of ſtate, of crimſon velvet, and under and about him were twenty ſilk cuſhions.

He had only a piece of white calico embroidered with gold about his middle; all the reſt of his body being naked. On his head was a cap of cloth of gold. At his ears hung jewels, compoſed of diamonds, ſaphires, and pearls; two of which were larger than walnuts; his arms, from the elbow to the wriſt, and his legs, from the knees downwards, were loaded with a number of precious ſtones of great value. His fingers and toes were covered with rings. In that on his great toe was a large ruby, of a ſurpriſing luſtre. Among the reſt there was a diamond bigger than a large bean. But all this was nothing, in compariſon to the richneſs of a girdle made with precious ſtones, ſet in gold, which caſt a luſtre that dazzled every body's eyes. Near the Samorin ſtood a chair of ſtate, and his litter, all of gold and ſilver, curiouſly adorned with precious ſtones. There were three trumpets of gold, and ſeventeen of ſilver, whoſe mouths were ſet with ſtones alſo; and ſeveral ſilver lamps and cenſers, ſmoaking with perfumes, beſides a golden ſpitting baſon. Six paces from him ſtood his brothers, who were next heirs to the crown; and a little farther ſeveral of his nobles all-ſtanding before him.

The general on his entrance would have gone up to kiſs the Samorin's hand, but being informed it was not the cuſtom there, he deſiſted, and took his ſeat in a chair placed near the king; which was the greateſt honour that could be done him. He then delivered his letter of credit written in Arabic, which having been read by the Samorin, the general delivered his meſſage, importing, that the king of Portugal was deſirous of the Samorin's friendſhip, and to ſettle a factory at Calicut which ſhould be ſupplied with all ſorts of European goods; requeſting, that either in exchange or for ready money his ſhips might have liberty

1500. liberty to lade with ſpices. The Samorin ſeemed pleaſed with the embaſſy, and told the general that the king his maſter ſhould be welcome to whatever his city afforded; whilſt they were talking the preſent was brought in, which conſiſted of a wrought ſilver baſon gilt, a fountain of the ſame, a ſilver cup with a gilt cover, two wedges of ſilver, four cuſhions, (two of cloth of gold, and two of crimſon velvet) a cloth of ſtate of the ſame velvet, ſtriped and bound with gold lace, a very fine carpet, and two rich pieces of arras. The audience being over, the king told the general that he might retire, either to his lodgings or ſhips; for that he was obliged to ſend for the hoſtages, who were not uſed to the ſea, and he was ſure would neither eat nor drink ſo long as they were on board; adding that if he came next day to conclude what was begun, they ſhould be ſent on board again. But this happy beginning had like to have been ſpoiled by an unreaſonable diſtruſt which happened to prevail on both ſides. The general being come to the water-ſide, a ſervant belonging to one of the hoſtages by order of the clerk and comptroller of the king's houſhold went before in a pinnace, to let them know that the general was coming on board. As ſoon as the hoſtages heard this, they all leaped into the water in order to get off in the pinnace:—Ayres Correa jumping immediately into his boat took ſome of them, but the reſt got off, among whom was the cutwal. The general being come on board, ordered the hoſtages that were taken to be put under the hatches that they might not run away, and ſent to the king, to complain of the reſt, laying the blame upon the clerk and comptroller, and promiſing to deliver thoſe he detained, as ſoon as his baggage and the men he had left to take care of it was brought on board. The next day the Samorin accompanied with 12,000 men came to the water-ſide, and ſent on board the general's men and baggage, along with whom went thirty pinnaces, to fetch back the hoſtages; but none of theirs through fear of being detained, durſt venture near enough to receive them. The Portugueſe ſeemed alſo as backward to venture to deliver them; ſo that they remained ſtill in cuſtody, however, next morning the general reſolved to ſend them on ſhore in his own boat, ordering his men to land them at a diſtance from the pinnaces. While they were preparing to put off with them, Araxemenoka the oldeſt of the pledges, and another, on a ſudden leaped into the water; the former was taken again, but the other with five more of them eſcaped. Cabral, ſurpriſed at their inſincerity, ordered Araxemenoka to be cloſely watched: but no meſſenger coming to demand him for three days, and the general obſerving that he would eat nothing all the while, in pity ſent him with ſeveral weapons belonging to the Malabars, to the king, who thereupon ordered two Portugueſe ſtill on ſhore, to be returned. Three days more being elapſed without hearing of the Samorin, the general reſolved to ſend to know whether he was inclined to finiſh the agreement already begun, in which caſe he propoſed to ſend his chief factor on ſhore, provided hoſtages were delivered as before, every one was poſſeſſed with fear, ſo that Frankciſco Correa was the only man aboard the fleet who would undertake to deliver this meſſage. The king received Correa kindly, ſaid he was well pleaſed to have trade ſettled, and made no difficulty to ſend hoſtages, naming for that purpoſe two nephews of a rich Guzarat merchant, who were immediately ſent aboard, and a handſome houſe provided for the factor Ayres Correa, to lodge his merchandiſe. And as the factor was not yet well known in the country, or acquainted with the rules obſerved in trade, and prices of commodities, the king ordered the grandfather of the hoſtages (to whom the houſe belonged) to inſtruct him therein; but the Guzarat neglected his orders, being a friend to the Moors; who by theſe means had their goods at their own price: the Gentiles, for fear of them, ſeldom going to the factory. On the other hand Correa, for want of knowing the rates of Indian merchandiſe, always offered more than the commodities were worth, and ſo bought them too dear. The Moors likewiſe ordered it ſo, that whenever he went to ſpeak to the Samorin, ſome of them might be preſent to thwart his meaſures. They alſo prevailed on Khojah Samiſide, admiral of Calicut, to hinder thoſe belonging to the factory from going on board, and to detain any of the ſhips which ſhould remove near the ſhore. Cabral being informed of this, and fearing to be ſet upon by the king's fleet, in caſe he remained in the harbour, weighed anchor, and ſtood out to ſea, reſolving there to conſult what was beſt to be done. The Samorin hereupon ſent for Correa, and learning from him the cauſe thereof, deſired him to ſend to the general to return, and forthwith gave orders to prevent the deſigns of the Moors. He alſo removed the Guzarat from about Correa, and in his place put another, named Coſebequin, who, though a Moor, was an honeſt man, and a friend to the Portugueſe. For the Moors, who are natives of India, are always at ſtrife with thoſe who come from Cairo, and the Streights of Mecca; and Coſebequin was head of the former, as Samiſide was of the latter. Further than this, the Samorin, to prevent the factory from being diſturbed by the Moors, and that they might have the better opportunity of buying and ſelling to advantage, gave them a houſe by the water-ſide, for ever. This was done by writing; and a copy given; to which the king put his hand and ſeal, incloſed in a piece of cloth of gold, for the general to carry back to Portugal. It was the Samorin's pleaſure alſo, that a flag, with the arms of Portugal, ſhould be erected on the top of the houſe. After this, they had a pretty good vent for their goods by Coſebequin's means: The natives frequented the factory, and the Portugueſe walked about in Calicut, with as much ſafety and as little moleſtation, as they could in Liſbon. However the merchants of Mecca obſtructed their lading for their ſhips, and though complaint was made to the king, they received no redreſs: this was occaſioned by the enmity of the two Mooriſh officers before-mentioned. The admiral being offended that the factor Correa had made greater application to the other than to him, contrived to be revenged, by getting the general to ſet upon a great ſhip of Ceylon, bound from Cochin to Cambaya with elephants. To effect this, he told Correa, that the owners of the ſhip had refuſed the Samorin one of thoſe creatures; and that therefore if the Portugueſe ſhould take the veſſel, they would not only oblige the king, and forward their own buſineſs, but alſo poſſeſs themſelves of a great quantity of ſpice, which belonged to the merchants of Mecca. His deſign was that the Portugueſe ſhould receive damage in the attempt, that ſhip being of great bulk; and to this purpoſe gave notice to the owners, that they might be the better provided: he concluded at leaſt in caſe his ſtratagem did not ſucceed, that the Portugueſe would diſoblige the merchants of Cochin. The general ſent word that to oblige the king, he would willingly undertake the buſineſs though he was ſenſible it was a dangerous attempt; but expected, as it could not be done without loſs of men, that he ſhould not be offended if his ſailors killed thoſe who were in the Cambaya ſhip. This having been allowed as reaſonable, the general ſent after the ſhip Pedro de Attayda with his caraval (wherein were ſixty men, beſides ſome Moors ſent by the admiral) who gave her chace; but being a ſhip of 600 tons and 300 men: ſhe made no account of the caraval, which was ſmall, till ſome of their balls reaching her, ſhe bore down upon them, pouring in her ſhot: but being fiercely attacked by the Portugueſe, and receiving a ball between wind and water, ſhe quickly made off, and was purſued into the bay of Cananor, where ſhe was taken. There were on board ſeven elephants, worth in Calicut 30,000l. one of which was killed and eaten by their men. The king next day came to the water-ſide, and was ſtrangely ſurpriſed, to ſee ſuch a veſſel taken by one that was not about a ſixth part of her bulk, praiſing the action, and treating the

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men: but the general having diſcovered the fraud, in order to gain the friendſhip of the king of Cochin, reſtored the ſhip to the owners, making ſatisfaction for the damages. Here it was that Duarte Pacheco Percyra, gave the firſt marks of that heroic valour, for which he was afterwards rewarded.

The taking this ſhip terrified the Moors of Calicut more than ever, who imagined the king ſet the Portugueſe on, in revenge of their injuries; and finding the latter was capable of bringing a great trade to his port, was careleſs whether they continued in his dominions or not. Upon this, they joined in a body, and waited on the Samorin, repreſenting how much concerned they were to find, that thoſe new comers ſhould be ſo highly prized by him, while thoſe who had ſo long ſupported the trade of Calicut, and given proofs of their fidelity, ſhould be held of no account. They inſinuated that the Portugueſe were pirates, and could not poſſibly come to India for the ſake of trade, ſince the profits ariſing from thence, could not (as they alledged) go near to defray the expences of a voyage of 5000 leagues, with ſo many ſhips and men. They even affirmed, that their deſign was to plunder the country, and take the city, if they could once get the leaſt footing in it; that they would turn the houſe which the king had given them for a factory into a fort; and from thence make war upon him in a little time: they concluded, by threatening to remove to ſome other city of Malabar, in caſe he continued to give the Portugueſe ſo much countenance, and them ſo little.

The king having heard this complaint, aſſured them of his friendſhip, and that he would not forſake them in favour of any ſtrangers, he told them the reaſon for ſending the general to take the Cochin ſhip was, to try the valour of the Portugueſe, and that he permitted them to trade as he did other merchants, in order to bring their money into his country. For all this, the Moors were not ſatisfied, becauſe the king did not command the Portugueſe to quit Calicut, and permit their trading in his port. After this, they openly intermeddled in their affairs, and gave them what oppoſition they could in buying of ſpices. Their deſign was to pick a quarrel with theſe new comers, that they might at length come to blows: in which caſe they concluded, they ſhould be able to deſtroy them by their numbers; in the mean time, incenſing the common people as much as poſſible againſt them. By means of theſe ſubtle dealings in the Moors, in three months time there were but two ſhips laden with ſpices, and at dear rates; although the Samorin had promiſed that all the fleet ſhould be laden in twenty days; and that they ſhould be laden before all ſtrangers. It was alſo diſcovered that the Moors bought up ſpices privately, at a lower price than the Portugueſe could get them for; and ſhipped them off contrary to an order of the king in favour of the latter. The general being troubled at theſe things, judged they could not happen without the conſent of the Samorin; for which reaſon he ſent to expoſtulate with the prince, and let him know how little had been performed of all that had been promiſed him; intreating, that as the time for returning to Portugal was now come, that he would cauſe him to be diſpatched without more delay. The Samorin ſeemed to be ſurpriſed and concerned, that the ſhips were ſtill unladen. He ſaid he could not believe that the Moors would offer to diſobey his commands by a clandeſtine buying of ſpecies, and lading their veſſels: but declared, if they had deceived him, that he would puniſh them for it; and gave the Portugueſe leave to ſearch their ſhips, and take all the ſpices they found in them, only paying the price which the Moors gave for them. As the Moors waited for an occaſion to quarrel with the Portugueſe, they thought this a very fit one. Immediately one of the principal among them, began to lade his ſhip openly; and the better to ſucceed in his ſcheme, got ſome Moors and gentiles, whom the factor took for his friends, to perſuade him, that if he did not ſend to ſeize the ſame, he would never be able to freight the fleet. Correa giving credit to what they told him, ſent to deſire the general to take the ſhip: but he, apprehenſive that it would cauſe the Moors to riſe againſt the factory, argued againſt it; Correa preſſed again, and Cabral declined it a ſecond time; but the factor perſiſting in his oppoſition, and engaging to anſwer for all damages that ſhould happen on that occaſion, the general, at length, much againſt his will, on the 16th of December, ſent word to thoſe on board the Mooriſh ſhip, that they muſt inſtantly depart, by virtue of the authority he had from the Samorin. The Moors making ſlight of the general's commands, he next day ſent all his boats to bring the ſhip into the harbour. This being known to the Moors on ſhore, they immediately roſe in a tumultuous manner, and after incenſing the rabble, repaired to the palace, where, the better to gain the king over to their ſide, they alledged that the Portugueſe had gotten a much greater quantity of ſpices and drugs than they had; yet, that not content with the larger ſhare, they, like thieves and pirates, would needs run away with all; intreating that they might have liberty to take ſatisfaction for the injury. The inconſtant king granted them their requeſt; and the revengeful Moors haſtened back to aſſault the factory. It was encompaſſed with a wall ten feet high, and in it were ſeventy men, including the friars; but among them all, there were only eight braſs bows, beſides their ſwords. The firſt party of the Moors that advanced were ſo few that the Portugueſe took them for a parcel of mob, and reſolved to defend the gates of the factory with their cloaks and rapiers: but their numbers increaſed ſo faſt, and they galled the defendants ſo much with their arrows and ſpears that, after loſing five men, they ſhut the gates with no ſmall difficulty, and betook themſelves to the walls with their braſs bows: but Correa perceiving their numbers to amount, in a little time, to four thouſand, with ſeveral nayres amongſt them, and that it was impoſſible to hold out long againſt ſuch a force without aid from the ſhips, ſet up a flag on the top of the factory to give notice of their diſtreſs. The general being ſick in bed, and unable to aſſiſt them in perſon, ſent Sancho de Toar with all the boats, and what men they had; but finding the enemy ſo numerous, he would not venture to land, nor even go too near the ſhore, for fear they ſhould ſend out their veſſels to take him.—Many of the beſieged being wounded with the ſpears and arrows, which ſhowered on them as thick as hail; and ſeeing the Moors preparing huge engines to batter down the walls, they reſolved to quit the factory by a door that opened to the water-ſide, hoping to ſave themſelves by the boats, but the enemy preſſing them cloſe, and the boats not advancing, only twenty eſcaped, though not unwounded; all the reſt being either taken or killed: among the latter was Ayres Correa; but his ſon Antonio, (who afterwards acquired great reputation by his actions in India) got off, being then only eleven years of age. The merchandiſe that was ſeized on this occaſion, amounted to 4000 ducats, and of the men that were then priſoners, four died of their wounds.

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The factory aſſaulted.

The general was greatly concerned at this diſaſter, and finding that the Samorin ſent no apology for what had happened, it was reſolved to take revenge immediately, that he might not have time to prevent it, by arming his fleet. Hereupon Cabral gave orders to attack ten large ſhips that lay in the harbour. After ſome reſiſtance, they were taken. Six hundred of the men were either killed or drowned; thoſe who remained alive were kept to ſerve as ſailors. In the ſhips were found ſpices, and other merchandiſes, with three elephants, which were killed and ſalted for proviſions. The goods being taken out, the veſſels were burnt in ſight of crowds of Moors on the ſhore, and, in the almadias, which came out to ſuccour their friends, but were ſoon repulſed with loſs. The general, not thinking this ſufficient, ordered his ſhips in the night to ſpread, and advance as near the ſhore as poſſible, with their boats before them; at

1500 break of day, the ordnance began to play upon the town, which did great damage both among the houſes and inhabitants, who crowded to avoid or repel the danger, and fell thick every ſhot. Several of the temples were demoliſhed, with part of the king's palace, and the terror was ſo great among the citizens, that the Samorin himſelf fled, who narrowly eſcaped a bullet, (from the boats) a nayre being killed juſt behind him. Towards evening they gave over the cannonade, to follow two large ſhips, which (on ſight of what was doing, as they were making into the port) fled to Panderane, where there were five more at anchor, but not being able to get near them, the general purſued his voyage to Cochin, where it was reſolved to ſettle a factory, and took two Mooriſh ſhips in his paſſage, which he burned, after taking out their cargoes of rice, he arrived at that city the 20th of December. Cochin. Cochin is the capital of a kingdom of the ſame name, 19 leagues ſouth of Calicut, it ſtands upon a river, is very ſtrong, and has a ſafe and a capacious port; the land about it is low, and divided into many iſlands. It is built after the manner of Calicut, and inhabited by Gentiles and Moors, who came from ſundry parts to trade. There were two, each of whom had fifty ſhips. Proviſions are not plentiful; but there is pepper enough, moſt of that which is at Calicut being brought from hence; yet the greater reſort of merchants being at this latter place, makes it the richer of the two. The country being of no great extent, and the king not intitled to coin money, he was therefore but poor. Beſides, he was ſubject to the Samorin, who on his acceſſion to the throne, went to Cochin, and diſpoſed of the crown as he thought fit. He was alſo obliged to aſſiſt the king of Calicut in all his wars, and to be of the ſame religion.

The general having caſt anchor, ſent a Gentile convert, called Michael Joghi, to the king to inform him of his coming, of what he had done at Calicut, and of his deſire to trade to his port, with either merchandiſe or ready money. The king, (whoſe name was Trimumpara) left it to his own choice, and let him know that he might ſend whom he would to land for that purpoſe; diſpatching, at the ſame time, two of his principal nayres as hoſtages, on condition, that he ſhould change them every day, becauſe, if they once ate on ſhip board, they never appeared in his preſence any more. The General pleaſed with this hopeful beginning appointed Gonzalo Gil Barboſa, for factor: and ſent with him a clerk, an interpreter, and four baniſhed men, as ſervants. The king ſent the regiſter of the city, and ſeveral nobles to receive the factor and bring him to court. Here they found nothing of that ſtate which they ſaw at Calicut. The prince was but meanly clad, and his court had nothing but bare walls, with certain ſeats round them, railed or boxed in like a theatre, in one of which Trimumpara ſat. The factor being introduced, offered the preſent from the general, which conſiſted of a ſilver baſon, for waſhing hands, full of ſaffron, a large ſilver ewer, filled with roſe water, and ſome branches of coral. The king received them with pleaſure, returning the general thanks, and after he had talked a while with the factor, ordered them to be well lodged. The general would not venture more men on ſhore, for fear of ſuch an accident as happened at Calicut, but the event ſhewed there was no reaſon for diſtruſt, for by the kind uſage the Portugueſe met with, by the diſpatch that was made in lading their ſhips, and the willingneſs with which the natives aſſiſted them on all occaſions, it plainly appeared, that Trimumpara was a prince of an honeſt diſpoſition, and that their differing with the Samorin, was the beſt fortune that could have attended them.

The ſhips being laden, and the general on ſhore, there came two Indian chriſtians from Crangalor, or Cranganor, a city near Cochin, who were brothers, (one of them named Joſeph) and deſirous to go to Portugal, with a deſign to viſit Rome and Jeruſalem. Cabral aſked them whether the place they came from was inhabited ſolely by Chriſtians? and, whether they belonged to the Greek or Latin church? One of them anſwered, That the inhabitants were a mixture of Gentiles, Chriſtians, Jews, and ſtrangers, who were merchants of Syria, Egypt, Perſia, and Arabia; that the chriſtians paid the king tribute, and dwelt in a part of the city by themſelves; that they had a church in which they had croſſes, but no images or bells, (but the prieſts in calling the people to prayers, obſerved the order of the Greeks.) That they had their popes, under whom were twelve cardinals, and two patriarchs, with many biſhops and archbiſhops, who all reſided in Armenia: thither he ſaid went the biſhops of Cranganor to receive their dignity, and added he had been there to be ordained prieſt by the pope; that the ſame method was obſerved by all the clergy within his juriſdiction, which extended over India and Chatay; that the two patriarchs reſided in thoſe two provinces, and the biſhops were diſperſed in the cities belonging to them; that their pope was called Catholicos, and their tonſure was made in the form of a croſs. They were both admitted on board.—After this there came two meſſengers from the kings of Cananor and Coulan, inviting Cabral to their harbour, and promiſing him ſpices cheaper than he could have at Cochin. The general returned them thanks, and excuſed himſelf from going, in regard he was already laden: but promiſed to viſit them on his return to India. He had ſcarcely taken in his cargo, when twenty-five great ſhips, beſides ſmaller veſſels, appeared on the coaſt. The King of Cochin being informed of their deſign, immediately ſent the general word, that they came on purpoſe to ſeek him out, and had 15,000 ſoldiers on board: offering, at the ſame time, to aſſiſt him with what he wanted. Cabral returned thanks, but ſaid, he ſhould be able, with the few he had, to make them repent their errand. The general obſerving that they hovered about, and did not venture within a league of his fleet, weighed anchor, and went out againſt them: but a ſtorm ariſing, and the wind ſhifting contrary, he was obliged to return.

On the next day, the 10th of January, the wind proving very fair, the general prepared to move towards the enemy; but miſſing Sancho de Toar's ſhip, which was the ſecond in ſize, and beſt provided with men, he thought fit to change his reſolution, and make the beſt of his way home. He was followed all day by the Calicut fleet, which at night left him. This accident prevented him from returning to Cochin, as he had propoſed, to ſet on ſhore ten nayres, hoſtages; who, after five days ſailing, were reconciled to eat on board, by the general's good words. On the fifteenth they anchored before Cananor, 31 leagues to the north of Cochin. This city is very large. The houſes are of earth, and covered with ſlates. There is a fine bay before it. The country produces plenty of ginger, cardamons, tamarinds, mirabolans, caſſia, and the like; but no more pepper than is conſumed in the country. The Moors drove here a great trade. The pools, near the city, breed aligators. Here are adders likewiſe ſo poiſonous, that they were ſuppoſed to kill men with their breath, and bats as large as kites, the head being like that of a fox: they are very good to eat: proviſions are plenty. The king was a Bramin, and one of the three independent princes of Malabar, but not ſo rich as either the prince of Calicut or Coulan. Here the general took in 400 quintals of cinnamon: and it being judged, that the reaſon why he did not buy more, was for want of money, the king ſent to tell him, he might have what he would on truſt. This generous offer Cabral declined with thanks; and took on board an ambaſſador, ſent by the king to cultivate Friendſhip with the court of Portugal. Afterwards he departed, making his way acroſs the gulph, lying between India and Africa: about the middle of which, on the thirty-firſt of January, he took a great merchant-ſhip; but finding it belonged to the king of Cambaya, let it go again, ſending word that the deſign of his coming to India was not to make war with any of the princes belong-

ing to it, though he had been forced to it by the Samorin's breach of peace. He took nothing out of the ſhip but a pilot, to conduct him through the gulf. Being arrived near the African coaſt, the 12th of February a ſtorm ſuddenly aroſe, by which in the night, the ſhip of Sancho de Toar was driven on ſhore, and taking fire was burnt; but all the men were ſaved. Following their courſe in this tempeſt, they paſſed by Melinda, not being able to put in there, nor at any other place upon the coaſt, till they came to Mozambique, where they caſt anchor in order to refit their ſhips and take in water.

Cabral, in the mean time, ſent de Toar to diſcover Sofala, and the fleet being in readineſs, ſome time after he proceeded on his voyage. Near the Cape of Good Hope, they were attacked by ſeveral violent ſtorms, in which one of the ſhips was ſeparated; at laſt they doubled it the 22d of May, and had favourable weather till they came to Cape Verd, where they met with Diego Diaz, who having been ſeparated from the fleet in its way to the Indies, was driven into the Red ſea, where he loſt his boat and moſt of his men, by ſickneſs and want of proviſions. The pilot not venturing to carry him to India, he returned towards Portugal, with only ſeven men on board; who, after quitting the Arabic gulf, grew ſtrong and able to manage the tackle. 1501

The general finding there came no more ſhips, departed for Liſbon, where he arrived the 31ſt of July, 1501. He was followed in a few days by the ſhip which ſeparated from him at the Cape of Good Hope, and after that came in de Toar, who brought an account that Sofala was a ſmall iſland, cloſe to the continent, inhabited by Caffres; that the Moors from India traded there for gold, whereof there were mines up the country. Of the twelve ſhips that went out of Portugal, only ſix returned, the other ſix being never heard of more.

THE VOYAGE OF JUAN DE NUEVA.

BEFORE Cabral returned, the king of Portugal in the month of March 1501, ſent another fleet to India; but as he imagined the contention begun in the firſt voyage at Calicut was at an end, and that a trade had been ſettled there by Cabral as well as at Quiloa and Sofala, he thought fit to ſend no more than three ſhips and a caraval, with only 400 men in them, two carrying merchandiſe to Sofala, and two to Calicut. He appointed Juan de Nueva general, [admiral] of this fleet a native of Galicia, and an experienced ſeaman. His inſtructions were to touch at San Blas, and, in caſe he miſſed any of his ſhips, to wait there for them ten days, and after which he was to proceed to Sofala, and if a factory was not already eſtabliſhed, he was to ſettle one if poſſible. Then he was to call at Quiloa, and thence ſail over to Calicut; where if he found Cabral, he ſhould acknowledge him as general, and get him to eſtabliſh a factory at Sofala on his return, in caſe his own attempt ſhould prove in vain. De Nueva (having diſcovered the iſland of Conception in eight degrees ſouth latitude) got ſafe to San Blas (beyond the Cape of Good Hope) where in an old ſhoe was found a letter written by Pedro de Atayde, before-mentioned, which gave an account how matters ſtood at Calicut, Cochin and Cananor. Concluding, upon this, that it was not proper to leave the caraval at Sofala, having but few men, they paſſed on; and in Auguſt arrived at Mozambique, then at Quiloa, having found an iſland, which, from the commander, was called Juan de Nueva. At Melinda, the king informed them of what had paſſed in India, as the baniſhed man had done at Quiloa. Not far from the former they chaced two great ſhips, and took and burned one of them. From thence they croſſed the gulf to Anchedivia, where they arrived in November; and while they ſtayed to take in water, ſeven large ſhips of Cambaya paſſed by, in their way to the ſtreights of Mecca; but not caring to engage did not ſtop. The fleet being come to anchor, the general had a conference with the king, who preſſed him to leave his ſhips there: but De Nueva, deſirous firſt to talk to the factor at Cochin, declined that offer. On his way thither, he took a ſhip belonging to the Moors of Calicut, after a vigorous defence, and cauſed it to be burned. Being arrived at Cochin, the factory, with the reſt of the company, came on board, and acquainted him, that the king was greatly offended with Cabral, for leaving the port without ſeeing him, and carrying away the hoſtages; that, notwithſtanding, they were all kindly entertained, that at night they were lodged in the palace; and if in the day any of them went abroad, they had nayres to attend them; obſerving that this care was taken by the king to defend them from the Moors, who had one night ſet fire to their houſe. He alſo told the general that they had prejudiced the merchants of the country ſo much againſt the Portugueſe commodities, that they would not take them in exchange for thoſe of India, obſerving withal, that if he had not brought money, they would not part with their ſpices. This having been the general's caſe, he returned immediately to Cananor; but money being required there as well as at Cochin, and it coming to the king's ear, that he had brought none, that prince, rather than he ſhould return with empty ſhips, was ſo generous as to become his ſecurity for 1000 quintals of pepper, 50 of ginger, and 450 of cinnamon, beſides ſome linen cloth, till the factor, whom he left at Cananor, with two clerks, ſhould ſell the merchandiſe put into his cuſtody. After the lading was taken in, on the 15th of December, the king ſent him word, that above eighty praws appeared to the northward, ſent by the Samorin to attack him; and adviſed him to land with his men and ordnance. The general ſent to thank the king, but let him know withal, that he did not fear to meet his enemy by ſea. Next morning, by day-break, about one hundred ſhips and praws full of Moors, entered the bay. As ſoon as the general perceived them, he removed into the middle of it, and ordered his ſhips to pour in their ſhot upon the enemy without intermiſſion; by which means they durſt not approach to lay the Portugueſe on board, and having brought no ordnance with them, they could do their foes no harm at a diſtance.

Iſle of Juan de Nueva.

It was to this want of cannon, doubtleſs, that the Portugueſe owed their ſafety, and boldneſs to face them ſo long. Having ſlain many of the Moors, and ſunk ſeveral of their veſſels, without a man being hurt on their ſide, the enemy towards evening hung out a flag. The general at firſt ſuppoſing it to be ſome artifice, continued his fire: but perceiving they did not take their flag down, and moſt of his ordnance being burſt with ſhooting, at length gave over, and anſwered them with another flag. Whereupon a Moor was ſent in a ſmall boat to deſire a truce till next day, which was granted, on condition that they ſhould quit the harbour and put out to ſea, which they did. At the ſame time the general quitted his ſtation alſo, and came to anchor near them; but finding in the night that the enemy came in their boats with an intent, as was ſuppoſed, to fire his ſhips, he removed farther

1502 farther off; and as they ſtill followed him, he ordered a gun to be ſhot at them, on which they retreated, and ſtood away for Calicut.—De Nueva immediately after this, took his leave of the king of Cananor, and ſet ſail for Portugal, where he arrived ſafely with all his ſhips. After his departure, there came to Cananor one of his men who had been taken priſoner at Calicut, and was ſent by the Samorin to excuſe what had been done both to him and the former general Pedro Alvarez Cabral, offering to lade his ſhips, if he would come to Calicut, and give him ſufficient pledges for his ſecurity.

THE SECOND VOYAGE OF VASQUEZ DE GAMA.

THE reader has already had an account of the firſt voyage of Vaſquez de Gama, and proper reaſons were aſſigned for deferring the relation of the ſecond, which now comes in according to the rule that we preſcribed ourſelves.——

As it appeared from Cabral's account that it would be neceſſary to apply force in India, or quit the attempt of eſtabliſhing a ſettlement there, the king ſent out three ſquadrons, in March, 1502; the firſt of ten ſhips, commanded by Vaſquez de Gama, now on his ſecond voyage. The ſecond of five ſhips, under Vincent Sodre, which was to range the coaſt of Cochin and Cananor, and hinder the Moors (that is the Turks and Arabs) from trading in the Indies by watching the mouth of the red ſea. The third was under Stephen de Gama, but all were ſubordinate to Vaſquez. The whole conſiſted of twenty ſhips; and they were gone before Juan de Nueva arrived.—The command of this fleet was firſt conferred on Pedro Alvarez de Cabral: but on farther conſideration, it was given to Vaſquez de Gama to whom the king delivered the flag with great honour, in the cathedral church, giving him the title of Admiral of the Eaſtern Seas. With him returned the ambaſſadors of Cochin and Cananor, who had been much honoured by his Portugueſe majeſty. The two firſt ſquadrons departed in March; the ſecond, not till the firſt of May. Don Vaſquez off Cape Verd met with a caraval bound for Liſbon, with much gold from La Mina, ſome of which he ſhewed to the ambaſſadors, and they, ſurprized, ſaid, it did not agree with the account the Venetian ambaſſador in Portugal, had given them, viz. that the Portugueſe without the help of Venice, could ſcarcely put ſhips to ſea. This was ſpoken out of envy, becauſe they were like to loſe their trade with India by way of Egypt.

Having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and paſſed the currents, Don Vaſquez, with four of the ſmalleſt veſſels, ſtruck off for Sofala, and ſent the reſt of the fleet before him to Mozambique. He went purſuant to the king's orders, not only to obſerve the ſituation of that city, and ſee if there was a convenient place for building a fort, but alſo to inſpect the gold of the country. He made friendſhip with the king, and obtained leave to ſettle a factory: after which, mutual preſents paſſed between them. Having ſpent twenty-five days in this tranſaction, he departed, and in turning out of the river, loſt one of his ſhips, but ſaved the men.

Having reached Mozambique, he made friendſhip with the king, who was ſo averſe to it in his firſt voyage; and obtained leave to ſettle a factory: the whole intent whereof was, to provide victualling for the Portugueſe fleets which ſhould touch there in their voyage either going or coming. From hence departing, he arrived at Quiloa, the twelfth of July, with a reſolution to force the king to become tributary for his ill uſage to Cabral. As ſoon as he came to anchor, Ibrahim, more through fear than any thing elſe, paid him a viſit on ſhip-board, Don Vaſquez knowing that he was not to be truſted, and having him in his power, without farther ceremony, threatened to confine him under the hatches unleſs he immediately agreed to pay his maſter tribute.—The captive prince promiſed 2000 miticals of gold yearly; and gave for pledge one Mahomet, a wealthy Moor, whom he mortally hated, in order to get rid of him. For the moment Ibrahim got back to Quiloa, he refuſed to perform his agreement; not ſo much to ſave the money, as to provoke the general to kill his ſecurity. But the Moor finding the tribute came not, thought fit to pay the ſum himſelf, and was releaſed. Here Stephen de Gama joined the general with his fleet, and both together proceeded on their voyage. He was put by Melinda, and forced to water eight leagues beyond it in a bay, whence ſpreading his fleet, that no ſhip might eſcape him, he took ſeveral; but was moſt ſevere upon thoſe of Calicut.——Being arrived on the coaſt of India, near Mount Deli, to the north of Cananor, he met a ſhip of great bulk, called the Mars, belonging to the Sultan of Egypt, which was very richly laden, and full of Moors of quality, who were going on pilgrimage to Mecca. This ſhip being taken, after a vigorous reſiſtance, the general went on board; and ſending for the principal Moors, ordered them to produce ſuch merchandiſes as they had; threatening, otherwiſe to have them thrown into the ſea. They pretended all their effects were at Calicut: but one of them having been flung over-board, bound hand and foot, the reſt, through fear, delivered their goods. All the children were carried into the general's ſhip, and the remainder of the plunder was given to the ſailors. After which, Stephen de Gama, by Don Vaſquez's order, ſet fire to the veſſel. But the Moors having broken up the hatches under which they were confined, and quenched the flames with the water that was in the ſhip, Stephen was commanded to lay them aboard. The Moors being made deſperate with the apprehenſion of their danger, received him with great reſolution; and even attempted to burn the other ſhips. As night came on, he was obliged to deſiſt without doing his work: but the general gave orders that the veſſel ſhould be watched that the paſſengers might not, by favour of the darkneſs, eſcape to land which was near. All night long, the unhappy Moors called on their prophet to help them. In the morning Stephen de Gama was ſent to execute his former orders. He boarded the ſhip, and ſetting fire to it drove the Moors into the poop, who ſtill defended themſelves; for ſome of the ſailors would not leave the veſſel till it was half burnt, many of the Moors when they ſaw the flames approach them, leaped into the ſea with hatchets in their hands, and ſwimming, ſought their purſuers; ſome even made up to and attacked the boats, doing much hurt: however, moſt of them were at length ſlain; and all thoſe drowned who remained in the ſhip, which ſoon after ſunk, ſo that of three hundred perſons, among whom were thirty women, not one eſcaped the fire, ſword, or water. A terrible inſtance of barbarity exerciſed by men calling themſelves chriſtians. The general being come to Cananor, ſent to acquaint the king he deſired to ſpeak with him. For this purpoſe a wooden bridge was made, which entered a good way into the water, this was covered with carpets; and at the end towards land

land a houſe of wood was ſet up furniſhed alſo with carpets. The king arrived firſt attended by 10,000 nayres; the trumpets ſounding, and other inſtruments playing before him. Soon after the general came accompanied with all the boats of the fleet furniſhed with flags, muſical inſtruments, and ordnance, under the diſcharge of which he landed. There were carried before him two large ſilver baſons gilt, to waſh in, covered with pieces of coral and other things eſteemed in the Indies. He was received at the head of the bridge by ſeveral nayres, placed there for the purpoſe, and the king came to the door of the houſe to meet him, where that prince embraced him, and then they walked in together to the room of audience, where there were placed two chairs, on one of which the king ſat down, though contrary to the cuſtom of the Indians, in reſpect to the general. At this interview, a treaty of friendſhip and commerce was concluded, and a factory granted at Cananor, in conſequence of which, the general laded ſome of his ſhips, and then departed for Calicut.

When Gama arrived in the harbour, he took ſeveral praws, with about fifty Malabars in them, before it was known who he was: but forbore all hoſtilities againſt the city, to ſee if the king would take any notice of him. In ſome time there came a boat on board, carrying a flag with a Franciſcan Friar, whom, at firſt ſight, they took for one of thoſe left with Ayres Correa. On entering the ſhip, he ſaid Deo gratias; and then they diſcovered he was a Moor. He made an apology for coming in that diſguiſe, which it ſeems, he put on the more eaſily to be admitted; being ſent with a meſſage from the Samorin to the general, about ſettling a trade at Calicut. Gama's anſwer was, that he ſhould not talk of any ſuch matter, till the king had made him ſatisfaction for the goods that were in the factory, when he conſented to the death of Correa and the reſt.

Three days were ſpent in meſſages backwards and forwards without any effect: when the general conceiving the drift was only to delay time, ſent the Samorin word, that he would wait for his final anſwer no longer than noon; and in caſe in that time he did not comply with his demands, he would make cruel war on him with fire and ſword, and would begin with thoſe of his ſubjects whom he had taken priſoners: On this occaſion, he called for an hour-glaſs; and told the Moor who carried the meſſage, that as ſoon as it had run out ſo many times, he would infallibly put his threats in execution. The Samorin influenced by the Moors ſent no anſwer; therefore when the time was expired, De Gama ordered a gun to be ſhot off, which was the ſignal for his Captains to hang the poor Malabars who were diſtributed aboard their ſhips, when dead, he ordered their feet and hands to be cut off, and ſent in a praw guarded by two armed boats, with a letter for the Samorin, written in Arabic; giving him to underſtand that in ſuch manner he propoſed to reward him for his repeated breaches of faith and deceitful dealings; and that for the king his maſter's goods, he would recover them an hundred fold. Then he ordered three ſhips to advance as near the ſhore as poſſible in the night, and the next morning their ordnance was played without intermiſſion upon the city whereby many of the houſes were demoliſhed, and among the reſt the king's palace. This done, he departed for Cochin, leaving Vincent Sodre with ſix ſhips, to ſcour the coaſts, and obſtruct the Mooriſh trade.——As ſoon as Gama entered the harbour of Cochin, Trimumpara ſent hoſtages on board and came in perſon to meet him on land. At this interview De Gama delivered him king Emanuel's letter and preſent. The letter imported thanks for the kind treatment Cabral had met with, and conſent for ſettling a factory at Cochin. The preſent conſiſted of a crown of gold, thick ſet with jewels; a gold collar enamelled, two ſilver fountains wrought, two pieces of figured arras, a coſtly pavilion, and a piece of crimſon ſattin, and another of ſendal; Trimumpara received it with pleaſure and the pavilion being ſet up to ſhew the uſe of it, a farther treaty of peace was concluded within it. The king alſo gave a houſe for the factory, and ſettled the rates at which ſpices were to be delivered. This agreement was reduced to writing, and ſigned by Trimumpara who ſent the king of Portugal the following preſent: two gold bracelets, ſet with precious ſtones, a ſaſh for the head, uſed by the Moors, of ſilver tiſſue, two yards and a half in length, two great pieces of fine Bengal callico, and a ſtone as big as a walnut reported to be good againſt poiſons, and ſaid to be taken out of the head of a beaſt, called in the Indies Bulgoldolf, and very rare to be found. 1502

While Gama's ſhip was lading, a meſſenger came from the Samorin to acquaint him that if he would return to Calicut, all his goods ſhould be reſtored him, and a trade granted, the general ordered the meſſenger to be confined, in order to puniſh him, if the Samorin proved deceitful. And againſt the advice of all his Captains, determined to go alone to Calicut, ſaying, that in caſe of neceſſity he would retreat to Sodre's ſquadron, which hovered on that coaſt. On his arrival in the road, the Samorin ſent him word, that next day every thing ſhould be concluded: but as ſoon as he underſtood that the general had left the reſt of his ſhips behind, he ordered thirty-four praws to go out and take him. They ſet upon Gama's ſhip ſo ſuddenly, that to eſcape them he was obliged to cut one of his cables, and ſtand out to ſea, for all this they did not give over the purſuit, but followed him ſo cloſe, that he muſt infallibly have been taken but for Sodre's Ships, on ſight whereof, the praws made off. At his return to Cochin he ordered the meſſenger to be hanged. The Samorin was much concerned at this; but finding he laid his ſnares in vain, to take Gama, he reſolved to try whether he could perſuade the king of Cochin to deny the Portugueſe a liberty of trading in his ports, with this view he wrote him a letter, wherein he called the Portugueſe, robbers, repreſenting the danger that might attend entertaining ſuch gueſts, and the diſpleaſure it gave him. Trimumpara anſwered, that ſince they brought money to lay out in his country, it was his intereſt to encourage them: and that the Samorin would not be willing, at his requeſt, to prohibit the Moors of Mecca from trading to Calicut. The Samorin replied, that he was ſorry to find the king of Cochin preferred the friendſhip of chriſtian ſtrangers to his, and took part with his enemies; adviſing him once more to abandon them, as he tendered his own welfare.

The king of Cochin in his anſwer let the Samorin know, that he did not value his threatning, and that he ſhould never, through fear of the conſequence be induced to do a baſe or perfidious action. The Samorin finding he could not prevail by intreaty, reſolved to apply force, as ſoon as the Portugueſe were returned homewards. Mean time he commanded twenty-nine large ſhips to be fitted out, in order to attack them once more before they left the coaſt; imagining, that as the general's fleet was heavy laden, his would be better able to deal with it.

The king of Cochin told Gama nothing of what had paſſed between him and the Samorin, till he went to take his leave, at which time, as a farther proof of his integrity, he declared he would hazard the loſs of his dominions, to ſerve the king of Portugal. The general, with many expreſſions of gratitude, aſſured him, that his maſter would never forget ſo many demonſtrations as he had given of friendſhip, and engaged in his maſter's name, to afford him ſuch effectual ſuccour, that it would be in his power not only to ſecure his own kingdom, but to conquer others; adding that thence-forward ſuch fierce war ſhould be carried on againſt the Samorin, that far from being able to attack others, he would have enough to do to defend himſelf, and promiſed to ſend him a fleet of ſhips forthwith from Cananor. The king was the

1502 more pleaſed with the declaration of the general, as it was ſpoken before his nayres; who, in friendſhip to the Moors, were ſorry that a factory had been granted to the Portugueſe.

The general having ſailed from Cochin, about three leagues from Padarane, deſcried the Mooriſh fleet before mentioned, which came to intercept him in his paſſage.——He then immediately bore down upon them: and Sodre, with two other captains, advancing before the reſt, attacked two of the largeſt ſhips with ſo much fury, that many of the men leaped into the ſea, to avoid their weapons.——Gama coming up with the reſt of the fleet, the remainder of the enemies veſſels made towards ſhore as faſt as they could, nor would the general ſuffer his ſhips to follow them, for fear of the ſhoals. Mean while the Portugueſe in their boats, ſlew all the Moors who defended themſelves ſwimming in the water, to the number of 300 perſons. In the two ſhips they found much China ware, ſilver veſſels gilt, and other rich merchandiſe; but what exceeded all the reſt, was an image of gold, weighing thirty pounds, of a monſtrous ſhape: the eyes were two emeralds; part of it was covered with a garment of beaten gold, curiouſly wrought, and ſet with precious ſtones. On the breaſt of the idol was a large ruby, which ſent forth a moſt brilliant light.

The goods being taken out, the ſhips were burnt, and Gama proceeding to Cananor, the king gave him a houſe for the uſe of the factory, which he left there, conſiſting of 24 men, who were to be furniſhed with ſpices at a ſettled price, at Cochin. The two nations were to defend each other, and the king of Cananor was not to aſſiſt any prince againſt Trimumpara. Then Gama ordered Sodre to remain on that coaſt till February, and if, in the mean time, there was any likelihood of war breaking out between the kings of Calicut and Cochin, he ſhould winter at the latter place; in caſe there was not, he was then to ſail for the Red Sea, and take all ſhips of Mecca, bound to the Indies.

On the 20th of December, Gama departed for Portugal, with 13 ſhips, and came to Mozambique, where they refitted two that were leaky. At Cape Corientes they were detained by contrary winds and ſtorms, which came with ſudden ſqualls. Gama arrived at Caſcais the firſt of September, where ſeveral noblemen went to receive and accompany him to court. He was preceded by his page, who carried a ſilver baſon, containing the tribute of the king of Quiloa. His maſter gave him an honourable reception, juſtly due to his great ſervices, and made him admiral of the Indian ſeas. He conferred on him alſo the title of Count of Videgueyra. Six days after came to Liſbon Stephen de Gama, whoſe ſhip had been ſeparated from the reſt at Cape Corientes, and in the way home had loſt its main-maſt in bad weather.

VARIOUS VOYAGES AND TRANSACTIONS OF PACHECO, ALBURQUERQUE, AND OTHER PORTUGUESE ADVENTURERS.

AS the Samorin envied the advantage which Trimumpara king of Cochin, made of the Portugueſe trade, and was offended with him for encouraging the enemies of the Moors, whom he ſupported, which might endanger the loſs of the trade of Arabia and Egypt, he got together 50,000 men at Panani, ſixteen leagues from Cochin, and made other preparations for war. The people of Cochin fearing ſo great a power, were for delivering up the Portugueſe to the Samorin, who demanded nothing more. But Trimumpara refuſed, and went out with three of his nephews and a ſmall force, to meet the enemy; at the firſt charge he was forſaken by ſome of his nobles, yet aſſiſted by the Portugueſe, valiantly maintained a paſs, till his nephews being killed, whereof one was general, and himſelf wounded, after ſtoutly reſiſting, he was forced to fly, and ſecure himſelf in the Iſland Vaipi, near to and more tenable than Cochin, which the Samorin took and burned: yet ſtill he perſiſted not to deliver up the Portugueſe.

Whilſt the people of Cochin were beſieged in the iſland, there ſailed from Liſbon nine ſhips, under three different commanders: the firſt was Alonſo (or Alphonſo) de Alburquerque; the ſecond, Franciſco de Alburquerque; and the third, Antonio de Saldanna.—The laſt were to cruize in the mouth of the Red Sea, againſt the ſhips of Mecca; the others to return with their lading.—Franciſco de Alburquerque arrived firſt with more ſhips than he brought out, having met with thoſe of Vincent Sodre, who was cruiſing upon the Indian coaſt, and diſtreſſed by ſtorm, as alſo a veſſel that had been ſeparated from Don Vaſquez De Gama. Sodre had taken four ſhips of Calicut, which he carried to Cananor, and burned ſeveral ſmall veſſels, but this happened before the invaſion of Cochin, to whoſe king he had offered his aſſiſtance, but was not admitted. Therefore ſailing thence, he touched at Socotra and Guardafu, and, on the coaſt of Arabia, took ſome veſſels of Cambaya and Calicut. Winter coming on, he put for ſhelter into a bay near the iſlands Curiamuria, and found the Arabs of that coaſt called Badwins, who lived by their cattle, very tractable. After two months ſtay, they adviſed him to ſeek a good harbour, to avoid being caſt away in the ſtorms, which aroſe about that time. Sodre would not credit them, believing they ſaid it only to get rid of him; but, when it was too late, found they ſpoke the truth, being, with his brother and all the crew loſt in a ſudden tempeſt. The other veſſels, after being in great danger, and ſuffering much through hunger and thirſt, eſcaped, and met Franciſco de Alburquerque, with whom they ſailed to Cochin.—The commander, immediately on his arrival, ſent a preſent into the iſland, part whereof was 10,000 ducats. Then going on ſhore, Trimumpara ran and embraced him, crying, *Portugal! Portugal!* which words all the people with great cries repeated; and the Portugueſe, to return the civility, cried, *Cochin! Cochin!* Franciſco comforted the king, giving him aſſured hopes in the aſſiſtance of his ſhips, and the others he expected. Not to loſe time, he fell upon thoſe who held the iſland of Cochin for the king of Calicut, and killing many people, he expelled the reſt. Thence he paſſed to Vaipi, and reſtored that country to its lawful prince. The territory of the lord of Repelim, was waſted with fire and ſword, and only four Portugueſe loſt in this action.

The joy Trimumpara received in being reſtored by the aſſiſtance of the Portugueſe, moved him to grant them leave to build a fort in Cochin. The work was begun when Alphonſo de Alburquerque arrived, and it was called the Fort of St. Jago. A church was likewiſe then built, dedicated to St. Bartholomew. Five hundred men being put on board ſome veſſels, taken from the enemy, they burned Repelim, after a ſtout defence made by 2000 nayres. Alphonſo, ambitious of performing ſome notable exploit by himſelf, advanced againſt a town, whence a multitude of expert heathens iſſuing, brought him into great danger, which was increaſed by the aſſiſtance of 33 veſſels of Calicut.

cut. But his brother Franciſco coming up, they were put to flight, and many killed, as were 700 in the iſland Cabalam, where they thought to ſecure themſelves. Duarte Pacheco deſtroyed another town, killing many of the inhabitants. As the Portugueſe ſailed, fifty ſhips of Calicut met them, and they, (tho' victorious) now ſpent with fatigue, were ſurpriſed at the number: but the cannon being well played, the enemy deſerted the fight.

Pepper was obtatained with ſome expence of blood. The queen of Coulan offered lading for two ſhips. [Alburquerque] went thither and ſettled a trade, and to manage it, left behind a factor, and twenty-ſix men. The king of Calicut perceiving the ſucceſs of the Portugueſe, deſired peace, which was granted, upon their own conditions; but after having fulfilled only a part of them, he renewed the war. As Trimumpara requeſted that ſome able commander might be left at Cochin with a military force to aſſiſt him, Duarte Pacheco was ſent thither with his ſhips, two caravals, and 110 men.

Franciſco de Alburquerque and his fleet loſt.

The Alburquerques now ſet out for Europe, where Alphonſo arrived ſafe;* but Franciſco and his ſhips were never heard of more; as for Pedro de Ataida, he was found at Melinda, where he had put in, after having weathered the fury of a violent tempeſt. The third commander, Antonio Saldanna, who was ſent to cruiſe at the mouth of the Red Sea, came to anchor at St. Thomas's, after having loſt Diego Fernandez Peteira. Ruy Lorenzo being ſeparated from him by a ſtorm, was driven up from Mozambique, from whence he ſailed to Quiloa, and took ſome ſmall prizes. Deſirous however of doing ſome remarkable action, he ſailed to the iſland of Zanzibar, tweny leagues from Mombaſſa, where he took twenty ſmall veſſels, and afterwards appeared before the town of that name.—The king fitted out ſeveral praws with an intention of taking his ſhip; but the long-boat defeated their purpoſe, took four praws, and killed ſeveral of their people.——The king afterwards made an attempt to defend the place with his army, but this was defeated, and his ſon ſlain in the engagement; after which the vanquiſhed party offered to become tributary to the king of Portugal. From hence Lorenzo ſailed to Melinda. In his way he took two ſmall veſſels, on board of which were twelve magiſtrates of Brava, who promiſed that city ſhould likewiſe become tributary to the Portugueſe. At this time the kings of Mombaſſa and Melinda being at war, were on the point of coming to a battle; but Saldanna arriving, the latter ſettled matters with the former.

The Samorin aſſembles his army.

While theſe things were paſſing, the Samorin of Calicut was not idle: he called round him the princes of Malabar, and aſſembled a body of 50,000 men for the ſea as well as the land ſervice. Forty thouſand of theſe were embarked in 280 veſſels, having with them 382 pieces of cannon, intended for the purpoſe of battering the new fort, while the land-force was to attack the fording-place of a river that paſſed to the iſland.

He is repeatedly defeated.

As many of the king of Cochin's ſubjects deſerted him, that prince began to be in fear for the event. Pacheco however, encouraged alike his own people and their allies, and made proper preparations for maintaining the expected combat. He placed 25 men in the ſhip, and 39 in the fort; he put 23 men into one boat, and threw himſelf with 22 into another. The reſt of his force conſiſted of 300 Malabars; and the king remained with his troops to guard the city. With this ſmall power the Samorin, who had quartered himſelf in a neighbouring village, was defeated with great loſs. His men were routed with great ſlaughter in three different engagements which they had in diſputing the paſs. At the ſame time 15000 of them were defeated by land; and afterwards four towns were burned by the victor in the purſuit.

The king of Cochin was ſtill unhappy in thoſe about him, who continued to deſert to the enemy, at which Pacheco was much diſpleaſed and five of the deſerters, being ſecured, he obtained leave to puniſh them. When theſe were ſecured, the Portugueſe commander cauſed it to be reported that they were hanged, with which, however, the king and his people were highly diſpleaſed. 1503

The Samorin, notwithſtanding his defeat, returned, and attempted another ford, and found the Portugueſe and their allies again prepared for his reception. Diego Perez and Pedro Raphael were poſted with two caravals and ſome boats, where the lord of Repelim was to attack with 3000 men. At this very juncture no leſs than 300 Moors deſerted Pacheco, who wanting powder, ſent to the prince of Cochin, but he did not relieve him, the meſſenger treacherouſly forbearing to deliver the meſſage: but Pacheco overcoming all difficulties, killed 650 of the Samorin's men, who retired to a grove of palm-trees, where nine were ſlain ſo near him, that he was ſprinkled with their blood; he afterwards loſt 6000 more by the plague.

After this the king of Calicut made great preparations; and in the mean time fatigued Pacheco with ſeveral ſtratagems and treacheries. The Bramin conjurors propoſed making a powder, which being thrown into the eyes of the Portugueſe, would blind them, and ſo they would be eaſily overcome. Beſides, they had a new invention of caſtles that were to deſtroy them, and the Moors of Cochin were underhand bribed to poiſon the water of the iſland. The powder was looked upon as ridiculous, but great care was taken by Pacheco to prevent the poiſon. The caſtles were eight in number, fifteen feet high; each placed upon two boats, and carrying many men. Pacheco had 160 men divided into four parties, the ford, the fort, in the caravals, and the ſhip; and herein conſiſted the principal ſtrength of the kingdom of Cochin: for of the 30,000 men the king had at firſt, there were now but 8000 left, many of the principal men having deſerted. The Samorin had brought 80,000 men, and loſt 20,000. Whilſt the towers were preparing, Pacheco, who was aſſaulted by a number of praws, in one attack killed ſome men, and took five boats; in another eight, with thirteen pieces of cannon.

Six bold negros offered to kill him, and in order thereto, came over as deſerters; but he having intelligence, apprehended, and ſent them to the king. The Samorin gave out, that the Portugueſe of Cochin were all killed, to the intent that thoſe who reſided at Cananor and Coulan, ſhould be deſtroyed. This brought them into great danger; one or two were killed, and many wounded. The king of Cochin was reſolved to endure the utmoſt miſeries, rather than abandon the Portugueſe: but fearing theſe few muſt at laſt be over-powered by the multitude of the enemy, earneſtly intreated Pacheco to quit the enterpriſe. Pacheco bid him be of good courage and not diſhearten his ſubjects with any ſign of fear. To chear up the Portugueſe, he went on board the ſhip, and made a moſt pathetic ſpeech, which gave new vigour to them all, but much more his example at that very time; for ſcarce was the ſpeech ended, when the enemy came to aſſail him, and burn his ſhip, but Pacheco uſed long beams, one end of which reſting on the ſhip, the other hindered the approach of the flaming towers.

The enemy appeared with 290 ſmall veſſels, well ſtored with men and artillery, and eight caſtles, one carrying 40 men; two, 35 each; and every one of the other five, 30 men, with fire-works in front. The ſhore was covered with 30,000 men, with good artillery, and, at the head of them, the lord of Repelim, with a vaſt number of pioneers. The fight began, the odds being almoſt three hundred veſſels to three. At firſt the artillery did no great hurt; but being continued, tore the towers to pieces, and when the ſmoke

* Amongſt other things which he brought home were a quantity of pearls, an exceeding large diamond, and two fine Arabian horſes, ſaid to be the firſt of the breed that had ever been ſeen in Portugal.

1505 was ſomewhat allayed, the ſea appeared covered with broken boats, arms, dead bodies, and others ſtruggling with death: the fight was renewed with great loſs to the enemy, and not one Portugueſe killed. Next day the Samorin returned to the charge, and was beaten off with greater damage. Thus having loſt 18,000 men in the ſpace of five months, by the advice of his Bramins, he retired to do penance: and by conſent of his council, deſired a peace, which the king of Cochin granted. At this time Pacheco, purſuant to a meſſage from the factor at Coulan, went thither, and made five ſhips of Moors ſubmit, who obſtructed the market of pepper, which afterwards he took at their own rate, without doing them any harm.——

King Emanuel being informed by Don Vaſquez de Gama, how neceſſary it was to appear with a greater force in India, fitted out a fleet of thirteen ſhips, the biggeſt that had yet been built in Portugal, with 1200 men on board, and gave the command of them to Lope Soarez.

The firſt land of India he touched at, was Anchediva, where Antonio de Saldanna, and Ruy Lorenzo were refitting, in order to cruize on the coaſt of Cambaya againſt the Arabs of Mecca. But Lope Soarez took them along with him to Cananor, where he ſtaid to give the neceſſary orders, and then appearing before Calicut, had ſome priſoners taken in the late war, delivered to him: but becauſe they did not give up all, he for two days battered the city, whereof he ruined great part, and killed 300 inhabitants. Then ſailing to Cochin, (at which time Pacheco was upon his return to Coulan) the king informed him of the damage he received from Cranganor, a town but four leagues diſtant, and fortified by the Samorin.

Lope Soarez, with great ſecrecy, provided twenty veſſels, and ſailed with them up the river, where he found five ſhips, and eighty praws well manned, which were, by two of the foremoſt ſhips burnt after a ſharp engagement. Trimumpara was to have joined him, but came too late. A multitude of Indians and Moors, with ſhowers of arrows endeavoured to hinder his landing, but the muſqueteers made way, and having reached the town, burned it down to the ground, while the king of Calicut fled, but this victory, and another obtained by the king of Tanor againſt him, produced a peace at laſt.

Lope Soarez left Manuel Tellez Barreto with four ſails to ſecure the fort of Cochin, and ſet ſail, in order to return home; but reſolved in his way, to fall upon Panani, a town ſubject to Calicut. He was met by twenty praws, who pouring in their ſhot, drove him into a bay, where there waited ſeventeen great ſhips, well ſtored with cannon, and provided with 4000 men. After a fierce engagement, the ſhips were all burnt with their lading, which was very rich, and 700 Turks drowned, beſides thoſe that periſhed by fire and ſword; with the loſs of only twenty-three Portugueſe. Soarez ſailed hence the beginning of January, and arrived at Liſbon on the 22d of July, 1506, with thirteen victorious ſhips laden with riches; three were of the foregoing year's fleet: of his own he loſt Pedro Mendoza, who being ſtranded 14 leagues from Aquada de S. Blas, was never more heard of. One of the other three was that of Diego Fernandez Peteyra, who, after taking ſeveral prizes on the coaſt of Melinda, diſcovered the iſland Socatra.—The king placed Duarte Pacheco (who had ſo bravely defended Cochin) by his ſide, under a canopy, and went with him in that manner to church, to honour his great valour: but ſoon after impriſoned, and ſuffered him to die miſerably. Such was the end of this great conqueror in thoſe parts, and ſuch the gratitude of Indian kings.

Quiloa taken. In the year 1507, Don Franciſco de Almeyda ſailed from Portugal, and arriving at Quiloa with his ſon Lorenzo, landed at the head of 500 men, and attacked the city in two places. When he entered, Emir Ibrahim fled and ſet up Portugueſe colours in the field, which ſtopped the purſuit till he had got over to the continent with his wives and riches. The city was plundered without the loſs of one Portugueſe, though a great number of the enemy was killed; Ibrahim was but an uſurper, though the forty-fourth poſſeſſor of that iſland. When things were ſettled, Almeyda declared Mohammed Anconi (Ibrahim's relation, who had been ſerviceable to the Portugueſe) king of that place, putting a crown of gold on his head, with great pomp. The new king at the ſame time declared, that had the lawful king Alfudail, murdered by the late uſurper, been living, he would have reſigned the crown to him, and actually appointed Alfudail's ſon his ſucceſſor, though he himſelf had children. In twenty days the fort was raiſed, into which the viceroy put 550 men, and leaving a caraval and brigantine to cruiſe there, on the 8th of Auguſt, ſailed with thirteen ſhips for Mombaſſa, ſeated, as has been noticed, like Quiloa, in an iſland which is about fourteen leagues in compaſs. The city is beautiful and ſtrong, with a large bay for ſhipping. Two veſſels that were ſent to ſound the bar, were played upon with eight pieces of cannon. But a ball falling luckily among the enemies powder, obliged them to quit the work; and after driving them from two ſmaller batteries, the fleet entered without farther reſiſtance. Don Franciſco then went to burn the ſhips of Cambaya in the port; and landing his men, entered the town the 15th of Auguſt, while the king fled out at the other end. In this action only five Portugueſe were loſt; of the Moors, 1513 were killed, and 1200 taken; after which the city being plundered, was burnt to the ground.

From thence Almeyda departed for India, and coming to Anchediva, there built a fort, into which he put eighty men, and then ſailed to Onor, on the coaſt of Malabar, where being ill received, he burnt the town, and the ſhips that were in the harbour, here the viceroy was wounded with an arrow; and a party ſent to attack 1500 of the enemy, were likely to have been defeated; but farther miſchief was prevented by Timoja, governor of the city, a man of graceful preſence, who excuſing his king, and, in his name, offering vaſſalage to Portugal, appeaſed Almeyda. The viceroy then ſailed to Cananor, where he had an interview with the king, who brought with him 5000 men well armed, and gave him leave to build a fort in the harbour; where he left Lorenzo de Brito with 150 men, and two veſſels, to cruize upon the coaſt. Being informed at Cochin, that all in the factory at Coulan had been killed by the Moors, he ſent his ſon thither, with three ſhips, and three caravals, which burnt twenty-four ſhips (belonging to Calicut, and other places) there prepared to receive them, only a few of the Moors being ſaved by ſwimming. Almeyda intended to have crowned Trimumpara at Cochin to reward his fidelity and galantry: but he being retired to a religious life, it was thought fit to beſtow that honour upon Nambeadora, his nephew and ſucceſſor, who was inaugurated with great ſolemnity, with a crown of gold ſet with jewels, carried from Portugal for that purpoſe.

King Emanuel ſent Pedro de Annaya after Don Franciſco, with ſix ſhips to build a fort at Sofola, famous for its gold trade; to ſecure which, he had already cauſed a fort to be built at Quiloa, another at Mozambique, and a factory to be ſettled at Melinda; Annaya raiſed a fort there, ſtrong, though of wood, with leave of the king, who imagined that the Portugueſe would be ſoon obliged to quit it, becauſe the country was unhealthy; but finding himſelf deceived, he took the opportunity, when Annaya had ſent away three of his ſhips, and his men were weakened through diſeaſes cauſed by the bad air, to aſſault the place with 5000 Caffres; but great havock was made with the cannon; though only thirty-five Portugueſe were able to bear arms. Afterwards ſallying out with fifteen or twenty Moors, they drove the enemy into a wood of palm trees; and attacking the town by night, with a few men, entered the king's houſe, who ſtood behind the door with a ſcymetar, and wounded Annaya in the

neck; but was ſoon killed, with many more. Next day his ſon, with all the Moors, aſſaulted the fort, but in vain; for the fright cured many of the ſick, who joined in the common defence. Afterwards the brothers fell out about the ſucceſſion; and Annaya being gained by Solyman, crowned him; who for his own ſecurity, made an alliance with the Portugueſe. Here Annaya found twenty Portugueſe in a miſerable condition. At Cape Corientes, being no longer able to keep their ſhip above water, they ran her aſhore: after which, refuſing to obey their captain, Lope Sanchez, they divided into ſeveral companies, and ſo travelled through thoſe unknown countries. They ſuffered extreme hardſhips before they reached Sofala. All were loſt except thoſe twenty, and five found by Antonio de Magellanes, in the river of Quiloama.

Sofala. The kingdom of Sofala is a large tract of land, 750 leagues in circumference; ſubject to the Monomotapa, whoſe empire bears the ſame name: it is watered by the Rio del Eſperitu Sancto, and Cuama, the latter navigable 250 leagues: theſe, and many other rivers that fall into them, are famous for their golden ſands. Moſt part of the land enjoys a temperate air, is pleaſant, wholeſome, and fruitful. Here are reared great flocks of ſheep, with whoſe ſkins the natives are cloathed, becauſe of the cold ſouth winds. Along the back of Cuama, the country is mountainous, covered with woods, and watered with many rivers, which make it delightful. Here it is the beſt peopled, and the common reſidence of the Monomotapa. It is ſtocked with elephants, (conſequently ivory) and mines of gold, encompaſſed thirty leagues about with mountains, on the tops whereof the air is ſerene and clear. They are called the Mines of Manica, 50 leagues ſouth-weſt of Sofala. There are others 150 leagues diſtant, none then much valued by their owners.

Here are ſome buildings of wonderful ſtructure, with inſcriptions of unknown characters; but the natives know nothing of their foundation. The inhabitants believe in one God, under the name of Mozime, and uſe no images. Witchcraft, theft, and adultery, are moſt ſeverely puniſhed by them. They have as many wives as they can maintain: thoſe of the king are above 1000, but the firſt commands the reſt, and her children inherit. In their funerals they are very ſuperſtitious. Their cloathing is cotton, the better ſort mixed with ſome gold threads. The houſes of wood. The king's attendance were more ceremonious than great, his guards was two hundred dogs, and he was followed by 500 jeſters. He reigns ſovereign over many princes, and becauſe they ſhall not rebel, always kept their heirs about him. There were no law-ſuits among them. They fought on foot: their arms were arrows, javelins or darts, daggers, and ſmall ſharp hatchets. The women were ſo much reſpected, that if the king's ſon met one he gave her the way, and ſtopped till ſhe paſſed. Theſe mines of Sofala, believed by ſome to be the mines of Ophir, were firſt poſſeſſed by the Moors of Magadoxa, afterwards by thoſe of Quiloa, whoſe kings enjoyed them, till Yulef, one of their governors rebelled, and uſurped the ſovereignty to himſelf, aſſuming the title of king, with whom Pedro de Annaya now treated.

Whilſt theſe things happened at Sofala, in India, the Samorin of Calicut had ſtirred up the Sultan of Egypt, and hoped with his aſſiſtance to drive the Portugueſe out of thoſe ſeas. This was not carried on ſo privately, but the king of Cochin had intelligence of it, and advertiſed the viceroy Almeyda, who ſent his ſon Lorenzo with eleven ſail, to prevent the deſign. As he viſited ſome ports, he learned, that in the road of Cananor was a fleet of 260 praws, whereof ſixty exceeded our ſhips in bulk. He directed his courſe towards them, and after a very ſharp engagement, they were put to flight, and ſome taken, but many ſunk, and obliged to run a-ground, with great loſs to the enemy, and of his own, only five or ſix men: ſoon after the fort of Anchediva was beſet by ſixty well armed veſſels of Moors and Gentiles, commanded by a renegado; but hearing that Lorenzo was coming to its relief, they went off with all poſſible ſpeed. 1508

The Moors perceiving their Trade was cut off by the Portugueſe, thought to ſhun them by keeping out at ſea in their voyage to Sumatra and Malacca, where they went for ſpice, ſtriking through the Maldivia iſlands, and bearing away ſouth of Ceylon. The viceroy ſent his ſon from Cochin, with nine ſhips, to infeſt their courſe, when the pilots wandering through unknown ſeas, diſcovered that iſland. They anchored at the port of Gale, where many Moors were lading cinnamon, and taking in elephants for Cambaya. They, fearful of Don Lorenzo's anger, preſented him in the name of the king, with 400 bahars of cinnamon. He well underſtood the contrivance, but thought it that time, better to diſſemble, and content himſelf with the preſent, and diſcovery of Ceylon, planting there a croſs, with an inſcription, ſignifying the time of his arrival. In his return to Cochin, he fell upon the town of Biramjam, which he burned down, putting all to the ſword, in revenge for the Portugueſe killed at Coulan; becauſe that town belonged to this crown. Meanwhile Pedro de Annaya, and moſt of his men died at Sofala, and not long after, the fort of Quiloa was raiſed by the Portugueſe themſelves; all being the effect of their ill uſage towards the natives.

The king being informed by Diego Fernandez Piteyra, that there were Chriſtians at Socotra, who were ſubject to the Moors, he ordered Triſtan de Cunna, and Alphonſo de Alburquerque, to direct their courſe thither, and take the fort; to the intent his fleet might afterwards winter there, and ſo the navigation of that ſea be ſecured. On the 6th of March, 1508, they ſailed from Liſbon with 13 veſſels, and 1300 fighting men; whereof ſome (being infected with the plague, at that time raging in the city) died by the way. When they came under the line, the ſickneſs left them. They paſſed in ſight of Cape St. Auguſtin, in Braſil, and in croſſing the vaſt ocean between that place and the Cape of Good Hope. Triſtan de Cunna ran ſo far to the ſouthward, that ſome of his men periſhed with cold, and he diſcovered the iſlands ſtill called by his name. Here being attacked by a ſtorm, all the ſhips were parted, each running a different courſe, till they met again at Mozambique; except Alvaro Tellez, who being driven as far as Cape Guardafu, took ſix ſhips, ſo laden with all ſorts of goods, that from them to his own veſſel, he made a bridge of bales, thrown into the ſea, over which the men paſſed as on dry land. Ruy Pereyra, who fell into Matatanna, a port of Madagaſcar, being informed it abounded in ſpices, eſpecially ginger, invited thither Triſtan de Cunna, who came and anchored in a bay which his ſon, Nunno de Cunna, called de Donna Maria de Cunna, after a lady he courted; others name it of the Conception, at a town inhabited by the Moors, and governed by a Sheikh, in a cloſe bay, which receives the great river Lulangan; they had a ſkirmiſh, and found the iſland produced little ginger.

Hence de Cunna ſent Alphonſo de Alburquerque, with four ſail to Mozambique, whither coming afterwards, they proceeded to Melinda, whoſe king obliged him to fall upon Oja; a city, which being aſſiſted by the king of Mombaſſa, infeſted him. The Arabs inhabited this country, where are ſeen ſome ancient and wonderful ſtructures. Each city, and almoſt village, has a king, whom they call ſheikh; the chief cities are Quiloa, Zanzibar, and Mombaſſa; but that of Melinda pretended to be the oldeſt, deducing his pedigree from thoſe of Quitau, a city 18 leagues from him, which though ruined, ſhews the footſteps of its former grandeur, having been ſuperior to Luziva, Parimunda, Lamo, Jaka, Oja, and other its neighbours. The country is watered by the river Gulimanja. George Alphonſo going up this river five days, ſaw in the banks impenetrable woods, and in the waters an infinite number of ſea-horſes.

Triſ-

1503 Triſtan de Cunna (with ſix ſhips) appeared before the city Oja, ſtanding 17 leagues from Melinda, on an open ſhore, ſecured with a wall towards the land, which hides it from the Caffres. He ſent the ſheikh word, that he had important affairs to communicate to him; who anſwered, That he was a ſubject of the Sultan of Cairo, head calif of the houſe of Mohammed, and therefore could not treat with people that were ſo much his enemies. Triſtan, conſidering the danger of delays, as ſoon as day appeared, divided his men into two parts into boats; one part commanded by Alphonſo de Alburquerque, the other by himſelf: and though the ſea ſeemed to favour the Moors, who ſtood on ſhore to hinder their landing, they were forced to fly, entering at one gate, and running out at the other.

Nunno de Cunna, and Alphonſo de Noronha, purſued the king, with many of his men, into a wood of palm-trees, and killed him in the midſt of them. George Silveyra perceiving a grave Moor, who led a beautiful young woman through a path in the wood, ran at him, and the Moor, making ſigns to the woman to fly, whilſt they fought, ſhe followed him, ſignifying, ſhe had rather die, or be taken with him, than eſcape alone. Silveyra ſeeing them ſtrive who ſhould give the greateſt proof of affection, let them both go away: ſaying, "God forbid my ſword ſhould part ſo much love." The town was plundered, and then burnt with ſuch precipitation, that ſome of the Portugueſe periſhed in the flames.

What happened, being known at the city of Lamo, 15 leagues diſtant, its ſheikh came and ſubmitted himſelf, offered a tribute of ſix hundred meticals of gold yearly, and paid the firſt year in hand. The fleet went on to the city Brava, a populous place, before conquered, but then in rebellion, with 6000 armed men on the ſhore: but de Cunna and Alburquerque, next day landing with two bodies, in ſpite of ſhowers of arrows, darts, and ſtones, ſcaled the walls, and routed the Moors; after waſhing the ſtreets with their blood, and killing ſo many, that their number was not known. Of the Portugueſe, forty-two were loſt, half through covetouſneſs; for over-loading a boat, they were drowned with the ſpoil, barbarouſly acquired, by cutting off the hands and ears of women, to ſave time in taking off their bracelets and ear-rings. The city being burnt and plundered, de Cunna ſet ſail, and met off Cape Guardafu, Alvaro Tellez, who had been in a ſtorm with a rich booty before ſpoken of. Having diſcovered the Cape, he ſtood for Socotora, (or Socotra) an iſland twenty leagues in length, and nine in breadth; it lies almoſt eaſt and weſt, in the latitude of 12 deg. 40 min. It is the biggeſt about the mouth of the Read Sea; but has no ports fit for any number of ſhips to winter. Acroſs the middle of it runs a ridge of hills as high as the clouds, yet the ſand of the ſhore is carried up to the top by the north winds; this renders it barren not only of plants, but trees, excepting ſome ſmall valleys, that are under ſhelter of thoſe winds. It is diſtant from the coaſt of Arabia fifty leagues, and thirty from Cape Guardafu. The ports moſt uſed by the Portugueſe, are, Zoko, inhabited by Moors; Calanſea, to the weſtward, and Beni to the Eaſtward; the natives are unpoliſhed. The valleys ſheltered from ſand produce apple and palm trees, and the beſt aloes; which for its excellency is called Zocotorinos. The common food is maize, or Indian wheat, tamarinds, and milk.

Socotra.

"They are all Jacobite Chriſtians, like the Abaſſines. The men uſe the names of the apoſtles, the women chiefly that of Mary: they worſhip the croſs, which they wear on their cloaths, and ſet up in their churches; where they pray twice a-day in the Chaldean language, alternately as in a choir. They receive but one wife; uſe circumciſion, faſting, and tythes. The men comely; the women ſo manly that they follow the war, and live like Amazons. Some of them for propagation making uſe of ſuch men as arrive there. Their cloathing is ſome cloth and ſkins; their habitations, caves; their weapons ſtones and ſlings. They were ſubject at that time to the Arabian king of Caſhen."

De Cunna found here an indifferent port, not ill manned, nor unprovided. Being provoked by the Sheikh's anſwer to his meſſage, he reſolved (though it was dangerous) to land with Alburquerque. The firſt who leaped on ſhore was his nephew, Don Alphonſo de Noronha, with a few, but brave men. The ſheikh received him with no great number, though with much gallantry, maintaining his ground, and threatening de Cunna; who, through a ſhower of bullets and ſtones, made his approach to the fort, and was briſkly repulſed by the ſheikh, whom then Don Alphonſo ſtruck down with his lance. Hence enſued a ſharp ſkirmiſh; the Moors endeavouring to carry off their prince, and the Portugueſe to hinder it; when he and eight more had been ſlain, the enemy fled to the caſtle, which was ſcaled; and thoſe who entered, opening the gate for the reſt, a bloody fight began within, the Moors diſputing it to the laſt man; for out of 80, there was but one left alive, except a blind man, who was found in a well, and being aſked how he got there, anſwered, "That blind men ſaw only one thing, which was the way to liberty, and which even blind men coveted." He had his liberty given him. The Portugueſe loſt ſix men. The natives who had kept off, hearing of their ſucceſs, came to thank De Cunna for delivering them from the heavy yoke of thoſe Mahometans, and were received under the protection of the king of Portugal, who having choſen Don Alphonſo de Noronha to command the fort, if taken, De Cunna gave it him, with 100 men for a garriſon. De Cunna wintered in thoſe parts; after which, he ſailed for India, and Alburquerque for the coaſts of Arabia.

While theſe things delayed the fleet, the king of Calicut relying on the ſucceſs, promiſed by his ſoothſayer (as foretold by a great earth-quake, and eclipſe of the ſun which happened ſo that the ſtars appeared for a conſiderable time) was arming againſt the Portugueſe. But the Viceroy Almeyda ſent out a ſquadron of ten ſhips, which the Samorin little expected, under the command of his ſon Lorenzo, who ſailed to Dabul, diſcovered the fleet of Calicut, and would have engaged it, but that on account of the narrowneſs of the place, it was carried in council, not to attack them, for which, on his return to Cochin, he was ſeverely reprimanded by his father, who broke all the officers, and ſent them to Portugal.

Gonzalo Vaz, who followed Don Lorenzo, meeting a ſhip of Cananor, though with a Portugueſe paſs, ſunk it, and all the Moors ſewed up in a ſail, that they might never be ſeen, but his villainy ſoon came to light: for one of the bodies being found on ſhore, and known to be the nephew of Mamala, a rich merchant of Malabar, the Samorin uſed it as an argument to gain the king of Cananor, who before wanted to break with the Portugueſe. Lorenzo de Brito, captain of the foot there, on whom at firſt the ſuſpicion fell, was preſently beſieged by 20,000 Moors, when aſſiſtance came from the Viceroy; but their magazine of proviſion taking fire, they were forced to eat vermin; and had been famiſhed, but for abundance of lobſters which the ſea being then rough, left behind, and was their only relief. The Samorin having ſent a powerful ſupply, the king of Cananor gave an aſſault both by ſea and land, with above 50,000 men, who were repulſed with great loſs, and not one Portugueſe killed. The king vexed at this, and terrified at the coming of de Cunna, ſued for peace. After this the Viceroy went with de Cunna to fall upon Panani, a town ſubject to Calicut, where there were four ſhips of the Samorin, commanded by Cutioli, a courageous Moor. They went up the river through ſhowers of balls from the ſhore, which is high; and the Moors ran into the water to meet their boats, but the Portugueſe landing, attacked their trenches, where a ſtrong Moor wounding Don Lorenzo, he with one ſtroke clove his head to his breaſt. The town being entered, all were put to

the ſword; the ſhips and plunder alſo, though of great value, were burnt; and only the artillery ſaved, in this action above 500 of the enemy periſhed, and but 18 of the Portugueſe, none of note.

After parting from de Cunna, the 20th of Auguſt, 1508, as before related, he ſailed for the coaſt of Arabia, in Perſia, purſuant to the king's order; having with him ſeven ſail, and 460 fighting men. He firſt touched at Calayata, a beautiful ſtrong town in the kingdom of Ormuz, but not ſo populous as heretofore: whoſe buildings are after the manner of Spain. The governor, having offered refreſhments, and ſettled peace, he went to Curiat, ten leagues farther, where, being ill received, he ſtormed the town, and met with a vigorous oppoſition, but entered killing eighty of the enemy, with the loſs of only three men.

The place being plundered and burnt, with fourteen veſſels in the harbour, he ſailed eight leagues farther to Maſcat, a place ſtronger than any of the others, and well provided with men; who having heard of the deſtruction of Curiat, reſorted from all parts to defend it. But the governor fearing the like diſaſter, made peace, and ſent great ſtores of proviſions; when on a ſudden the cannon of the town began to play furiouſly upon the Portugueſe ſhips, which drew off haſtily, not knowing the cauſe of this change: till ſome time after they underſtood, that 2000 men, ſent by the king of Ormuz, being arrived, their officers refuſed to ſtand to the treaty. But Alburquerque landing his men at break of day, aſſaulted the town ſo courageouſly that as the Portugueſe entered at one gate, the Moors ran out at the other. All the houſes were plundered except the governor's, who had given them notice when the relief came, but he was killed in the confuſion, not being known. This done, they paſſed to Soar, all the inhabitants whereof fled except the governor, and ſome of the principal Moors, who yielded up to Alburquerque, and received back to hold of king Emanuel, under the ſame tribute they had paid to the king of Ormuz. The inhabitants of Orfucam, fifteen leagues farther, having deſerted it, the town was plundered for the ſpace of three days: and during this time, the general prepared to enter the harbour of Ormuz, which was the principal end of the voyage.

Ormuz. The city of Ormuz is ſituate on a little iſland, called Jerun, at the mouth of the Perſian Gulph, about three leagues in compaſs, and ſo barren, that it produces nothing but ſalt and ſulphur. The buildings of the city are ſumptuous: it is the great market of all goods, brought thither from the Eaſt, Weſt, and North, which is the reaſon, that though it has nothing of its own, it abounds in all things, and is plentifully ſupplied from the province of Mogoſtan in Perſia, and the Iſlands Keyſhom, Laree, and others. About the year 1273, king Malech Caez poſſeſſed all the land, from the Iſland Jerun, to that of Bahrayn, and bordered upon the king of Gordunſhah, of the Province of Mogoſtan. This king ſubtily obtained of Malech the iſland of Jerun, as a place of no worth, and after he was fortified therein, drove his benefactor out of all his dominions, and tranſlating the city of Ormuz, where the king kept his court before, to this iſland, he grew ſo formidable, that the king of Perſia, fearing he would refuſe to pay the tribute the other had done, prepared to invade him; but he of Gordunſhah prevented him, by impoſing on himſelf a yearly tribute, and offering to do homage by his ambaſſadors, every five years. In this tyrant began the city and kingdom of Ormuz, afterwards poſſeſſed by his heirs, and others, for the moſt part violently.

About the end of September, when Alburquerque arrived there, Sayfaddin, a youth of twelve years of age, reigned; and over him, his ſlave Chojah Attar, a man ſubtle and courageous, who hearing what had been done by that commander, made preparations, laying an embargo upon the ſhips in the harbour, and hiring troops from the neighbouring provinces, Perſians, Arabians, and others, ſo that when the Portugueſe fleet entered the port, there were in the town 30,000 fighting men; among them 400 Perſians, moſt expert archers; and in the harbour, 400 veſſels, ſixty of conſiderable bulk, with 2500 men. Alburquerque, to ſhew thoſe people the greatneſs of his reſolution, came to an anchor among five of the largeſt ſhips, firing his cannon to ſtrike a terror along the ſhore, which was ſoon covered with above 8000 men. Finding no meſſage came from the king, he ſent on board the biggeſt of thoſe ſhips, which was of Cambaya, and ſeemed to ride admiral: the captain whereof preſently repaired to him, and was received with civility and ſtate. Alburquerque told him, he had orders to take the king of Ormuz into his protection, and grant him leave to trade in thoſe ſeas, provided he paid a reaſonable tribute: but in caſe of refuſal, he was to make war. 1507

The Moors delivered his meſſage to the king and his governor Chojah Attar, who preſently returned with one Chojah Beyram, to excuſe their not having ſent to know what the Portugueſe demanded in that port, promiſing the governor ſhould come next day. He came not, but the meſſages continued, in order to gain time to fortify the city, and receive farther ſupplies. Alburquerque ſaw into the matter, and told Beyram, he need only return with the acceptation of peace as offered, or the declaration of war. Beyram brought word, that Ormuz uſed not to pay, but receive tribute. As night drew on, the noiſe of warlike inſtruments and ſhouts was heard from all parts. The morning diſcovered the walls, ſhores, and veſſels, crowded with armed men, while the windows and tops of the houſes were filled with both ſexes, and all ages, as ſpectators of what ſhould enſue. Alburquerque began to play his cannon furiouſly, and was anſwered by the enemy; who taking advantage of the ſmoke, which hindered the ſight, attacked his ſhips with 130 boats well manned, which did ſome damage, with ſhowers of arrows; but received more, many being ſunk, and the reſt forced by the artillery to retire. Yet they made a ſecond onſet; but were ſo received that the ſea was coloured with blood.

By this time Alburquerque had ſunk two of the great ſhips, and taken a third, though with great oppoſition; forcing the Moors to leap into the ſea; mean time, the reſt of the Captains had maſtered other ſhips, and running along the ſhore, ſet fire to above thirty more, which cutting their cables were drove flaming upon the Perſian coaſt, where they burned others that lay aground, this ſtruck ſo great a terror into all that multitude, that they fled to the city; and Chojah Attar ſending to offer Alburquerque all that had been demanded, he ſtopped farther proceedings; but perceiving the deceitfulneſs of the Moors, threatened much worſe effects of his anger, in caſe he perſiſted in his wiles. Thus, with the loſs of only ten men, moſt of the enemy's veſſels full of riches, were either burnt, ſunk, or torn to pieces, and 1700 of them killed, the dead bodies floating upon the water. Many were ſeen with ornaments of beaten gold, which the Portugueſe fiſhed for, who obſerved that ſeveral were wounded with their own arrows; there being none uſed among the Portugueſe.

Chojah Attar, conſidering the damage received, and what might enſue, called a council; wherein it was agreed to ſubmit to Alburquerque's demands. The articles were drawn, and ſworn to by both parties: their ſubſtance was, that the king of Ormuz did ſubmit himſelf to king Emanuel, to the tribute of 15000 xeraphines yearly: and ſhould aſſign the Portugueſe ground to build a fort. The fort was immediately begun, and much advanced in a few days: but Chojah Attar could not bear with it. He feigned that ambaſſadors were come to receive the tribute they uſed to pay to the king of Perſia; therefore deſired Alburquerque to give them an anſwer, ſince his king was now ſubject to the king of Portugal. He gueſſed at the deſign, and deſired Chojah Attar would ſend ſomebody to him, who might carry the anſwer. The meſſengers being come, he put bullets and

1507 ſpears into their hands, telling them, that was the coin the tribute ſhould be paid in. Chojah Attar, finding his plot fail, endeavoured to corrupt the Portugueſe with money, and prevailed with five ſeamen. One of them was a founder, who caſt ſome cannon there; and another informed him, that the enemy were not 460 in number; animated by this, he ſtudied to break the peace, refuſing to deliver up theſe men, and pretended at the ſame time, it was Alburquerque who broke it. Alburquerque began to revenge this affront, but with little ſucceſs, becauſe the captains employed, oppoſed it. Chojah Attar perceiving this, at night fired a boat the Portugueſe were building on the ſhore; and at the ſame time, one of the deſerters cried from the wall, "Alphonſo de Alburquerque, defend the boat with your 400 men, and you ſhall meet 700 archers." Nor was this to be wondered at, ſince ſome of the captains themſelves gave intelligence to the enemy, and perſuaded thoſe five to deſert. Alburquerque burning with rage, attempted to fire ſome ſhips in the arſenal; but failing, reſolved next to beſiege the city, and having taken ſome that carried in proviſions, cut off their hands, ears and noſes, and ſent them in, to the great terror of all the inhabitants. There was a hot diſpute about filling up ſome wells that ſupplied the beſieged: inſomuch that they were filled with carcaſſes of men and horſes, the captain and guard that maintained them, being all ſlain. The king and Chojah Attar, came to ſecond this action, and Alburquerque was in great danger, his retreat being cut off; but a fortunate cannon ball opened the way, putting the enemy's horſe into confuſion. Alburquerque in theſe actions found his men ill-diſpoſed to obey: among the reſt three captains, reſolving to leave him, and ſail for India, drew up a paper of reſolutions, why he ought to deſiſt from that enterpriſe, which the general gave to one of the maſons, to lay under a ſtone in the work, ſaying, he had anſwered, and would be glad to ſee who dared to remove the ſtone to read his anſwer. Though each was much offended at this, yet none replied: but jealous about the command of the fort when built, the three captains put in execution their deſign of quitting him. This troubled Alburquerque, yet he reſolved not to deſiſt, although two captains that ſtaid with him, oppoſed him, deſirous to accompany the others: but he uſed them with ſo much ſeverity, that they were forced to obey him.

Miſcarriage there.

From Bahrayn to Keyſhom ſailed a fleet with relief of men and proviſions, which Alburquerque purſued; but miſſing of it, fell upon a country-houſe of the king's, guarded by three hundred foot, and ſixty horſe, and beat them out, killing eighty, with the loſs of one man. He returned to Keyſhom, and fell upon 500 archers, ſent to Ormuz by the king of Laz, (in Perſia) under the command of his two nephews, and ſlew them, and moſt of their men, though he had but eighty with him. The brothers he ſent to Chojah Attar, as a preſent. The town was burnt; and there was taken among the plunder a carpet ſo large, that the ſoldiers were about cutting it, for the conveniency of carriage, which was prevented by Alburquerque, who bought and ſent it to St. Jago, in Galicia. Finding he had but few men left, thoſe much harraſſed, and winter coming on, he reſolved to go to Socotra, and gave leave to Juan de Nueva to ſail for India, where he had commanded a fleet before.

Alburquerque wintered at Socotra, and relieved the Portugueſe, who were there oppreſſed by famine. To this effect, he went himſelf with his ſhip to Cape Guardafu, and ſent others towards Melinda, and Cape Fum, to ſeize ſome ſhips for the uſe of their proviſions, which put a ſtop to the growing evil. He then reſolved for Ormuz, though too weak to effect what he intended; yet at leaſt to ſound the deſigns of the king and his friend Chojah Attar. By the way he reſolved to be revenged on Calayat, for injuries done to ſome Portugueſe. This town is ſeated beyond Cape Siagro, called alſo Cape Reſelgat, at the mouth of the Perſian Gulph. On the back of it is a mountain, which has only ſome paſſes that open a communication with the neighbouring country. One of theſe paſſes is juſt oppoſite to the town, through which is managed moſt of the trade of that province of Arabia, called Yemen, which is full of populous cities, fruitful, and of great trade. Alburquerque no ſooner arrived, but he landed, and entered the town, ſome of whoſe inhabitants fled to the mountains, and others were ſlain in the ſtreets. He ſtayed there three nights, upon one of which, a thouſand Moors, getting in by ſurpriſe, did much hurt: but the Portugueſe gathering, killed many, and put the reſt to flight, and burned the place. They got a great quantity of proviſions, which was moſt of the booty; and arrived at Ormuz the 13th of September. Alphonſo de Alburquerque preſently advertiſed the king, and Chojah Attar of his arrival, and they anſwered, that as for the tribute of 15,000 xeraphines, they would readily pay it, but would not conſent to the building a fort. He therefore reſolved again to beſiege the iſland, and ordered Martin Coello, with his ſhip, to guard the Point Turumbaca, where the wells were: Diego de Melo was poſted oppoſite to the Iſland Keyſhom; he, and Franciſco de Tavora before the city. Thence he viewed the ſtrength of the fort, for Chojah Attar had finiſhed it, making uſe of what the Portugueſe had begun, the better to oppoſe them. The ſucceſs was much as before; Diego de Mela, with eight private men, were killed, and he himſelf in great danger. After this, he returned to India, having taken a ſhip that carried much pearl from Bahrayn, and Franciſco de Tavora one of Mecca.

While this happened at Ormuz, the ſultan of Cairo ſent out a fleet of twelve ſail, and 15000 men, commanded by Mir Huſſeyn, to oppoſe the Portugueſe in India. By the way he attacked Imbo, and killed the Sheikh; he did the ſame at Joddah, and got great plunder, and then ſailed to Diu, where Malec Azz commanded for the king of Cambaya, whom he was to join, and treat with, in order to oppoſe the Portugueſe. The timber whereof theſe ſhips were built, was cut in the mountains of Dalmatia, by procurement of the Venetians (as was ſaid) becauſe the ſultan and Turk were at variance. A nephew of the ſultan carried it in 25 ſhips, with 800 mamalukes, beſides ſeamen. Andreo de Amarall, a Portugueſe, commanded then the galleys of Malta. He knowing that timber was deſigned againſt his countrymen in India, attacked the 25 ſhips of the enemy, with 600 men in four galleys, and ſix ſhips, and after a ſharp engagement, that laſted three hours, took ſeven and ſunk five. The reſt fled to Alexandria, whence the timber was carried up the Nile to Cairo, and thence on camels to Suez.

Portugueſe fleet defeated by Malec Azz

At this time the viceroy Don Franciſco de Almeyda, was upon the coaſt of Malabar, and had ſent his ſon Don Lorenzo, to guard thoſe of Cananor and Cochin, and ran as far as Chaul with eight ſhips: Chaul is ſeated on the bank of a river, two leagues from the ſea, one of the chief of that coaſt for greatneſs and trade, ſubject to the Nizamaluco, by whoſe order Don Lorenzo was well received. They had ſome intelligence of the fleet of the ſultan, but gave no credit to it, till it appeared in ſight, as Don Lorenzo was diverting himſelf on ſhore with his officers. They haſted to the ſhips, giving ſuch orders as the ſhortneſs of time permitted, and were ſcarce aboard, when the enemy entered the harbour with many demonſtrations of joy. For Mir Huſſeyn thought himſelf ſecure of victory by ſurpriſing the Portugueſe ſhips, and deſigned to board the admiral himſelf. Coming up with Don Lorenzo, he poured in ball, arrows and granadoes, with other fire-works, but was ſo well anſwered, that he gave over the reſolution of boarding, though the Portugueſe veſſels were much leſs than his: the others had no better ſucceſs; and now night approaching, gave them time to prepare againſt next morning. As ſoon as day appeared, Don Lorenzo gave the ſignal for battle; and, in his turn, endeavoured to board Mir Huſſeyn. The like was done

by the other captains; but only two galleys ſailed, and took two of the enemy, having put all the men to the ſword. Meanwhile the cannon was furiouſly played on both ſides, and the Portugueſe ſeemed to have the advantage, when Malec Azz, lord of Diu, came with a great number of ſmall veſſels well manned, to the aſſiſtance of Mir Huſſeyn. Don Lorenzo ſent two galleys, and three caravals to hinder the approach of the relief, which executed their commiſſion ſo effectually, that they obliged them to fly to another place for ſhelter; and the fight continued till night parted them, each ſtriving to conceal his loſs from the other. The Portugueſe captains having met in council, they judged it raſhneſs to perſiſt in that enterpriſe, ſince Malec Azz was ſo near with ſuch powerful aſſiſtance: and alledged, that it would be much better to take the open ſea, either in order to eſcape, or to fight with leſs diſadvantage. Don Lorenzo remembering the anger of his father for not fighting the fleet of Calicut in the river of Dabul, and fearing his retreat might be termed a fearful flight, reſolutely expected the morning, only making ſome motions to ſave the ſhips of Cochin that were in great danger.

Malec Azz imagining this motion was in order to fly, launched out from his retreat, not at all daunted to ſee ſo many of his veſſels torn in pieces by the Portugueſe cannon, and charged briſkly. Unluckily at this time, Don Lorenzo's ſhip running foul of ſome ſtakes that were drove in the river, let in ſo much water, that there was no preventing her from ſinking, tho' that brave commander laboured indefatigably, till a ball broke his thigh; then ordering himſelf to be ſet againſt the mainmaſt, he ſtood, encouraging his men, till another ball broke his back, and killed him. The body being thrown beneath deck, was followed down by Gato, his page, who bewailed him with tears of blood as well as water, being ſhot through the eye with an arrow. After a vigorous reſiſtance, the Moors entered the ſhip, and found the page by his maſter's body, who riſing, killed as many as covered it, and then died upon them. The ſhip ſunk at laſt. Of above one hundred men that were with Don Lorenzo, only 19 eſcaped. In all the ſhips were loſt 140; of the enemy 600. Two other captains got to Cochin, where the viceroy then was, and received the news of his ſon's death with a wonderful reſolution.

Soon after he received a letter from Malec Azz. This man, born in ſlavery, and deſcended of the heretic Chriſtians of Roxia, roſe by degrees to the height he then appeared in. But the principal action that advanced him was very trivial. It ſeems a kite flying over the king of Cambaya, dunged upon his head, whereat in a paſſion he ſaid, "I would give all I am worth, that bird were killed." Malec Azz, who was an expert bowman, no ſooner heard this, but he let fly an arrow, which brought down the kite. The king rewarded this exploit ſo bountifully, that the archer came to be made lord of Diu, a moſt famous city; which being ſeated on a triangular peninſula, joined to the continent by a very ſmall iſthmus, is commonly reputed an iſland. Malec Azz endeavoured politically to ſecure himſelf at the ſame time, both with the king of Cambaya, and the Portugueſe, whoſe power he feared, and hated, for the damage they brought on the trade of Diu. With this view he ſent the 19 priſoners to the king of Cambaya, and then wrote to the viceroy, condoling the death of his ſon, whoſe bravery he extolled, and offered to ranſom the priſoners: endeavouring this way to appeaſe the wrath he knew he had provoked, by aſſiſting Mir Huſſeyn, which was the cauſe of all the Portugueſe loſs.

About the beginning of April, 17 ſhips ſailed from Liſbon, which being all ſeparated by bad weather, at length met at Mozambique, except one that was caſt away on the iſlands of Triſtan de Cunna: theſe ſhips, with thoſe of the foregoing year, came together to India, and raiſed the courage of the Portugueſe. The king had ordered that Don Franciſco de Almeyda ſhould reſign the government to Alburquerque, and return home in one of the trading ſhips; but he ſuſpended the execution of this order, under pretence of being already engaged in taking revenge of Mir Huſſeyn, and the Turks, who had killed his ſon, and hereupon roſe a conteſt, which proving of no effect, Alburquerque offended at this, went to Cochin; and this was the beginning of ſome mens protracting the time of their command, and others preſſing them to quit. 1508

After this, the viceroy having diſpatched the trading ſhips homeward bound, under Fernan de Soarez, and Ruy de Cunna, who periſhed by the way, ſailed the 12th of December from Cananor, towards Diu, in purſuit of Mir Huſſeyn. He had with him 19 veſſels of ſeveral ſizes, and in them 1600 ſoldiers and ſeamen, whereof 400 were Malabars. All India was alarmed at this motion of the viceroy's; but chiefly the Samorin, and Malec Azz, who had uſed all neceſſary precautions to ſecure himſelf againſt the danger. Don Franciſco being landed with his officers, in the moſt delightful iſland of Anchediva, it was unanimouſly reſolved to fall upon Dabul.

This city is one of the moſt noted upon that coaſt, by reaſon of its ſituation, greatneſs and trade, ſeated on a navigable river, two leagues from the mouth. The buildings were then ſtately, the inhabitants Pagans and Moors; it belonged to Sabay, king of Decan, in whoſe borders it ſtood; and was provided with a good garriſon, being in fear of the Portugueſe power, upon notice of whoſe approach, ſix thouſand men were ſent to reinforce them, and new works raiſed, planted with cannon. However, the inhabitants, on the viceroy's approach, began to ſend away their goods, which the governor forbade on pain of death; and the more to encourage them, brought his own wife into the town, which example was followed by many of the principal men, whoſe wives were alſo at their country-houſes. On the 30th of December the fleet entered the port, and every one ſtrove who ſhould land firſt. The works being high, the ſhot flew over the Portugueſe, who having gained the ſhore, divided themſelves, in order to attack three gates at once; which the Moors perceiving, made ſo brave a reſiſtance at each place, that the dead bodies cauſed a greater ſtop than the defendants or their works. Dabul attacked.

Nunno Vas Pereyra being ſent to force an entrance another way, after a hot diſpute, put the Moors, though very numerous, to flight towards the mountain, in ſuch hurry, that by falling one over another, they retarded their own eſcape, though purſued only by ten Portugueſe. In the fight, which laſted five hours, 1500 of the enemy were killed, with the loſs but of 16 Portugueſe. The viceroy diſtributed his men through the ſtreets, with orders to keep guard, expecting the enemy's return; who accordingly, by the favour of the night, ſtole into the town, hoping to recover their wives, children and goods. In the morning the viceroy gave leave to plunder, which was prevented by the ſudden firing of the houſes, which in a few hours reduced the whole to aſhes; ſo that the booty exceeded not 150,000 ducats. This was done by the viceroy's order, leſt the men taken up with the riches of the place, might retard his other deſigns. The ſhips in the harbour ſuffered the ſame fate. They could get no proviſions hereabouts, becauſe all was deſtroyed by multitudes of locuſts, whereof many were found in pots, preſerved by the natives for food. The Portugueſe found them pleaſing to the palate, and not unlike ſhrimps, ſo that they took them for land ſhrimps.

On his paſſage from Dabul to Diu, the viceroy took ſome ſhips with Moors, and got proviſion for their ranſom. The ſecond of February, 1509, he arrived at Diu, which appeared high at Sea, encompaſſed with walls and towers, beautiful and ſtrong, populous and well governed; in every thing reſembling the cities of Spain. Malec Azz, lord of this city, was at this time abſent twenty leagues off with his army, againſt the Raſhputs; but had continual advice of the

1509 the motions of the fleet, which was ſcarcely anchored before the city, when he flew thither, but without any deſign either to aſſiſt Mir Huſſeyn, or exaſperate the viceroy; who in the mean time, conſidered the ſtrong ſituation of the place, much improved by art, as well as the courage and conduct of the two Moors, aſſiſted with above two hundred veſſels, well manned and provided. Between eight and nine in the morning when there was flood enough for the ſhips to ſwim, the admiral gave the ſignal for entering the port. Immediately all moved on both ſides with loud ſhouts, and the ſound of warlike inſtruments. The veſſels of Malec Azz, haſtened to oppoſe the entrance, ſhowering bullets and arrows which flew ten men in Diego Perez's galley that led the way, yet Nunno Vaz pierced forward, and pouring his ſhot among the great ſhips, ſunk one to the right; but being in danger between two others, was reſcued by George de Mello, who, with the other captains, boarded every one his ſhips, while the viceroy playing his ordnance in the midſt of the enemy's veſſels, favoured their deſign. The praws of Calicut fled at length, ſpreading the news along the coaſt, that the Turks were victorious.——Mir Huſſeyn being ſlightly wounded, in deſpair got on ſhore in diſguiſe; and rode to tell the king of Cambaya the falſehood of Malec Azz, who had aſſiſted him with his ſhips, but not his perſon. The abſence of Mir Huſſeyn did not diſcourage thoſe in his veſſels, for being boarded, they fought without yielding, till they were all ſlain. A great ſhip belonging to Malec Azz, was ſunk, and others taken, after which, the victory being no longer doubtful, the viceroy made up to the remaining ſhips, with his galley and other leſſer veſſels, and killed all that leaped into the ſea; ſo that above 1500 were ſlain, and but about forty of the Portugueſe. The plunder of the ſhips was very rich; and by the great variety of volumes in ſeveral languages, it was judged that the men were of ſeveral nations; among theſe books there were ſome in Latin, Italian, and Portugueſe. Of all the veſſels that were taken, only two ſhips and four galleys were preſerved, the reſt being burned. Malec Azz next morning pretending to be much pleaſed with the viceroy's victory, ſent Seyd Ali, a Moor of Granada, to congratulate him. Some of the Portugueſe commanders were for puſhing their good fortune, and attacking Diu; which the viceroy was againſt; becauſe the king of Cambaya, to whom the city belonged, was their friend, the place ſtrong, and they much weakened; nor could the town be maintained if taken. Hereupon it was agreed to liſten to the Moor, with whom a profitable peace was ſettled; he delivering up many captive Portugueſe, with all the artillery and ſtores belonging to ſome ſhips of the Turks, which were afterwards burnt. The viceroy on his return, arriving at Chaul, the king became tributary; and at Cochin was received in a triumphant manner. Here Alphonſo de Alburquerque again preſſing him to deliver up the government, he was, at the inſtigation of others, ſent priſoner to Cananor, and the other commander was ſent to Cochin, and ſettled in the government of India.

Turkiſh fleet defeated.

On the 19th of November, Almeyda left Cochin, with three ſhips, and paſſed the Cape; but putting into the Bay of Saldanna, not far to the north, in order to take in water, was prevailed on, againſt his will, to go aſhore to puniſh the blacks, for knocking out the teeth of one of his ſervants who had deſerved that treatment. There went with him 150 men, the flower of the ſhips companies, to a miſerable village, and took ſome cattle and children: which the blacks perceiving, 170 of them came down from the mountains, whither they had fled, and attacked them with their ſharp pointed ſtakes ſo furiouſly that they ſoon killed fifty, and among them the viceroy, who was ſtruck through the throat. He was ſixty years old, of a graceful preſenee, and obliging carriage; of ſound judgment, liberal and grateful.

Almeyda ſlain

Duarte de Lemos before this, in 1508, being made governor of Ethiopia and Arabia, having ſailed with a ſquadron to Mozambique and Melinda, ſet out to viſit Monſia Zanzibar, Pemba, and other iſlands, which neglected to pay the uſual tribute. The firſt ſubmitted immediately; but the two latter making reſiſtance, the inhabitants were driven to the mountains, and the towns plundered. Diego Lopez de Sequeira, being intruſted with the diſcovery of Madagaſcar and Malacca ſet out for the latter, calling at Padir and Paſem. Their kings ſent him preſents, and made great offers of friendſhip. Caſting anchor at Malacca, he terrified that coaſt with his cannon. A boat coming to his ſhip to enquire who they were, they ſent word there was an ambaſſador from the king of Portugal to the ſovereign of that place. The king's anſwer was doubtful, as is uſual when men's deſigns are bad; and Hierom Teixeyra, who was ſent as ambaſſador, was honourably received, the better to inſnare Lopez who accepted of the king's invitation, but did not go; being informed that the deſign was to murder him; and the ſon of Ultimuti Raja was ſent on board him, for while thirty men were diſpatched to another place to take in pepper, by the crafty directions of the king, the fleet was ſuddenly attacked by ſeveral veſſels; from which Lopez at laſt freed himſelf, ſinking ſeveral of them; but loſt his thirty men, who were killed in the town.

Alphonſo de Alburquerque now poſſeſſed of the government, prepared, along with Don Fernando Coutinno, to fall upon Calicut; where they arrived on the ſecond of January, 1509, with thirty veſſels and eighteen hundred men, beſides boats of Malabars, who followed in hopes of plunder. Every one ſtrove to land firſt: Coutinno had 800 men, and ſome field pieces, Alburquerque had the ſame number, beſides 600 Malabars. They marched with more confuſion than order, each ſtriving to be foremoſt, 600 men in the bulwark of Seram, made a vigorous reſiſtance, till Alburquerque coming up, they quitted it. Coutinno, upon this, marched forward to the palace of the Samorin, which was five leagues from the ſhore, where being arrived, much fatigued, his men fell to plundering without ſhame or order: but in the interim, the enemy being reinforced, returned and fell upon the Portugueſe, killing many under their burdens. Alburquerque, having by this time entered and fired the city, marched towards Coutinno, who had ſent to him, being in great danger. He found him blocked up in the palace: nor could he aſſiſt him, being hindered by the multitude of the enemy, who ſlew many of his men, and wounded him with a dart in the throat, and a ſtone in the head, ſo grievouſly that he was carried ſenſeleſs to the ſhore. By this time, Coutinno and ſeveral more were ſlain in the palace: beſides many on the way, who were oppreſſed by numbers, ſpent with labour and heat, or ſtifled with the duſt. They had doubtleſs all periſhed, if 2000 men left in the city had not come up in time, and obliged the enemy to retire; they loſt in all 80 men.—Alburquerque upon his return to Cochin, made preparations for a third attempt upon the iſland of Ormuz. About the end of January, he ſailed from thence with 1700 men, in twenty-one veſſels of ſeveral ſizes. Calling at Onor, he changed his deſign, by advice of the pirate Timoja, and went to attack Goa, in whoſe port he anchored on the 25th day of February.

Calicut plundered.

The iſland of Ticuari is ſituated on the coaſt of Canara, formed by two mouths of the river Gaſſin: its length from eaſt to weſt, three leagues; the breadth, one. It conſiſts of hills and plains, has good water, is very fruitful, pleaſant, beautiful, and healthy. On the north ſide of this iſland is ſeated Goa, which formerly was on the ſouth. The city now in being, was built by Malech Huſſeyn, a Moor, forty years before the arrival of the Portugueſe. It is not known when the old one was founded; but mention is made in ſome writings of Montraſat, king thereof, above 100 years before. The Moors began to conquer India, about the year 1300. The firſt that attempted it with great power, was Norradin, king of Dehli,

Goa.

Dehli, with a powerful army he came down from the north, conquering all the gentiles as far as the kingdom of Canara. Thence he returned to Dehli, leaving Habed Shah to profecute the conqueft: who, by his valour and conduct, became fo great, that he coped with his maſter. His nephew Madura, profecuting what his uncle had began, poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of Canara, and caſting of his allegiance to Shah Naſradin, called the kingdom Decan, from the ſundry nations with which he had conquered it, this word importing ſo much with that language. So great an empire always threatens ruin. Mohammed Shah, fearing this, uſed great induſtry to ſecure himſelf, which he did for a time; but at length, ſeveral governors intruſted with the command of different provinces, erected them into ſovereignties, (impriſoning their king at Bedar, the capital of Decan) The greateſt of theſe was he of Goa, when the Portugueſe entered India, called Sabay, who died about the time of Alburquerque's deſign upon that city: which the king of Hidalcan, had taken poſſeſſion of, and put it in the hands of his ſon Iſmael. The other princes were Nizamaluco, Mudra Maluco, Malech Verido, Choja Mozadan, Abexeipado, and Cotamaluco, all great princes, and foreigners (except Nizamaluco). Sabay was born at Saba, a city of Perſia, of very mean extraction: but ſerved the king of Decan ſo fortunately, that he gave him the city of Chilberga. Thence he extended his conqueſt over the gentiles of Biſnagar; and afterwards took the iſland of Goa, (which not long before had been ſeized by the Moors, who came from Onor): Malech Huſſeyn, who was then lord of it, and defended it with 1200 men, being killed in the attack. Goa had ſeveral dependencies, with which, and others he conquered, Sabay became the moſt powerful of thoſe princes; againſt whom he maintained himſelf while he lived; but his death produced great alteration. Alburquerque having ſent his nephew Don Antonio de Noronna, and Timoja, to ſound the river, on whoſe banks Goa is ſeated, found a fort well furniſhed with guns, and 400 men; which they attacked and took, after a ſtout reſiſtance made by the commander, a valiant Turk. This man flying to the city, Timoja took another bulwark with 30 men. The next day as Alburquerque entered the river, he was met by Mir Ali, and other chief perſons of the city, who came to ſurrender it, on conditions, that their lives, liberties, and eſtates, ſhould be ſecured. This unexpected ſurrender was owing to the terror which ſeized them on the report the commander made of what he had ſeen a few Portugueſe do, and to the prediction of a Joyhi, (one of their religious men) who not long before had declared, that the place ſhould ſoon be ſubject to ſtrangers. On the 17th of February, Alburquerque was received by thoſe on ſhore, as if he had been their natural prince; and mounting a horſe, they brought him rich furniture, at the gate received the keys, and went on to the palace built by Sabay; from whence he diſpatched embaſſies to divers princes. Four months after, the Moors in the town, who had delivered it up ſo eaſily only to avoid their own ruin, and gain time till relief came, revolted, Iſmael Hidalcan (Adel Chan) ſet out with a great power, to aſſiſt the revolters; ſending before his great general, Camel Chan, with 1500 horſe, and 8000 foot. Alburquerque having ſeized and put to death the heads of the conſpiracy, prepared the beſt he could for his defence, however, Camel Chan, with ſome loſs, entered the iſland and encompaſſed the city (whither the Portugueſe retired) playing his cannon to good effect. Alburquerque indeed did all that could be expected from him; but Adel Chan coming up with 6000 men, whereof 5000 were horſe, it was reſolved in council to abandon the city in the night. This was executed with great hazard; for Adel Chan had begun to cut off their retreat to the ſhips, in which Alburquerque had his horſe killed: yet got off without loſs, after a ſeige of twenty days. Alburquerque being reinforced by ſhips from Portugal, the ſame year, 1510, ſet out from Cananor with twenty-three ſail, and 1500 fighting men. At Onor he landed, to be preſent at Timoja's wedding, who married the daughter of a queen: and ſent with him three ſhips, promiſing to join him at Goa with 6000 men. On the 22d of November, the viceroy anchored a ſecond time before that city, and at break of day aſſaulted it, with great ſlaughter; the Portugueſe entering with the enemy, who fled, and doing great execution in the ſtreets. The fight was furiouſly renewed at the palace, with great danger to the Portugueſe, but Alburquerque coming up, the Moors abandoned the city, and, endeavouring to get over to the continent, through haſte and confuſion, periſhed in the river. Out of 9000 men who defended the town, 6000 were deſtroyed, and but fifty Portugueſe loſt in the attack. The booty of horſes, artillery, proviſions, and ſhips, was exceſſive. Not one Moor was left alive in the iſland: but the gentiles were reſtored to their poſſeſſions and the government of them given to Timoja, who came not till the city was taken. After this, Alburquerque received ambaſſadors with congratulations from ſeveral princes of Malabar: and laid the foundation of a fort; which he called Emanuel. He alſo coined ſilver and copper money; his intention being to make Goa the Portugueſe bulwark in India. Having left 400 Portugueſe for the defence of it, and 5000 gentiles under Melaru, nephew to the king of Onor, to ſecure the country; and to ſeek revenge, he returned to Cochin: where, under pretence of going againſt the city of Aden, in Arabia, (according to the king's inſtructions) he prepared for the conqueſt of Malacca. The city of Malacca is ſituated on what is commonly called the Aurea Cherſoneſus, or Golden Peninſula, and about the middle of the channel, which parts the iſland of Sumatra from the continent. It lies in ſomewhat more than two degrees of north latitude, ſtretched along the ſhore about a league, in the ſame manner as Liſbon. It is divided by a river, and the two parts joined by a bridge. The buildings were of wood, except the moſque and palace, which were of ſtone. It afforded a pleaſant proſpect to the ſea, and was well ſecured with fortifications. The port was filled with abundance of ſhips, as being the great market of all thoſe parts. It was firſt built by the Selates, a people for the moſt part employed in fiſhing, who joined themſelves to the Malays that before inhabited the mountains. They were aſſiſted by Pariſamora, to whom they ſubmitted. He had been a conſiderable perſon in the iſland of Java: but being expelled by a tyrant, who uſurped his lordſhip, he fled to Sincapura, and was well entertained by the king, againſt whom, however, he rebelled, and was again caſt out by the king of Siam, and ſo forced to wander about Malacca. Yet having increaſed the new colony, he gave it the name of his own Fortune; for Malacca, in the Malayan language, ſignifies a baniſhed man. The firſt king of Malacca was the ſon of Pariſamora, ſubject to the king of Siam, from whom his ſucceſſors revolted. The country of Malacca is ſubject to inundations, full of thick woods, full of hurtful and dangerous creatures, chiefly tygers, which obliges many people to paſs their nights on the tops of high trees; becauſe they fetch them off the low ones with a leap. The trade of the eaſt and weſt makes Malacca moſt rich and populous.

1513.

Malacca deſcribed.

Mohammed reigned at this time; againſt whom the king of Siam had ſent an army of 40,000 men; moſt whereof periſhed by ſundry accidents, and partly by the treachery which that king practiſed againſt Diego Lopez de Syquera. But now came Alburquerque to revenge them all. Mohammed therefore brought to his aid the king of Pahang, with a great force; and had now 30,000 men, and 8000 pieces of cannon.

On the 2d of May, 1511, Alburquerque ſet out from Cochin for Malacca, with 19 ſail, and 1400 fighting men, 800 of whom were Portugueſe, the reſt Malabars. In the way they took five ſhips of the Moors, bound for Malacca, off Ceylon. Being arrived

1515 rived on the coaſt of Sumatra, the kings of Padir and Pazaſem, ſent ſome Moors to viſit him. Nehoada Beghea, who had a chief hand in the treachery of Malacca, was taken at ſea;—and here we are told that not one drop of blood, though pierced with ſeveral mortal wounds, iſſued from him; but a bracelet being taken off his arm, he bled plentifully. The Indians, who diſcovered the ſecret, ſaid it was the bone of a beaſt that breeds in Java. It was eſteemed a great prize, and brought to Alburquerque.—The reader will judge the truth of this ſtory.——They next met a veſſel with 300 Moors, ſo reſolute, that Alburquerque was forced to come up himſelf to take it, not without danger. The firſt of July the fleet anchored in the port of Malacca, and terrified the people on ſhore with the noiſe of warlike inſtruments and cannon. The next day a Moor came from the king to tell the viceroy, that if he came for merchandiſe it was ready. The meſſenger was received with great ſtate and courteſy. The anſwer was, That the merchandiſe ſought for was ſome Portugueſe left there by Sequeyra, and that having gotten them, he would let the king know his farther demands. Being terrified with this anſwer, it was agreed to buy off the danger, by reſtoring the Portugueſe and paying a ſum of money; but Prince Aladin, his brother-in-law, the king of Pahang, hindered the king from ſo doing. Thereupon Alburquerque began ſome military execution, which obliged the king to reſtore the captives, and ſend other meſſages, to which the viceroy returned for anſwer, that he offered him peace upon condition he permitted him inſtantly to raiſe a fort there and repaid the charge of his and Sequeyra's coming to that port; ſince his falſehood had been the cauſe of all the damage ſuſtained, and that he muſt inſtantly return an anſwer, whether he choſe peace or war. The king deſired an accommodation, but his ſon and brother-in-law oppoſed it.

The viceroy landed his men on the 24th of July. The hotteſt of the diſpute was about gaining the bridge; which was defended by the prince, and the king of Pahang; King Mohammed came there alſo himſelf, on a large elephant, with two more carrying caſtles on their backs, from whence flew ſhowers of darts; but the beaſts being wounded, fled; and trampling down their own men, made way for the reſt of the Portugueſe to join thoſe at the bridge, where Alburquerque fortified himſelf: however, his men being faint thro' heat and want of food, towards night he retired with them to the ſhips, where ten died of wounds by poiſoned arrows; the enemy's loſs was not owned. The king of Pahang went away on pretence of bringing a recruit, but returned no more. Mean while, King Mohammed was buſied in undermining the ſtreets, and covering them with poiſoned thorns; being induſtrious alſo to ſecure the bridge, Alburquerque ſent Antonio de Abrieu in a veſſel well manned, to gain it: he paſſed through ſhowers of bullets, and though deſperately wounded, would not be brought off. Then floats of wild-fire were driven along the river to burn his ſhip, which was prevented by Alburquerque's gaining the bridge, who then entered the city thro' ſhowers of bullets, arrows and darts. Avoiding the mines in the broad ſtreet, he gained the moſque, and, at laſt, with great ſlaughter of the enemy, got poſſeſſion of the city, having with him in this action, only 800 Portugueſe, and 200 Malabars.—— In nine days time, all the Moors were killed or driven out of that great city, which was peopled again by ſtrangers and ſome Malabars, to whom leave was granted. Among them came Utimuti Raja, that powerful native of Java, whoſe ſon was likely to have killed Sequeyra. The ſoldiers had three days liberty to plunder. There were found 3000 pieces of great cannon, out of 8000 that King Mohammed relied upon, who with the reſt retired to Bintam (Bintang) where he and Prince Aladin fortified themſelves, but Alburquerque ſending thither 400 of his men, along with 400 of Utimuti Raja's, and 300 belonging to the merchants of Pegu; they put the prince to flight, and took ſeven elephants with coſtly trappings. Mohammed, who now wandered in the woods with his ſon, whoſe obſtinacy he blamed, and they fell at variance and parted.—Alburquerque inſtantly built a fort at Malacca, (which for its beauty he called Harmoſa) and a church. He alſo coined money, as he had done at Goa, of different ſpecies, and ſcattered ſome among the people, by which, and other ſuch ſplendid actions, he gained the hearts of the ſtrangers, and ſecured this moſt important place. Alburquerque knowing it is ſometimes convenient to truſt an enemy, gave the command of the men in the city to Utimuti Raja, but diſcovering that he correſponded with Prince Aladin, on pretence of reſtoring him, but in reality to ſet up himſelf; he, his ſon, and ſon-in-law, were apprehended; and, after conviction, publicly executed on the ſcaffold they had erected for Sequeyra. This was the firſt public execution ordered by the Portugueſe in India. Two other princes went about by artifice to poſſeſs Malacca, but did not ſucceed. Alburquerque received here ſeveral embaſſies, particularly one from the king of Siam, who rejoiced to ſee his quarrel revenged. He alſo ſent ambaſſadors to Siam and Pegu, with two perſons to diſcover the iſlands of Molucca and Banda. Then leaving 3000 men in the fort, and ten ſhips to guard the ſea, he returned towards Cochin; in his way, his ſhip, on the coaſt of Sumatra, ſtruck upon a rock. While he was on this expedition, Goa was beſieged by 20,000 of Adel Chan's men, encouraged by ſome natives within; but the viceroy arriving with ſeveral fleets at the ſame time, from different parts, the ſiege was raiſed. Hereupon the king of Calicut concluded a peace, with liberty to build a fort; and thoſe of Narſinga, Biſa, Adel Chan, and other princes, ſent ambaſſadors to him: There came alſo one from Preſter John, in order to go to Portugal. Alburquerque ſet out for the conqueſt of Aden, on the 18th of February, with twenty ſhips, manned with 1700 Portugueſe, beſides 800 Canarans and Malabars. The city of Aden is ſeated near the coaſt of Arabia Fælix, and the mouth of the Red Sea. Over it appears the mountain Arziza, all a barren rock, divided in many cliffs. The town from the ſea, looks beautiful and ſtrong. It is rich, and famous for the reſort of many nations; but water is very ſcarce, as it depends only upon a few wells and ciſterns, nor do the clouds ſupply it above once in three years: whence it is void of all trees, plants and orchards, the delight and pleaſure of other towns. They attempted to take this town by ſcaling the wall, but they were obliged to retire in four days with loſs, after taking a bulwark which guarded the port, with 39 great pieces of cannon, and burning the ſhips which were firſt plundered. From thence they ſailed to the Red Sea, being the firſt Portugueſe who had entered it, they took four rich ſhips at the iſland of Camaran, where they were obliged to winter. In July they departed, and coming again before Aden, found it newly fortified; ſo that after exchanging a few ſhot, the viceroy ſailed for India. In Auguſt Alburquerque anchored off Diu, demanding of Malec Azz leave to build a fort; Malec managed him with great addreſs, referring him to the king of Cambaya, who granted it, on condition that he might build another at Malacca. Meanwhile Malacca was in great danger of being taken by Pati Quiter, who at laſt was obliged to fly to Java, his native country, from whence Pati Unuz, lord of the city Japara (after king of Sunda) ſailed with a fleet of 90 ſhips, ſome as large as galleons, with 12000 men to fall upon Malacca; he had been ſeven years making this preparation, and held a correſpondence with the Javans in that city; but Fernando Perez with 17 ſhips, and 350 Portugueſe, and ſome natives, after two furious engagements, put Unuz to flight in his greateſt ſhip, for which a merchant offered 10,000 ducats, in caſe it was taken. The Javans from this time were baniſhed for ever out of the place; which ſoon after Mohammed, its late king, endeavoured to ſurpriſe by ſtratagem, and was very near ſucceeding.

Aden.

Alburquerque reſolving to attack Ormuz, the 20th of July, 1514, ſet out with a fleet of 27 ſail, wherein were 1500 Portugueſe, beſides 600 Malabars and Canarans, coming to anchor in the port the 26th of March: there preſently came on board a viſit, with preſents from the king. The viceroy ſent to demand the delivery of the fort he had begun there, and that ſome principal men ſhould be ſent with the inſtrument of the ſubmiſſion made of that kingdom, by King Sayfaddin; every thing was conſented to, becauſe there was no power to reſiſt. Raez (or Reis) Noraddin, the governor, with his nephew, came to ratify all, and was ſent back with rich preſents for themſelves, and a valuable collar of gold for the king. Public rejoicing was made on both ſides for this agreement. After which, Alburquerque went on with building the fort, near which on a ſcaffold, he received an ambaſſador, that came from Iſmael king of Perſia, with preſents conſiſting of ounces, precious ſtones, jewels of gold and ſilks, the treaty was concluded with mutual ſatisfaction. Before the coming of the viceroy, Raez Hamet was ſent from Perſia to Ormuz, with a deſign to ſecure it, and deliver it to Iſmael. He had got the entire aſcendant of the king; he had brought people ſecretly into the city to kill him, when there was a favourable opportunity. Alburquerque, to deliver Sayfaddin, propoſed an interview with him, when Hamet entering foremoſt rudely, and knowing him to be ſecretly armed, the viceroy ordered his officers to kill him. While the fort was finiſhing, Alburquerque perſuaded the king, that it was for the ſafety of the city to put all its cannon into the fort, which with ſome reluctancy he conſented to; and the command thereof was given to Peter de Alburquerque. Thus was this rich and powerful kingdom brought under ſubjection to the Portugueſe. Soon after, the viceroy falling ſick, was perſuaded to return to India, for the recovery of his health. In the way, meeting with news that a new governor was come from Portugal with orders for him to return home, he broke out into ſome complaint: after which he was ſeized with a profound melancholy, and died upon the bar of Goa, the 16th of December, 1515, in the 63d year of his age: He was ſecond ſon to Gonzalo de Alburquerque, lord of Villa Verda, and of Donna Leonora Meneſes, daughter of Alvaro Gonzales de Atayde, firſt count of Atouguia. He had been maſter of the horſe to King John the Second, of a moderate ſtature, his countenance pleaſing and venerable. He was twice before Ormuz, twice before Goa, and twice before Malacca, three famous iſlands and kingdoms in Aſia, over which he triumphed. He was firſt governor of India, as his predeceſſor was the firſt viceroy. The dominions of the Portugueſe in Aſia were founded by three, viz. Duarte Pacheco, Don Franciſco de Almeyda, and Alphonſo de Alburquerque.

This great man being dead, Lope Soarez de Albergaria took the government. He brought with him to India a fleet of 13 ſhips, and in them 1500 men. As Almeyda laid the foundation of the Portugueſe power in India, Alburquerque eſtabliſhed it, and ſeems to have brought it to its height; for after his death, their affairs declined every day, through the pride and avarice of the governors and other officers. The governor, according to the king's order, prepared for the Red Sea; and being informed that the ſultan of Egypt was fitting out a great fleet at Suez, he ſailed in ſearch of it from Goa, upon the 8th of February, 1516, with 27 ſail of ſeveral ſorts. He carried with him 1200 Portugueſe, and 1600 Malabars; one half ſoldiers, the other half ſeamen. Coming before Aden, Miramirzan finding himſelf defenceleſs, (by reaſon a piece of the wall was beaten down by Raez Solyman, admiral of the Suez fleet) made a virtue of neceſſity, and offered the keys to Lope Soarez, who pleaſed with this flattery, truſted to him, and took not poſſeſſion of the city, intending to do it at his return. Hearing that Solyman, by ſtreſs of weather was driven to Jodda, and had no defence, he immediately reſolved to ſail thither, up the Red Sea. 1514

Jodda. Jodda is ſituated in Arabia Fœlix, in 21 degrees, 30 minutes north lat. in a moſt barren ſoil, being all a deep ſand. The buildings are good, but not the harbour. The inhabitants are of two ſorts, the native Arabs, and foreign merchants. Mir Huſſeyn, after his defeat at Diu, by Almeyda, being afraid to return to Egypt, fortified this town for his own ſecurity, under pretence of ſecuring the prophet's ſepulchre at Mecca. Meanwhile Raez Solyman, a Turk, of baſe parentage, but a powerful and bold pirate, born in Mitylene, an iſland in the Archipelago, offered himſelf to the ſultan of Egypt to command the fleet of 27 ſail, that was preparing at Suez, to fall upon Aden; an employ which Mir Huſſeyn had ſet his heart upon, and he was accepted of. After repairing the loſs that was ſuſtained at Aden (where many of his men were killed) and taking a great booty in the city Zeybid, he returned to Jodda, where he ſlew Mir Huſſeyn, and then delivered the place up to Selim, the Turkiſh ſultan: who not long before had poſſeſſed himſelf of Egypt, and put an end to the dominion of Maluc's [by the defeat of Tuman Bey, (or Tomombaius) the ſucceſſor to Canſu al Gauri.]——

The port being dangerous, Lope Soarez anchored a league from the city, in which there was ſo good cannon, that ſome pieces reached the ſhips at that diſtance. Solyman propoſed a private combat between man and man; but the governor would not permit it, ſaying, He would anſwer on ſhore. The city was terrified by the firing a galleon, while the governors ſounded the channel that goes up to it. Solyman appeaſed the tumult, and appeared with ſome men without the walls, while multitudes appeared on them, braving the Portugueſe with loud cries; who ſeeing that Loap Soarez neglected landing, began to complain of the delay. He appeaſed them by ſhewing his inſtructions; which were not to attack the city, but the fleet: and not being able to effect this, he retired to the iſland of Comarin. From hence, after ſuffering much by famine, and loſing 17 men, taken by the Moors, he went to Zeyla, a city at the mouth of the Red Sea, on the African ſhore, and the great market of thoſe parts; which being unprovided, was eaſily taken and burnt. When he came to Aden, the wall being now repaired, Miramirzan refuſed to deliver the place, by forming delays: being thus baffled, he ſailed for Barbora, deſigning to do to that city, what he had done at Zeyla: but the fleet being ſcattered by ſtorms, and 800 men loſt, the attempt was deferred till next year, when it was taken without reſiſtance and burnt. Soarez baffled there.

——In the mean time great diſorders reigned at Goa, which at laſt brought on a ſhort ſiege: the ſame misfortune attended Malacca, through the ill government of George de Brito, and animoſities of others, whoſe tyrannical treatment made the inhabitants fly, and brought the late king with a conſiderable force to recover it; ſo that had not Don Alexio de Meneſes came with 300 men, the Portugueſe poſſeſſion there had been at an end, after which the king of Siam, who hated the Moors, ſent Siameſe, at the requeſt of a Portugueſe ambaſſador, to people Malacca, which now became ſecure.

Ceylon. The iſland of Ceylon (called by the ancient inhabitants Ilanare, and by the Arabs and Perſians, Serendib) lies oppoſite to Cape Comorin, the ſouthern point of the hither peninſula of India; from whence it is diſtant about 16 leagues, and is ſuppoſed once to have joined to it. It was divided into nine kingdoms; Colombo on the weſt; Gale, on the ſouth; Jaula, Tanavaca, Cande, Batecalon, Vilaſem, Triquinamale, and Jafanapatam. The Portugueſe had a trade with Colombo, the king whereof deſired their friendſhip, and furniſhed them with cinnamon, from the time of Alburquerque. Hither Lope Soarez ſailed next, in 1517, with 17 veſſels, great and ſmall, and 700 Portugueſe ſoldiers: with deſign to oblige the king to pay tribute, and conſent to the building a fort, as king Emanuel deſired. After a ſmall conteſt, in which the Colombo made tributary.

iſlanders,

1521 islanders, trying to assist the Moors, were put to flight; the king yielded to be a subject to Portugal: paying yearly 1200 quintals of cinnamon, twelve rings of rubies and saphires, with six elephants: commodities with which Ceylon abounds. Soon after the king of Pam, near Malacca, voluntarily became tributary to the crown of Portugal, paying a golden cup yearly. Duarte Coello having settled a peace with the king of Siam, then one of the three greatest princes of Asia (those of China and Bisnagar being the other two) Fernan Perez de Andrada arrived the same year (1517) after many difficulties at Canton in China; where he settled a trade on that coast, and returned laden with riches to Malacca. Thence, in 1518, he went with Don Meneses to Cochin: but was no sooner gone, than the king of Bintang (who waited that opportunity, though he had concluded a peace just before) attacked the city, (where there were about 200 Portuguese) with 1500 men, many Elephants by land, and sixty vessels by sea; after twenty days he raised the siege, with the loss of 330 men, and 18 Portuguese, and lay to hinder provisions getting in to relieve the town, but retired on the arrival of Garcia de Sa, with sixty men. Thither also came Antonio Correa, in 1519, from Martaban, where he had been concluding a peace with the king of Pegu, at which the priests of both nations assisted *.

Diego Lopez de Sequeyra, governor of India after Loap Soarez, having treated with Malech Azz, to erect a fort at Diu, and being put off with delays, resolved to compass it by force: for this purpose he gathered 40 vessels of all sorts, and in them 3000 Portuguese, with 800 Malabars and Canarans; the greatest fleet of theirs that ever had been seen in those seas. But coming before it, the 9th of February, and finding it had been fortified and retrenched, in a surprizing manner, as well as re-inforced with a strong garrison, it was agreed in a council of war by all the officers who assisted, not to attack it; though afterwards they charged their own cowardice on him. To as little purpose was the expedition of George de Alburquerque, governor of Malacca, with 18 sail, and 600 men, against the king of Bintang. This is an island of 30 leagues in circumference, and as many distant from Malacca. It was well fortified, having two strong castles, and the rivers staked; so that it seemed almost inaccessible. Alburquerque finding it impossible for the ships to come up, attempted to land his men in boats, in order to attack the fort, but the water being up to their middles, and the enemies shot very thick, they were forced to retire without doing any execution, many of their men being wounded, and twenty being slain.—From this place Antonio de Brito sailed for the Molucca Islands; which are in the midst of many others under the line, about 300 leagues eastward of Malacca.—To these islands, and particularly Ternate, Brito was sent to build a fort, which long since Boylee, the king of the place, had desired: others had gone before, but to no effect: as Antonio de Abrew, (in the time of Alburquerque) who, losing one of his three ships, arrived at Banda, (the chief of the five of that name) which is like an earthly paradise: and one of its chief ornaments the plant that produces the clove: from thence he returned to Malacca. But his other captain, Francisco Serram, was driven to Ternate, where he waited for the dispute to be decided, which arose among the kings of those islands, Tidore and Bachan; each striving to have the fort built on his own land.

Brito sent to build a fort at the Moluccas.

When Brito arrived at Ternate, King Boylee was dead; and he of Tidore had admitted the Spaniards; thinking himself, with very good reason, as happy in them, as Ternate could be in the Portuguese. Yet observing, that the queen of Ternate, (who was governess to her son) received Brito joyfully, the king paid him a visit, and finding him displeased on account of the new guests he had entertained, offered to deliver them up. This he thought would prevail on Brito to build a fort at Tidore, but Ternate being found to be the more convenient place, it was at length erected there. The arrival of the Spaniards was in this manner. While Serram (or Serrano) was at Ternate, a correspondence was held between him and Ferdinand Maghellan, which turned to the advantage of Spain, and trouble of Portugal. This gentleman, who was a person of great merit, by his skill in sea affairs, and the light he had obtained from Serram, having guessed there might be found another way to India; had even wrote his friend word, that he hoped to be with him soon at Ternate, by a new route. In effect, having been denied in Portugal the reward due to his services, he went over to the Emperor Charles V. and offered to bring the Spaniards to the Moluccas, a way by the west, at a time when they began to have a desire of the spice trade. His offer was readily accepted, and the command of five ships given him, with 250 men, some of them Portuguese. Maghellan, (as we have already related) sailed through the Streights that bear his name, and passed over to the great Pacific Sea, which divides that continent from Asia, and coming among the East India islands, in one whereof he was killed in a fight, in April, 1521. Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, in the ship Victory, arrived at the Moluccas, and was received by the king of Tidor, in hatred to the Portuguese, and those of Ternate; on the account above mentioned, Espinosa returned to Spain by way of Panama, and left the above-mentioned command of the ship to Juan Sebastian del Cano, who, having loaded her with spices, pursued his course the way the Portuguese take, by the Cape of Good Hope: being the first that lived to compleat that wonderful voyage round the world. Their arrival raised new contests between the emperor and King John the third of Portugal; who, by the former agreement, concluded the Moluccas belonged to him; and that no other European prince would offer to interfere in the trade of them.

The Spaniards arrived by the south west passage.

Fernan Perez de Andrada having secured the trade of China, at Canton, which proved exceeding profitable; his brother Simonin, in 1521, obtained leave to sail thither with five ships. When he came to the island Tamu, opposite to that city; Perez, the Portuguese ambassador to the Chinese court, was still there; but soon after he departed for Nanking, being four months on the way. He followed the emperor to Peking, where he was to have received his audience; mean while Simon de Andrada, through pride and conceit, behaved as if he had been king of the island: he raised a fort and set up a gallows, to terrify the people: committed violence upon the merchants, and bought young people of both sexes, without the usual precautions, giving occasion to kidnappers to steal them from their parents. These things coming to the emperor's ears, Perez (instead of being received as an ambassador) was seized with his people, and they were condemned to death, as spies: but the sentence being respited, they were sent back prisoners to Canton, to be released, in case the Portuguese restored Malacca to its king, who was a subject of China, otherwise they should be punished, and none of their nation ever admitted, or treated but as enemies. The Portuguese instead of reclaiming, agreed to act more insolently, which so exasperated the governor of Canton, that he secured several of them, and contrived to take some ships that were

* The gentile priest was called the Great Rawlin, who, after the capitulations were rehearsed, began to read in a book; and then taking some yellow paper, (a colour dedicated to their holy uses) with some sweet leaves of trees, inscribed with certain characters, set fire to it all: and holding the hands of the king's minister over the ashes, spoke some words, which rendered the oath inviolable. On this occasion there happened a merry passage; for Correa, to answer this solemnity, having ordered his priest to put on a surplice, and bring his breviary; the cover was so tattered, and the leaves torn, that thinking it scandalous their sacred books should appear in such bad plight, he directed instead of it a book of church music to be brought, which being bigger and better bound, passed among those people, as well as if it had been the gospel.

Engraved for Moores Voyages and Travels.

NATIVES *of the* MOLUCCA ISLANDS *playing on Musical Instruments called the* RABANA.

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newly arrived from Malacca, they began to act, when Duarte Coello arriving with two veſſels from Malacca, well manned, he was attacked by the Hay-tau, or admiral of that ſea, with fifty ſail; who being repulſed, kept them beſieged forty days, mean while two ſhips more arriving, it was reſolved to force their way through the Hay-tau's fleet, and get off.

Portugueſe ambaſſador ſlain at Canton.

The Hay-tau revenged this diſaſter upon ſome of the Portugueſe who arrived there, and the ambaſſador Perez; who being returned with his company to Canton, they were all ſlain, and the effects of Perez, together with the preſent he brought for the emperor, ſeized. This man was of baſe parentage, and by trade an Apothecary; though choſen for the embaſſy, on account of his good parts. There were found with him 2000 weight of rhubarb, 160 pieces of damaſk, 400 of other ſilks, above 100 ounces of gold, and 2000 of ſilver, three quarters of a hundred of looſe muſk, and above 300 purſes of it, at firſt called papos, and much other merchandiſe. The ſame year,

Bahrayn ſubdued.

1521, the iſlands Bahrayn and Catif were conquered from Mocrin, king of Laſah; who held them of the king of Ormuz, but refuſed to pay the tribute. In 1522, the Portugueſe were attacked at Ormuz, Bahrayn, Maſcat, Curial, and Soar (or Sohar) at once. The king of Ormuz deſparing of ſucceſs, retired to Keyſhom, after ſetting the city on fire: but being murdered by his favourites, his ſucceſſor, only fifteen years of age, was prevailed on by the Portugueſe to return to Ormuz, on condition that they ſhould not meddle with the government of the city. This year alſo the country about Goa, which had belonged to Aden Chan, was recovered by him. The king of Achen attacking them in Sumatra, they abandon the fort of Paſing. Things went ill with them alſo at Malacca and the Moluccas. In 1525, the fort of Calicut being attacked by the Samorin, with conſiderable force, the Portugueſe demoliſhed it, and withdrew.

Hector de Silveyra, in 1526, deſtroyed Doſar, (or Dhafar) a ſtrong city on the coaſt of Arabia; and entering the Red-ſea, reduced the iſlands Mazua and Dalaca.

Celebes diſcovered.

They diſcovered the iſland of Celebes, Calayat and Maſcat, exaſperated by the avarice of Diego de Melo, revolted, but were reduced again.

Turks deſign miſcaries.

Raez Soliman, the Turk, who killed Mir Huſſeyn, at Joddah, having recovered his prince's favour, by delivering up the city, and ſending a preſent; Sultan Soliman, the ſucceſſor of Selim, ſent Haydarin, from Suez, with a fleet of twenty galleys, and five galliots, to deliver to Raez Soliman, who was then fortifying the iſland of Camarin, in the Red-ſea: where Haydarin, on ſome diſguſt, killed him. Muſtapha, nephew to Raez, ſucceeded him, and ſlew Haydarin: after which he fled with a few ſhips, firſt to Aden, and then to Diu, for protection. Thus this expedition deſigned againſt the Portugueſe miſcarried. Antonio Tenreyro went by land with the news to King John, being the firſt who performed that journey, till then thought impoſſible.—Malacca being infeſted by the king of Bintang, Pedro Maſcarenas, with 21 ſhips and 1000 men, 600 of them Malayans, ſailed to that iſland; and attacking the capital, which was well fortified, and defended by 7000 men, entered it ſlew 400, and took 2000 priſoners, a vaſt booty, and 300 pieces of cannon, with the loſs of only three Portugueſe: the king was reſtored on becoming tributary. In the Moluccas, Don Garcia Henriquez burned Tidore, after making peace with the king; and went to expel the Spaniards out of port Camaſo, and another town in that iſland, but were repulſed, Don George de Meneſes, in his way to the Moluccas, diſcovered the iſland of Borneo, having ſent a preſent of tapeſtry to the king; that prince, on beholding the figures, cried out, "They were men inchanted, and would kill him in the night;" and notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid, would neither ſuffer the tapeſtry to remain in his palace, nor the meſſengers in the port. At Tidore the Portugueſe were worſted by the Spaniards.

1521

Borneo diſcovered.

Bintang deſtroyed.

Tidore burned

In 1527, ſome Portugueſe, after the loſs of their ſhips, getting in the boat to Chacuria in Bengal; the Indians having made a vow to ſacrifice to their idols, the handſomeſt Portugueſe they ſhould take, it was the lot of Gonzalo Vaz de Melo to fall the victim. A fleet being ſent to burn the Turkiſh galleys left at Camarin, they could not get to them, the winds proving contrary; however they burned the city of Zeyla, on the coaſt of Adel; which Fate Mangalo, on the coaſt of India, underwent alſo. At Diu ſeventeen Portugueſe being taken in a boat, Diego de Meſquita, their captain, for refuſing to turn Mahometan, was ordered by the king of Cambaya to be blown in pieces out of a cannon; but that prince, admiring the reſolution with which Meſquita entered the mouth of it, was appeaſed, and ſpared him; Chatua near Cranganor, and Porca were burnt by Lope Vaz, the governor of India; Marabia and Mount Dehli, by his nephew Simon de Melo.

The king of Cambaya's fleet of eighty barks, were all but ſeven taken or deſtroyed by the brave Hector de Silveyra, who ſoon after in 1529, took Bazaim, and made Tana tributary. Don George de Meneſes with the people of Ternate, fell upon thoſe of Tidore, and the Spaniards, whom they defeated, burning the city, and then beſieged the fort. The Spaniards ſurrendered, obliging themſelves to retire to Camaſo; not to commit hoſtilities againſt the Portugueſe or their friends; nor to go to any of the Clove iſlands. The king of Tidore was made tributary, and compelled not to aid the Spaniards. *

Bazaim taken.

Spaniards ſubdued.

Nunno de Cunna in his way to India this year, took, plundered, and burned Mombaſſa; then ſailing to Ormuz, ſeized Raez Aſhraf, the king's viſier, and ſent him to Portugal, for mal-practices. He was there joined by Belchior Tavarez de Souſa, who had been to aſſiſt the king of Baſrah, with forty men againſt him of Jazirat, an iſland (as the name imports) about forty leagues in compaſs, made by the Euphrates and Tigris. He being the firſt Portugueſe, who had penetrated thoſe rivers from the Perſian Gulph. After this he was ſent to reduce Bahrayn, which had revolted, and battered the fort, but withdrew for want of ammunition. Antonio de Silveyra in 1530, who was ſtationed on the coaſt of Cambaya with fifty-one ſail of veſſels, went up the river Tapti and burned Surat and Reyner, two cities on its different ſides. The firſt four leagues from the river's mouth contained 10,000 families, moſtly Banyans; the other, which ſtood a little higher, 6000 houſes inhabited by warlike Moors, and well fortified. Afterwards he burned Daman and Agazem two other cities on the ſame coaſt.——Hector de Silveyra, being ſent to the mouth of the Red-ſea with ten ſhips, and 600 men; by ſpreading his fleet, took ſeveral rich prizes. After which, ſailing to Aden, he managed the king with ſuch dexterity that he conſented to pay an annual tribute of 12,000 xerafins. In the ſame manner did the king of Shael (or Sherafins) ſubmit.

Surat and other ports burned.

Aden and Shael tributary.

Nunno de Cunna, in 1531, then governor of India, ſet out for Diu, with above 400 ſail, moſtly ſmall veſſels, in which were 3600 ſoldiers, and 1450 ſailors, all Portugueſe; beſides above 2000 Malabars and Canarans, 8000 ſlaves fit for ſervice, and almoſt

Diu attempted

* After this Don George became, on a ſudden, moſt wicked and outragious. Suſpecting that Cachil Vaydeca, a Tidore nobleman, had killed a Chineſe ſow of his, he anointed his face with bacon (which is the moſt heinous injury that can be offered to a Mahometan). In the town of Tabona, he took the chief magiſtrate, and two Moors of note: the hands of theſe laſt he cut off, and on the firſt he ſet two dogs, who tore his fleſh, till to ſhun them, he ran into the ſea; where being purſued, he defended himſelf with his teeth, till at laſt he was drowned, almoſt worried to death. Another of the natives endeavouring to ſtir up the people, to drive out both Portugueſe and Spaniards, Don George ſeized and beheaded him publickly in Ternate; which ſo terrified the people, that moſt of them, with the queen herſelf, fled from the city.

1536 5000 ſeamen. They attacked the iſland of Beth, ſeven leagues from Diu, ſtrongly fortified both by nature and art, and defended by two thouſand reſolute Arabs, Turks, and others, of whom eighteen thouſand were killed, and 60 cannon taken, with the loſs of only twelve Portugueſe; among whom was the brave Hector de Silveyra. Their ſtay before this place loſt them Diu, which, in the interim, was reinforced by Muſtapha, a Turk. The city was ſurrounded with rocks and water; and the mouth of the river croſſed with chains, defended by thirty armed veſſels. Within were 10,000 men, and an infinite number of cannon, after making an attack, which laſted all day without doing the enemy much hurt; De Cunna, who expoſed himſelf the whole action in a boat, withdrew; Badur, king of Cambaya, rewarded Muſtapha with the government of Baroche, and the title of Rumi (becauſe he was a Grecian) and Chan; ſo that he was thenceforward called Rumi Chan. Antonio de Saldanna, who was in the ſea of Diu with 60 ſail, and 1500 men to do miſchief, burned the towns of Madrefabad, Goga, Belſa, Tarapor, May, Kelme, Agaſim, and laſt, Surat, juſt riſing out of the ruins of the laſt fire, the cruiſers: having taken twenty ſeven ſhips of the king of Calicut richly laden, the Samorin to obtain peace gave leave to build a fort at Ghale, three leagues from that city. Diego de Silveyra, in 1532, burned Patam, twelve leagues from Diu, Pate, Mangalor, and other towns, ſtriking an univerſal terror along the coaſt, and carrying off infinite riches.—De Cunna, encouraged by theſe ſucceſſes ſet out again with a 150 ſail, 3000 Portugueſe, and 200 Canarans to attack Baſaim, which was then fortifying by Malec Tocam, lord of Diu, who, on the approach of the Portugueſe, left a garriſon of twelve thouſand men. However, the Portugueſe attacked the place, put the garriſon to flight, killed 600 of them, razed the fort, and carried off above 400 pieces of cannon. After this, Manuel de Alburquerque, burned all the towns along the coaſt, from Baſaim Jarapor, and obliged Tana, Bandora May, and Bombaim to pay tribute. Diego De Silveyra, meeting near Aden, with a very rich ſhip of Joddah, the captain came on board, and ſhewed him a letter, given him as a paſs by a Portugueſe priſoner in that city; wherein were theſe words; "I beſeech ſuch of the king of Portugal's captains, as ſhall meet with this ſhip to make prize of her, for ſhe belongs to very wicked Moors." Silveyra perceiving how the Mahometan was impoſed upon, took no notice of the deceit, but diſcharged him, chuſing to loſe the riches of that ſhip, rather than bring into queſtion the ſincerity of the Portugueſe.

Cities on the coaſt burned.

Malec Tocam, lord of Diu, finding King Badur deſigned to confer the government of that city on Muſtapha Rumi Chan, was inclined to give leave to build a fort there; yet ſtill afraid, trifled, and at laſt was obliged to fly on Badur's approach; Badur alſo himſelf, pretended a willingneſs to conſent; whereupon de Cunna went to Diu, with 100 ſail of ſhips, and had an interview, which not taking effect, he made a league with Humayun Pediſhah, the Great Mogul, and returned to Goa.—In 1534, Martin Alphonſo took the fort of Daman; and Badur, to procure a peace, gave up for ever, to the king of Portugal, Baſaim with its dependencies by ſea and land. It was likewiſe agreed that all ſhips bound for the Red Sea from Cambaya, ſhould ſet out from that port and return thither to pay the duties; that none ſhould go to other places without leave from the Portugueſe; and that no ſhips of war ſhould be built in any of his ports.

League with Badur.

Badur, king of Cambaya, who had by force or treachery added two other kingdoms to his own, was become very powerful, when Humayun, the Great Mogul, his neighbour to the north falling out with him in 1534, took from him good part of his dominions, with Champanel his capital city. Theſe misfortunes moved Badur to apply to De Cunna for aſſiſtance, offering leave, on that condition, to erect a fort at Diu Martin, Alphonſo de Souſa, upon this, went to ſettle the articles, which were, That Badur ſhould confirm all that had been done relating to Baſaim; that there ſhould be a league offenſive and defenſive between the king of Portugal and him; that the fort ſhould be raiſed where and in what manner the governor ſhould appoint, and that a bulwark towards the ſea, ſhould be immediately delivered to him.

De Cunna being ſent for at Badur's deſire, repaired to Diu, and was received with much honour and demonſtration of joy. He immediately ſet about the fort, which was ſoon finiſhed, and the command of it given to Emanuel de Souſa, with 900 Portugueſe, and 60 pieces of great cannon, and Humayun, deſpairing of taking Diu, employed his arms elſewhere. The liberty of building this port, produced an adventure as ſurpriſing as that grant was important. James Botello, a perſon ſkilful in the affairs of India, having been in diſgrace with King John, for deſigning (as it was reported) to go for France; and being anxious to recover that prince's favour, reſolved to effect it by a moſt deſperate and almoſt incredible attempt: he knowing how earneſtly the king deſired to have a fort raiſed at Diu, leave for building it was ſcarcely granted, when getting a copy of it and draught of the fort, he committed himſelf to the vaſt ocean which is between India and Portugal, in a bark that was but ſixteen feet and a half long, nine broad, and four and a half deep, ſetting out privately with his own ſlaves, three Portugueſe, and two others. He pretended he was going to Cambaya; but as ſoon as he was out at ſea, diſcovered his deſign, at which they were all aſtoniſhed. But being overcome by fair words and promiſes, they proceeded on their way, till finding themſelves reduced to unſpeakable miſeries, the ſlaves, who were ſailors, agreed to kill him; but, after killing a ſervant, were all killed themſelves. Without ſeamen or pilot, Botello held on his courſe with the four that remained; and to the admiration of all men, at length arrived at Liſbon, where the bark was immediately burned, that nobody might ſee it was poſſible to perform that voyage in ſo ſmall a veſſel. The king was greatly pleaſed with the news, and Botello reſtored to the royal favour, but without any other reward for this prodigious action.

De Cunna, fearing the Mogul would fall on Baſaim, ſent to its relief Garcia de Sa, with 400 Portugueſe. He ſeeing the city threatened with a mighty army, reſolved to quit it; but moved by the cries of the inhabitants, and yet more by the perſuaſions of Antonio Galvano, he began to fortify the place; whereupon Humayun withdrew. Mean while, the king of Achen, by craft, decoyed and ſlew ſeveral Portugueſe at different times. At the Moluccas all things were in confuſion, through the avarice and tyranny of the governors. Gonzalo Pereyra ſucceeded George Meneſes at Ternate, in 1530; but was murdered becauſe he intended to examine into the frauds of his countrymen. Theſe put in his room one Fonſeca, who purſuing the former evil meaſures, De Cunna ſent in his place Triſtan de Atayde, more vile than Fonſeca. He impriſoned the king of Ternate and his mother; whereupon the people fled, nor when they lamented were pitied by their neighbours, who upbraided them for admitting a people ſo wicked as the Portugueſe into their country. Triſtan, to engroſs the clove trade, quarrelled with the king of Buchang, and aſſiſted by thoſe of Ternate and Tidore, took and burned his city; yet theſe and other kings at the ſame time, conſpiring to extirpate the Portugueſe, they were all cut off in Ternate, and Triſtan almoſt ſtarved out of the fort there for want of proviſions.

Azada Chan, (general of Ibrahim, Adel Chan) having ravaged the country in the neighbourhood of Goa, in 1536, the inhabitants ſurrendered it to de Cunna, who accepted of it. Soon after thoſe lands being invaded by Solyman Aga, a Turk, another of Adel Chan's generals, he was oppoſed by D. Juan Pereyra, who built a fort at Rachol in ſpite of him. Afterwards he defeated him at Margam, and Azada

Chan, at Ponda, which town was burned. This laſt commander, enraged hereat, built the fort Bori, on the river of that name, oppoſite that of Rachol, which was therefore demoliſhed by the Portugueſe. After this, the king of Calicut's forces were defeated near Cranganor, and Ripelim taken and burned. Here was recovered a piece of marble highly valued by the king of Cochin, (from whence it had been plundered) becauſe thereon were cut the names of the kings of Malabar for three thouſand years paſt.

Badur, king of Cambaya, having ſerved his ends of the Portugueſe, wanted to get rid of them: for this purpoſe, he ſent to invite the Turks to aſſiſt him. Mean while he contrived, not only to take the fort and deſtroy the garriſon, but de Cunna alſo ſending for him to Diu in 1527, where de Cunna went; and though appriſed of the king's deſign, did not ſecure him at a viſit made on board, but reſolved to do it at the fort. The king putting off in his cutter or barge, de Souſa, who commanded at the fort, followed to make the invitation. At the ſame time, another barge coming up, and ſeeing De Souſa in the king's, entered the ſame haſtily, which giving Badur a ſuſpicion, he ordered his officers to kill De Souſa. Diego de Meſquita, (who had aſſiſted the king in his late wars) underſtanding what he ſaid, flew at, and wounding that monarch, was ſlain by his attendants. Here enſued a bloody fray, wherein four Portugueſe, and ſeven of the enemy, were ſlain. Some more barges on each ſide came up; and the king ſeeing the danger, began to fly, but was ſtopped by a cannon ſhot, which killed three of his rowers. He then thought to eſcape by ſwimming, but being in danger of drowning, diſcovered who he was. Triſtan de Payva reached out an oar to bring him on board, when a ſoldier ſtruck him acroſs the face with a halberd, and then others, till he was killed; he kept a little while above water, and then ſunk: and neither his, nor De Souſa's body could be found. De Cunna entered Diu, and by his diſcreet behaviour, reconciled the inhabitants, who began to quit the city. The gold and ſilver found in the place, was not to any extraordinary amount; but the quantity of ammunition was to be admired. In the port were 160 veſſels, ſome of great bulk; no leſs wonderful was the number of braſs cannon, (not to mention thoſe of iron) among the reſt was found three pieces, of ſuch a prodigious ſize, that De Cunna ſent one, as a rarity, to Portugal, which is ſtill kept in the caſtle of St. Julian, at the mouth of the river Liſbon, and called the gun of Diu.—De Cunna found among the dead king's papers, proof, ſufficient to convince the principal Mooriſh merchants, and Cazi's of Badur's deſign, to bring the Turks upon the Portugueſe; and to ingratiate himſelf the more with the public, ordered that the Mahometans ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion and laws; continuing beſides all penſions that had been allowed by the king.

Diu entered by De Cunna.

In the beginning of the year 1538, De Cunna began that vaſt ciſtern at Diu, which is of ſuch a bigneſs, that being 25 ſpans deep, each ſpan contains 1000 pipes of water. Thus he provided againſt a long ſiege. Indeed the arrogance of the Portugueſe at this time was ſuch as continually raiſed them up enemies.—The king of Xael, (or Shael) near Caſhen on the Arabian coaſt, having received ſome Portugueſe very kindly in his port, they requited the favour with injuries. One of theſe among others, had robbed a near relation of the king's, and after inflicting ſeveral tortures, hung him, and two other perſons of note by the privities, to make them diſcover their treaſure. Gonzalo Vaz committed another robbery. Alvaro Madera, being kindly entertained by an honeſt Moor, forced his wife from him. One Godino had the honour to treat the king at his houſe, and repaid it, by calling him drunkard. Others took a ſhip belonging to his ſubjects, and impudently came to ſell it in his port. The effect of theſe villanies was, that all the Portugueſe about the town, were killed by the Moors; and Don Manuel de Meneſes, who

Portugueſe pride and villainy.

juſt then arrived as ambaſſador from De Cunna, with ſeventy attendants, were made priſoners, thirty of whom were ſent as a preſent to Conſtantinople, whence Madera eſcaped, and carried the news to Liſbon of the Turkiſh fleet that was fitting out at Suez, to invade the Portugueſe in India. Godino had his head cut off in the king of Shael's preſence. 1537

De Cunna, deſirous of having a fort at Chatigan in Bengal, and being encouraged by a rich Moor, ſent Martin Alphonſo de Melo thither, with a preſent for the King Mohammed Shah, who, jealous of his deſign, ſecured him, and 53 more. Mohammed was the 13th ſucceſſor of the Arab, who, 50 years before the Portugueſe, entered India, and uſurped the kingdom of Bengal, by ſlaying the lawful king. The capital city Gowro, extended three leagues in length along the Ganges; and contained one million two hundred thouſand families. Antonio de Silva Meneſes being ſent to redeem the priſoners, and imagining the meſſenger alſo was detained, becauſe he ſtaid longer than ordinary, he burned Chatigan and other places; for this they were uſed the harder; but for the ſervice they did the king againſt Shir Chan, a Mogul general, who had been well entertained, and was now in rebellion, he ſet them at liberty. They ſtopped Shir Chan's paſſage down the Ganges at Gori, a fort, where that river enters Bengal; as ſoon as the Portugueſe were gone, Shir Chan returned, and entering Gowro by force, ſeized the kingdom, Mohammed dying of his wounds in his way to implore Humayun's aſſiſtance. Shir Chan aſpiring to farther conqueſts, took the city of Calejor from the Raſhputs, [or Rajaputes] with intent to ſeize the treaſure of an Indian temple there; but pointing a cannon to kill an elephant belonging to that church, the gun burſt, and tore him, with many others to pieces.

At Malacca, things were ſtill in great confuſion: Don Stephen de Gama, deſtroyed Ujomtana and its fort, on the river Tor, being the ſouth-eaſt point of the coaſt of Malacca, and 40 leagues from the city of that name. In 1537 its bridge was twice attacked by a commander of Achen, who was repulſed. The troubles cauſed at the Moluccas by the avarice of Triſtan de Atayde, were remedied, by ſending Antonio Galvam to command, whoſe prudence, modeſty and juſtice, healed all the ſores made by his predeceſſors. Underſtanding that eight kings had entered into alliance againſt the Portugueſe of Tidore, he went thither with four ſhips, 170 Portugueſe, and 50 Moors, purſued by 300 ſail, with 30,000 Moors. They anchored at Tidore, whoſe ſhores were covered with multitudes; and though the fort appeared impregnable, he ſcaled it with 130 Portugueſe, and 280 ſlaves. The kings coming in with 50,000 men, he withdrew into a wood. They thought he fled, and ſome parties purſued, and they were routed; ſome flying to the fort, he followed, entered with them, and ſets it on fire. The kings, terrified, fled to the mountains with their treaſure. Galvam marched to the city, (from which the inhabitants fled) and burned it to the ground; levelling the works in ſuch a manner, that ſcarce any ſight of the place was left, but the aſhes. This unparalleled victory, which coſt but one ſlave, produced an honourable peace; after which, Galvam by his courteſies, and offering to rebuild the city, ſo much obliged the king and ſubjects, that they confided in him as in an antient friend. The people of Ternate being divided into parties about chooſing a king, they offered to make Galvam regent, till they had one conformable to their own laws, but he refuſed. Ferdinand de Grijalva, who was caſt away, being refuſed admittance by the kings of Gilolo and Bachan, into their ports, on account of their league with Galvam, this latter ranſomed the Spaniards, and treated them kindly. Francis de Caſtro, ſent out with two prieſts, was driven by bad weather, to Satigama, and other iſlands, 1000 leagues north of the Moluccas. They diſcovered alſo the iſland Mindanao; the kings, queens, nobles, and people, embracing the Romiſh religion, wherever they came, to the

Mindanao diſcovered.

1538 the wonder of the Mahometans. When Galvam's time of government expired, those kings begged to have him continued for life. He left Ternate in a flourishing condition, but returned to Portugal involved with debts; thinking to meet with some reward for so much valour, service, parts, and merit. But he found contempt and misery, which brought him to die in an hospital.

This same year, Diu was attacked by Solyman, Bassha of Egypt, in conjunction with the king of Cambaya's forces, by sea and land, of which more hereafter.

Peter de Faria, governor of Malacca, sent his kinsman Antonio de Faria Sousa to secure a peace with the king of Patane. After having ranged the coasts of India and China, with various successes, and according to his historian having met with adventures too strange to merit belief, they were all at once ended together with his life, he and his vessel being swallowed up by the sea in one night.

Japan discovered.

Antonio de Mota, Francisco and Antonio Peixoto sailing for China in the year 1642, first discovered Japan, being driven thither by a violent tempest. This was the farthest discovery made by the Portuguese in those parts to the eastward.——And here it may not be amiss to give an account of their possessions to the south east, with the account of their revenues as they stood in the year 1640. ——

Portuguese possessions from the Cape of Good Hope to China.

The Portuguese empire to the eastward, extends from the Cape of Good Hope in Africa, to Cape Liampo (or Ning Po) in China, 4000 leagues along the sea coasts; without including the shores of the Red-sea, and Persian Gulph, which make about 1200 leagues more, within this space lies half Africa, and all Asia, with innumerable islands belonging thereto. These 4000 leagues are divided into seven parts. The first division between the Cape of Good Hope, and the mouth of the Red-sea, contains along the coast many kingdoms of the Caffres: as the vast one of Monomotapa, whose monarch is lord of all the gold mines in Africa; those of Sofola, Mozambique, Quiloa, Pemba, Melinda, Pata, Brava, Magadoxa, and many other sovereignties. Here the crown of Portugal possessed the forts of Sofala and Mombassa, and the city and fort of Mozambique.—The second division, from the mouth of the Red-sea to the Persian Gulph, contains the coast of Arabia, where they have the impregnable fortress of Mascat.——The third division, between Bassah, or the Persian Gulph, and the Indies, contains the kingdoms of Ormuz, Guadel and Sinde, with part of those of Persia and Cambaya; here they held the forts of Bendel Diu. The fourth division, from the river Indus to Cape Comorin, contains what is properly called India, that is part of Cambaya, Decan, Canara, and Malabar, subject to several princes; here they had the forts of Daman, Assarim, Danu, St. Gens, Agazain, Maim, Manora, Trapor, Bazaim, with the city Tana, Caranja, the city Chaul, and opposite a fort, called Morro. The most noble city of Goa, large, strong and populous, was the metropolis of their eastern dominions; an archbishoprick, whose prelate is primate of all the east: this is the residence of the viceroys; and here are the courts of the inquisition, exchequer and chancery; a custom house, arsenal, and magazine well provided. The city is seated in an island, girt with a strong wall, and six mighty castles, called Dauguim, St. Blas of Bassoleco, St. Jago, Agazaim, Panguin, and Nuestra Sennora del Cabo. On the other side to secure the bar, is that of Barbadoes. On the castle Dauguim is the fort of Norva, with a good town. On one side of this island lies that of Salset, where is the fort of Rachel. Then going along the coast, they had the forts of Onor, Barselor, Mangalor, Cananor, Cranganor, and Cochin, which is a bishoprick; and near Cape Comorin, the town and fort of Coulan.—The fifth division lying between Cape Comorin and Ganges, contains Coromandel and Orixa, where they had fort of Negapatam, that of Meliapor, with the city which is a bishoprick, of late called St. Thomas, and Musulapatam.——The sixth division, between Ganges of Cape Singapura, contains the vast kingdoms of Bengal, Pegu, Tanazarim, and others of less note. Here they have the city of Malacca, a bishop's seat, and the last place possessed by them in the eastern continent.—The seventh division between the Capes Singapura, and Liampo, (or Ning Po) contains the kingdoms of Pam, (or Pahang) Lugor, Siam, Cambodia, Champa, or Tissiampa, Cochinchina, and the vast empire of China; here they have no place but the city of Macau; (in an island in the Bay of Canton) yet trade all along those coasts. In the island Ceylon (or Saylan) they possessed the city and fort of Columbo, those of Manar, Gale, and others; beyond Malacca, a fort in the island Timor. The number of their forts throughout this large extent, was about fifty, and twenty cities and towns, besides many vilages depending on the others.—As to the revenue, the customs of Diu were worth 100,000 crowns; those of Goa, 160,000; those of Malacca, 70,000: the tribute paid by several places, amounts to 200,000: all which, with prizes, and other uncertain profits, made up about a million. The viceroy's salary was 18,000 crowns, besides the disposing of places, which are sold: but the chief thing which they all look upon is trade: for whereas the king gets nothing out of India, the viceroys have cleared there, some five, and some 800,000 ducats. All other officers have great salaries, besides their lawful profits, and more considerable frauds.

Revenue of the city and fort.

Viceroy's salary.

The archbishop of Goa is metropolitan, and primate of all Asia. Cochin was made a bishoprick in the year, 1559: Malacca the same year; Meliapor, in 1607. The bishops of China, were instituted by Pope Pius V.——There were also a bishop of Japan, and one of the mountain near St. Thomas of Meliapor. There were bishops of Persia, as also patriarchs of Ethiopia. The city Angamala is a bishoprick, as is that of Macao, (or Macau). With regard to the houses, churches, and monasteries of religious: the Franciscans had twenty-two; the Dominicans nine; the Augustines, sixteen; the Jesuits, about twenty eight monasteries, colleges, and seminaries; besides a vast number of residences, so called by them, where there are but two or three priests. ——

The above account may shew how great the power and wealth of the Portuguese must have been in its flourishing state: but by degrees their possessions have been greatly lessened by the acquisitions of the English and Dutch: which latter, at the time that the state of India was published, had taken from them many considerable places, as they had lost Ormuz before, to the Persians. In short, the only considerable places they remain possessed of at present, are Goa and Diu. Such has been the effect of their cruelty and want of policy, as to lose them the empire of some of the finest countries in India. —

Having so often mentioned Diu, we think it proper to give the reader an account of the famous siege of that place by Solyman Bassa, whose voyage for that purpose we shall here introduce, as it is so nearly connected with the Portuguese voyages and transactions in the East Indies.

The author from whom our account is taken, himself performed the voyage on board the Turkish fleet, not voluntarily but by constraint, being ordered to follow Solyman Bassa, who was commanded by the Turkish Emperor to go on an expedition against the Portuguese in the Indies: when the war broke out in the year 1527, against the Lordship of Venice, and her trading galleys, commanded by Antonio Barbarigo were at Alexandria. Here they staid without having any opportunity of trafficking or taking in goods, till the 7th of September, on which day Almoro Barbaro, the Venetian consul, captain Barbarigo, before mentioned, the merchants, seamen, and every thing belonging to them, (among whom was the author) were arrested, and lodged in the tower of Lances, after which, all those who belonged to the sea, being picked out from the rest, they were sent

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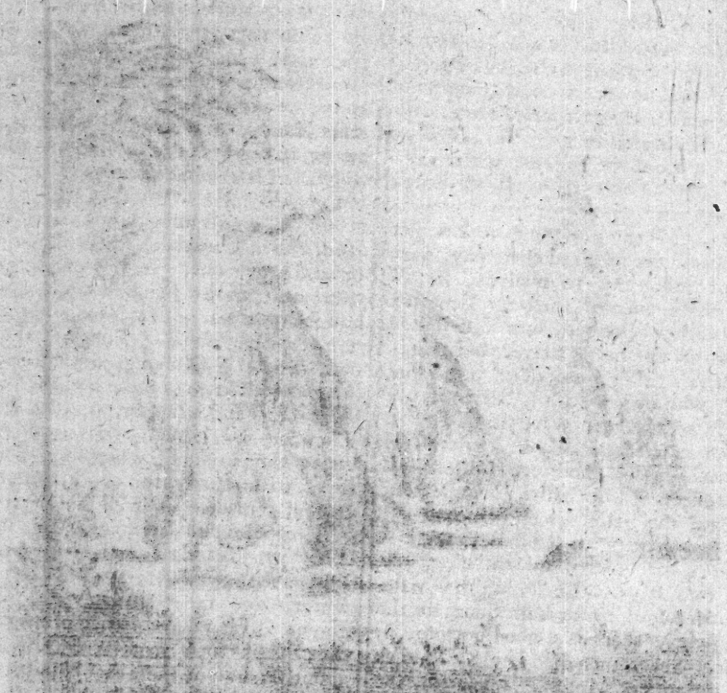
Begging DEVOTEES who stroll thro' CHINA, and extort Alms, by using various Austerities, which have great influence on the Minds of the People.



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to Cairo, and from thence to Basha Solyman, who having chosen the admiral, officers, gunners, rowers, carpenters, caulkers, and some companies sent them to Suez, whither a while after, he had dispatched several others to fit out the fleet in that port against his coming. Suez is in a desert place, where grows no herb of any kind.

Here the ships were built designed for India, and all the timber for building them, iron-work, and tackle, was brought from Satalia and Constantinople, to Alexandria, and then carried down the Nile in barks to Cairo, and thence by canals, to Suez. On the road from Cairo hither, which is 80 miles, one meets with no habitations, nor even any thing to eat; so that before the caravans set out, they furnish themselves with the water of the Nile. In the time of the Christians this was a great city, and full of cisterns: it had also a navigable canal, cut from the Nile, whereby, on the increase of the river, those cisterns were filled with water, which served all the year; afterwards being destroyed by the Mahometans, the canal was filled up with earth, and now the water that is drank at Suez, is brought by canals from certain ponds or wells, at a place six miles distant: which water, though very brackish, they had to drink, every fifty men being allowed as much as a camel could carry. All the timber, iron, ammunition, and provisions were brought from Cairo. The fleet consisted of 76 sail great and small, viz. Six maons, seventeen galleys, twenty-seven new foists, two galleons, four ships, and other small craft of various sizes.—

On the 9th of March, about 2000 men quitting the galleys, landed with their arms, in order to march towards the mountains; but about six miles from the shore, they were met by a sanjak, accompanied with a party of horse, designed for the garrison of Suez, who surrounded them, and having killed 200, the rest were stripped, and carried on board the galleys, where they were chained to the oar. The 15th of June, Solyman Basha, arrived at Suez, where pitching his tents, they rested eight days. Meanwhile the fleet was got in readiness, and the soldiers received their pay, viz. to each five ducats of gold, and 10 madyns, in all 215 madyns. Part of the men of the large Venetian galley, to which the author belonged, were distributed on board the fleet, 70 in one half galley, 70 in another; 15 in the kiahya's galley, and 18 on board that of Khilierki Basha, who had with him the consul of Alexandria; the rest of the men were disposed of in two galleons, which carried the powder, salt-petre, brimstone, ball, meal, biscuit, and every thing else for the use of the fleet. The basha likewise sent his treasure on board the galleys, consisting of 42 chests, which was covered with ox-hides and oil-cloth. On the 20th, he ordered all to be got on board the fleet in two days.—The 22d, the basha embarked, and removed four miles from Suez, to the point of Pharoah, where there is a good bottom, in four fathoms water. Seven men died here. This is twelve miles from the pits of Moses. The 27th, the whole fleet left Suez, with a north-west wind, and before night fall, cast anchor sixty miles thence, at a place called Corondol; here they had twelve fathoms water, and stayed one night.—The 28th, leaving Corondol, they sailed south-east, 33 leagues, and cast anchor, two hours before night, in a place called Taz; where there are many Franciscan Friars, who furnished the fleet with water. This place is a day's journey and a half, from Mount Sinai, where is the church and body of St. Catharine, and here they remained five days, in five fathom water. The 3d, of July they departed, and came behind a dry sand-bank, about one mile from shore and forty from Tor, casting anchor in 12 fathoms water, at a place called Charas, where they staid two days, to inspect the ship which carried the stores. The 5th they left Charas, and, about five o'clock came to an island called Soridan, forty miles from the coast. The whole day's course, from sun-set to sun-rise, was 100 miles. They sailed all night south-east, and at sun-rise, found themselves to windward of an island called Marzoan, on the right hand, 100 miles farther. On the 9th the morning was calm, and the winds variable; and to the south-east they found a shoal under water, 50 miles from the coast. Their course north-west, till sun-set, was ten miles, and in the night, south by west twenty miles. On the 10th they sailed 70 miles south-east, and came to a port called Kor, a very desert place in eight fathom water. 1538

From Kor, they sailed along shore, on the 11th thirty miles, to a city, named Zidem, which is the scale, or landing-place of all the spicery that comes from India and Calicut, distant from Mecca a stage and a half. Here are several shoals, both under and above water; yet it is a good port, and has plenty of provisions; but no water is to be met with, excepting what is in a few cisterns, filled with rain. Here they found great stores of merchandise; and the place affords dates, ginger of Mecca, and other sorts.—Without the city is a mosque, where, according to the Moors, is the sepulchre of Eve. The inhabitants go almost naked, and are meagre and swarthy. Here is fish in abundance. They tie three or four pieces of timber together, about five feet long, and on one of these floats a single man sitting, rows with a board, and ventures out eight or nine miles at sea to fish, in all weathers. Here the fleet rested four days, and took in water.

At their departure, on the 15th of July, five small vessels were missing by chance, which they understood by a man who escaped out of a foist. This day they sailed south-west by south, 89 miles.

On the 19th of the same month they sailed east by south with a brisk wind, till nine in the morning, and came among certain islands, called Atfas, a desert place, and inhabited only by people who came from other islands, to fish and seek for pearls, which they get by diving to the bottom of the sea, in four fathom water. They drink rain-water preserved in cisterns, and canals. Here they staid all night, having ran 100 miles. The 20th they came to an island 20 miles from land, called Camaran, where they met with good water and provisions. In this place there was a ruinous castle uninhabited, and about 50 houses made of the boughs of trees. They saw some other houses scattered over the island. They get abundance of white coral here. The men go quite naked and bare-footed. They are little, and wear nothing on their heads, but their hair, and wrapping up their privities in a clout. They are all seamen, having a few barks and small craft; the planks of which are bound together with ropes, without any iron-work, and their sails are mats, curiously made, (as well as the cordage) with the bark of palm and date trees, after the manner of sans. They go to land with these barks, and bring them abundance of dates, and a sort of white buck-wheat, and they have a good quantity of Mecca ginger. They have plenty of myrrh also from Bista; they break their buck-wheat on a piece of marble, about the size of those that colours are ground on, and upon it is another stone, half an ell broad, in form of a rolling-pin or roller, with which they bruise; and, presently work up a paste, of which they make thin cakes. This is their bread, and it is very hard, so that it must be made fresh every day, otherwise it will grow so dry, that there is no eating it. Both flesh and fish are here in great plenty. This place is from the island of Atfas 40 miles. Here the basha landed, and caused all the galleys to turn in with him. From hence he dispatched two foists, one to the king of Zibit, the other to that of Aden, ordering him to provide water and provisions for the fleet, that he might be able to proceed in his expedition to India, against the Portuguese, and to tell the king of Zibit (which lies a day's journey within land) that he must come to the water-side, and bring the grand signor's tribute, and pay obedience to the basha.——The fleet was furnished with water, and staid here ten days.

1538 On the 30th they left Camaran, with a ſmall wind, and ſailing fifty miles, ſouth by eaſt, at one in the morning came to the iſland Tuicce: where the bark which was ſent to Zibit, met them, and brought the king's preſent to the baſha; conſiſting of ſwords wrought at Zima, in the ſhape of virile members, the handles and ſcabbards being of ſilver, gilt; alſo ſome poniards of the ſame ſort of workmanſhip; the handles of which were adorned with Turky ſtones, rubies and pearls. As to the tribute, the king of Zibit ſent the baſha word, that he would pay it at their return from conquering the Portugueſe; acknowledging himſelf the grand ſignior's ſlave. This day they advanced fifty miles, and in the night they ſailed fifty more, ſouth by eaſt. On the 1ſt of Auguſt they proceeded ten miles in the night, with a ſouth-eaſt wind, to a ſhoal, called Alontrankin, near the ſtreights mouth; and to the right on the ſide of Abyſſinia; here they had two fathom water, and ſtaid one night.——Leaving the ſhoals, they ſailed eaſt by ſouth, ten miles, and got out of the ſtreights; whence proceeding till ſun riſe next morning, they went eighty miles farther. Sailing eaſt by north eighty miles, on the third, the fleet arrived at the city of Aden. It is very ſtrong, and ſtands by the ſea-ſide, ſurrounded with exceeding high mountains; on the top of which are little caſtles or forts. It is encompaſſed alſo with ravelins on every ſide, excepting a little opening, about 300 paces wide, for a road into the country, and to the ſhore, with gates, towers, and good walls. Beſides all this, there lies a ſhoal before the city, on which is built a fort, and at the foot of it a tower for the defence of the port, which lies to the ſouth, and has two fathoms water. To the north there is a large port, with good anchorage, covered from all winds. There is plenty of water here. The ſoil is dry, producing no kind of thing. They have only rain water, which is preſerved in ciſterns and pits, 100 fathom deep; and when drawn out, it is ſo hot as not to be drank, till it has ſtood to cool. This city is furniſhed with proviſions, wood, and every thing elſe from other places.——As ſoon as they arrived, there came four men of faſhion to the baſha, bringing with them ſeveral refreſhments. He received them courteouſly, and talked to them a while in private; after which he gave each of them two veſts of figured velvet; and ſent them back with his ſafe conduct for the prince, ſignifying, that he might ſafely come on board, and fear nothing. But the Lord of Aden ſent to tell him, that he would not go himſelf; but would readily ſupply him with whatever he ſtood in need of: and thus matters ſtood this day. On the 5th, the baſha ordered the janiſſaries to land with their arms, and all the galleys to man their boats. He diſpatched his kiahya, to ſummon the lord of the city to come and do homage to the grand ſignior, before the baſha. To whom he anſwered, "I ſee by your head that I am the grand ſignior's ſlave."—The baſha ſeemed to treat him well, and gave him and his retinue veſts of figured velvet; but, after having permiſſion to depart, cauſed him to be ſeized and hanged at the yard arm; and then ſent 500 janiſſaires to take poſſeſſion of the city.

Iſland Tuicce.

The king of Aden goes on board.

He is hanged at the yard arm

The whole armada, to the amount of ſeventy-four veſſels, great and ſmall, left the place on the 19th, and met with nothing remarkable during the reſt of the month of Auguſt. On the firſt of September, they ſteered north-eaſt by eaſt, ſailing ſeventy miles in the day, and eighty in the night. September the ſecond, they kept the ſame courſe, thirty-miles; being at noon in thirty-five fathoms water, and in twenty at night, within 100 miles of Diu; but from the neareſt land to north, 400 miles. They ſaw in the ſea, at the diſtance of 100 or 150 miles, certain ſnakes, and the water often green, which are ſigns of approaching the ſhore, throughout that coaſt.——The third, at day-break, the fleet proceeded with calm weather, along the ſhore; and, at nine in the morning, there came a bark from land, and told the baſha, that there were 700 Portugueſe in the caſtle of Diu, and ſix armed galleys. The baſha made them a preſent of ſix caftans, (or veſts) and having kept them an hour, diſmiſſed them. Afterwards a Jew, being taken on ſhore by the ſailors belonging to one of the Turks, was brought on board, and confirmed the former report. This day they ran thirty miles, and in the night thirty more.——The fourth, at ſun-riſe, the fleet proceeded thirty miles, and caſt anchor within three miles of Diu, before this perceiving a Portugueſe foiſt come out of the port, the baſha ordered a half galley to ſail after her, which purſued all day, but loſt her in the night.——

The ſame day, came on board one Coſa Zaffar, a native of Otranto, but turned Turk; and was captain of the galley in the former fleet, ſent by the grand ſignior to India: which fleet having been defeated and deſtroyed, this Coſa Zaffar went into the ſervice of the king of Diu, called king of Cambaya, (which is the name of the country) who gave him lands, and made him governor in chief in all his kingdom. Zaffar alſo had inſinuated himſelf with the Portugueſe, and gained their friendſhip; but when he underſtood that the Turkiſh fleet was coming, he and the viceroy of the kingdom, came with 8000 Indians, and took the city from the Portugueſe, and beſieged them in the caſtle.

Along with Coſa Zaffar, came the grand viſir of the king, they were received with honour by the baſha; and informed him that there were 500 ſoldiers, and 300 others, in the caſtle, which they had beſieged twenty-ſix days, and did not doubt to take it with their Indians, provided they were furniſhed by him, with artillery and ammunition: otherwiſe they ſhould not be able. The baſha gave each of them two veſts; but while they ſtaid to talk with him, the Turks landed with their arms, and plundered the city, doing the Indians a thouſand injuries, not ſparing the vice-roy's palace, from whence they took three fine horſes, money and furniture; in ſhort, whatever they could lay their hands on. They advanced alſo up to the caſtle, and ſkirmiſhed with the Portugueſe. The viceroy being returned, and made acquainted with the outrages committed by the Turks, immediately gave orders to his officers to be in readineſs; and the night following, retired with about 6000 men, and went to the king, who was then about two days journey up the country. The ſame night, there came a foiſt from the city with proviſions of freſh bread, nuts, fleſh, boiled-rice, and other things, in the king's name, which were diſpoſed on board the baſha's galley.——The fifth the baſha ſent the Mooriſh captain and his kiahya, to join thoſe on ſhore. All the galleys ſent their boats, filled with janiſſaries, to aſſiſt thoſe of the country, who were encamped round the caſtle, and not above 2000 men, the reſt being departed with the viceroy, and Coſa Zaffar.—On the ſeventh, the fleet removed, and came to a very good port, called Muda Burak, thirty miles from Diu, where there is water enough.

Afterwards the baſha went on ſhore, where they had begun to play their cannon; which for that purpoſe, were mounted on four maons. He ſent alſo three cannon on ſhore, which were planted on a tower, ſtanding by the water-ſide, about a cannon ſhot from the great fortreſs: on which tower ſtood Indians to give billets, and receive the cuſtoms. It had thick walls, and was defended with four braſs guns, with a commander, and 100 ſoldiers. It has neither ditch nor water round it.——On the ninth, a ſhip and galley laden with biſcuits, powder, and other ammunition, entered the port; and ſtriking on a ſand bank, ſunk. The goods and the galley were recovered again, but the ſhip ſplit in pieces.—The nineteenth there arived a half galley in bad condition, which had been kept back by the weather, and driven to a port belonging to a certain people, who are gentiles, called Samari; where ſending a boat, with ſome janiſſaries, on land, they were all cut in pieces. After which taking the barge, and manning ſome of their own barks, they ſet upon the galley, and ſlew

ſixty

ſixty perſons more, inſomuch, that ſhe had much ado to eſcape. On joining the fleet, the baſha ſent for the pilot, and cauſed him to be hanged for his ill ſucceſs. Afterwards an Indian belonging to the caſtle, who had turned Chriſtian, being taken in a ſalley, was brought before the baſha, who ordered him to be examined: but the man refuſing to anſwer any queſtion, was, by the baſha's command, cut in two. In this country, the people are very lean, and live very ſparingly, and eat no beef: but ride on their oxen, which are ſmall and handſome, very tractable, and have a ſort of pace. They make a hole through the noſtrils of the beaſt, and run a cord through, which ſerves for a bridle. They load them in the ſame manner as mules are loaded, their horns are long and ſtrait. There is great feaſting on the birth of one of theſe creatures, which they have great veneration for, eſpecially the cow, and on this account, they are reckoned idolaters. When any of this ſort of men happen to die, the wife makes a great feaſt for her relations; after which they go dancing along, according to their cuſtom, to a place where a great fire is prepared, and throw the corpſe into the flames. They carry along with them a large pot full of greaſe, ſcalding hot; then the widow dances round the fire, ſinging the praiſes of her dead huſband. After this, ſhe gives one relation a ring, another a gown, and ſo on, till ſhe has nothing left on her, but a cloth to hide her nakedneſs, and immediately after, takes a pot of the ſcalding greaſe, and caſting it into the fire, leaps herſelf into the midſt of it; thoſe about the fire, throw upon her the pots with greaſe to increaſe the flame, ſo that ſhe is dead in an inſtant. Thoſe women that would be thought virtuous, obſerve this cuſtom; and thoſe who do not, are reputed wicked, bad livers, and diſhoneſt; nor will any marry with ſuch afterwards. *

This country is very rich, and produces abundance of excellent ginger of all ſorts, and cocoa nuts, whereof they make vinegar, oil, flower, cordage, and mats. The tree reſembles the date-tree, differing in nothing but the fruit and the leaf; that of the palm being broader.——The 28th. the fleet departed from the port of Mudaferaba, where they had from two to four fathoms water.—The 29th, they ſailed ſix hours, and caſt anchor fifteen miles from Diu, where they ſailed one night.—On the 30th, the fleet departed with a north wind from the ſhore, and went behind the caſtle of Diu; where all the galleys diſcharged their artillery, and then turned off, caſting anchor about three miles from thence.

On the firſt of October, there came a perſon from the leſſer caſtle, as ambaſſador to the fleet, to capitulate, becauſe they could hold out no longer; becauſe the Turks had planted three pieces of cannon under it, which carrying 150 pound balls of iron, pierced the tower from ſide to ſide; ſo that the ſtones flew about, and killed twenty out of 100 defendants, but before they ſurrendered, they with their muſquets, and four pieces of cannon, ſlew abundance of Turks; the fire having continued for eighteen or twenty days. As ſoon as this perſon had delivered his meſſage, he was preſented with a rich veſt, and had a ſafe conduct written in ample form, for himſelf and others: with which landing, he prevailed on the captain of the tower, and two other perſons, to go to the baſha, who gave the former a veſt alſo, and confirmed the ſafe-conduct; with this condition, that they ſhould not go into the great fortreſs. The captain, whoſe name was Juan Franciſco Padoano, returning to the coaſt, which was called Gogole, brought off his men, in number eighty, whom the baſha ordered to be confined in a houſe, without arms, and under a ſtrong guard.——The ſecond, the baſha ſent for the four ſlave gunners of the large galleys, and ordered them on ſhore to batter the fortreſs. He likewiſe ordered the Portugueſe who had ſurrendered, to be diſtributed into ſeveral galleys, and chained to the oar, captain and all. The ſame day three Portugueſe galleys entered the port of Diu, without the leaſt oppoſition: for the baſha did not ſend one veſſel to hinder them.——There arrived a ſhip on the 8th, with proviſions, which was loſt in the road, on board were fifteen men of the large galleys, among whom was the admiral himſelf, and an officer of the proviſion, ſixty ſailors, and the reſt galley ſlaves.—The 13th, the fleet removed from the weſt to the eaſt ſide of Diu, two miles from it: where the guns from the fortreſs ſunk one galley, and broke the main yard of another.——The 15th, the baſha went from the Maon into the half galley, and ordered them to put all the chriſtians in irons; and to take a white ſail from another galley, his own being diſtinguiſhed with colours: and this he did becauſe he expected the Portugueſe fleet every hour, (and did not care that it ſhould be known what ſhip he was in). Being alſo doubtful of the artillery, he cauſed a great ring of cables, and other hollow things, to be made at the poop, ſufficient to keep off cannon-ſhot: for he was fearful and cowardly.—The 17th, being the eve of St. Luke, the baſha cauſed the head of one belonging to the Venetian galleys, to be cut off for only ſaying, "My Lordſhip (of Venice) is not dead."—The 22nd, the baſha gave orders to acquaint all the gunners that were on ſhore, about 400 in number, (becauſe every day one or other of them was ſlain) that whoever had ſkill enough to ſtrike down the great ſtandard of the fortreſs, which ſtood in the midſt of a great tower, ſhould, beſides being made free, have a very ample recompence, which he offered the rather, for that his ſtandard had been given by a ſanjac to the Portugueſe: whereupon one of the ſaid chriſtians, having at the third ſhot broke the ſtandard, the Turks made great rejoicings, and publiſhed the news throughout the fleet: the gunner was rewarded with a ſilk veſt.—The artillery, which they had planted under the caſtle, were all in one line, but in ſix different places. In the firſt was a Culverin of iron, that carried 150 pounders, a paterero of 200 pounds, at a ſmall diſtance was an iron paſſe volant of 16 pounds, which diſcharged cartridge ſhot, in another place, was a paterero of 300 pounds, and a culverin a 150 pounder. In the ſecond poſt was another paſſe volant, to match the firſt, both belonging to the large galleys. In another place, was an iron ſaker of 12 pounds; a little cannon of 16 pounds, a falcon of 6 pounds, a mortar carrying a 400 pounder. In another poſt was a culverin of 100 pound; inſomuch, that they had battered down one tower. So that they could eaſily mount the breach to fight, becauſe the tower was not very high, nor the foſſe quite dug. But as faſt as the Turks ruined it, the beſieged filled it up with earth and rubbiſh, as well as they could. This fortreſs has no flanks; and being built on a rock, they have made no caſemates, only erecting embraſures at the top, which were all ruined and taken, but herein their ſafety lay, that fifteen or twenty of them ſallied out, like ſo many furious beaſts, and ſlew all they met with; which ſtruck ſuch a terror among the Turks, that they fled in confuſion, as ſoon as they ſaw them iſſue forth.—The 25th, the Turks cauſed a great number of cotton ſacks, covered with ſkins, and bound with ropes, to be prepared; and in the night had them thrown into the ditch; ſo that they reached as high as the wall. Which being obſerved by thoſe within, early in the morning, before the Turks put themſelves in order to make the attack, and mount the wall, three ſcore ſailors ſallied out, whereof forty ruſhed in among the enemy, and fighting gallantly, while the other twenty remained in the ditch; each of whom had a little leather bag full of powder, with a lighted match in his hand, cut the bales, and putting in a handfull of powder, then ſet fire to them; ſo that in a ſhort time ſeveral of the ſacks were conſumed, and the burning

1538

A breach made

The Turks repulſed.

continued

* This was common in many other parts of India; but the cuſtom has gradually decreaſed ſince the Chriſtians came among them.——The reader will ſee more of this hereafter.

1538. continued for two days. Thoſe who ſallied out upon the enemy, maintained the fight above three hours, killing 190 Turks and wounding as many more, with the loſs of only two men.

Turkiſh ſhip taken. There arrived five Portugueſe foiſts, on the 27th, which took a Turkiſh one, and landed ſuccours, but could not enter the port, becauſe ſome of the Canarans abovementioned, commanded the ſide of it, but over-ſhot the wall. The 29th, the baſha ordered 40 boats, filled with Turks, and a few pieces of cannon in each, in order to aſſault a little caſtle or fort which is in the port by the water-ſide, behind the city, and was quite demoliſhed by the Turkiſh artillery. There were not above five or ſix men in it, who, in a bark, went daily to the great caſtle, which is leſs than a falcon-ſhot diſtant. As ſoon as the boats began to ſet forward, thoſe within the fort lay down, to prevent their being ſeen by the Turks, who coming to the place, ran their prows on the land, where every thing lay in ruins to the very edge of the water, and leaped on ſhore; but thoſe within met them with two fire-horns, and the cannon of the great caſtle played ſo furiouſly, that the enemy quickly fled, and ſome of the boats were ſunk. Many were drowned and made priſoners by theſe in the great caſtle, who came out in one of their boats and killed them in the water, and thoſe who were taken, the next day were hanged on the battlements of the caſtle. The whole camp putting themſelves in order of battle, on the 30th advanced up to the fortreſs, on the ſide towards the port, with a great many ſcaling-ladders, in order to make a general aſſault, and on the ſide towards the land, mounted the beach, (which they could do at pleaſure, becauſe the place was open) where they ſtood for three hours; but when the beſieged ſaw that the Turks had not courage to enter, they leaped upon the beach, and puſhed them into the ditch, killing 400 that day.—The 31ſt, the Mooriſh captain went with 11 galleys to attack the little caſtle, but was not able to approach it for the artillery of the great one, which ſunk the veſſels.

November the 2d, the ſanjak and janaſſaries, with all the reſt of the Turks, came on board the galleys, leaving behind them on land all the artillery, which they had not time to carry off. This was occaſioned by the news they received, that the Portugueſe fleet was advancing in order of battle. On the 5th, 20 ſail of Portugueſe ſhips appeared in ſight, and caſt anchor 20 miles diſtant from the Turkiſh fleet. They continued thus all night, and in the morning only three ſhips were ſeen at a diſtance; at which time the Turks put off from land; but at ſun-riſe there appeared many ſhips, which ſhot off a great number of guns, although nothing could be diſcerned but the flaſh of the powder; whereupon the baſha gave orders for each galley to ſhoot off three guns. After this, the trumpets being ſounded, they fell to their oars, and hoiſted their foreſails. This was done at 10 o'clock at night, and at four they departed, ſhaping their courſe ſouth ſouth-weſt, with but little wind, and at day-break ran 30 miles. On the 9th they advanced 20 miles weſt; and this day the Chriſtians had their irons taken off. The 12th, the wind being north, they entered the gulph of Ormuz, and then ſailed weſt ſouth-weſt, advancing all that day and night, but 30 miles. On the 27th they caſt anchor in ſix fathom water, at a town called Aſer, a deſert and barren place, where both men and cattle are forced to live on fiſh. Theſe men were 40 Portugueſe, with their conſul, who reſiding here, carried on trade, and had always with him ſome merchants, beſides thoſe which continually arrived, and exported ſpice and other things: but their chief trade was in horſes, which here are excellent; one being valued at 100 ducats and more; and in India will ſell for 1000. But as ſoon as the king of this country underſtood that Solyman baſha was coming with his fleet, he cauſed the Portugueſe to be ſeized in their houſe, and made a preſent of them to the baſha, who ordered them all to be chained. Here alſo they found a ſhip which had ſtaid by the way, not being able to proceed for India; and of a ſudden, ſeized all the biſcuit for the uſe of the fleet, which remained here three days. December the firſt, the fleet departed, holding its courſe weſt ſouth-weſt; and ſailing 40 miles eaſt, anchored near the coaſt of Arabia, three hours before dark, at a place called Micaiya, and took in water. The ſecond, they left Macaiya, and ſailed weſt ſouth-weſt, 30 miles in the day, and ten by night; and on the 5th, proceeding ſtill weſt ſouth-weſt, ſixty miles, at nine o'clock in the night, caſt anchor behind the town of Aden, reſting there till ſun-riſe. The next day the baſha being at Aden with his whole fleet, he ſent in the morning for a renegado Turk, (who was then a Chriſtian, and a man of conſiderable account) and without ſaying any thing, cauſed his head to be cut off. The reaſon was, they all murmured, and the baſha, fearing this renegado would accuſe him of neglect or cowardice, was reſolved to be beforehand with him: becauſe he formerly was in the pay of the king of this place, and afterwards a captain at Diu, when the king of it was ſlain by the Portugueſe. The widow queen, being poſſeſſed of great treaſure, and deſirous to retire to Mecca, was perſuaded by this man to go on board a galleon, with which he treacherouſly ſailed to Egypt, and thence carried the treaſure to Conſtantinople, and made a preſent of it to the grand ſignior, who being informed by him, how matters paſſed in India, made him patron of a galley, and ordered him to return thither with the fleet, which ſucceeded badly, and coſt him his life. After this the baſha, being deſirous to ſecure Aden, cauſed 100 pieces of cannon great and ſmall, to be landed out of the fleet; among which there was two paſſe volants of the great Venetian galleys of Alexandria. He left there alſo a quantity of powder and ball, with a ſanjac, 500 Turks, and five foiſts.

Return to Aden.

The Baſha now judging himſelf out of danger, on the 14th quitted the half-galley, and returned to the Maon. The 23d, they ſailed from Aden with a good wind, weſt by ſouth, and between the evening and morning, ran 100 miles. The 24th, at the 5th hour of the day, the fleet entered the ſtreights of the Red Sea, and all night lay at anchor. On the 25th, three hours before day, they departed, ſailing north-weſt, with a ſcanty wind; nevertheleſs, they ran 50 miles, and came to a caſtle called Mocha. The ſame day, there came an old Turk, governor of the caſtle, to wait on Solyman, who received him with great honour, and gave him a veſt. The governor, in return, continually ſent the baſha refreſhments from ſhore; and a few days afterwards brought on board all his riches, which were very great, beſides many fine ſlaves of both ſexes, thinking every body would follow him. As ſoon as the fleet arrived at Mecca, the baſha ſent an ambaſſador to the city of Zibit, three days journey within land, to ſummon the king forthwith to the ſea-ſide, to pay obedience to the grand ſignior. The king made anſwer, that as to the tribute, he would readily pay it, and would willingly accept of a ſtandard, if the baſha would ſend him one; but that he would not go to the ſea-ſide, and did not know him. The baſha being enraged at this anſwer, next day ſent his kiahya with a banner, accompanied by ſome ſtout janiſſaries, who arriving at Zibit, preſented the ſame to the king. The king, in return made him a very fine preſent, among which was a ſcymetar, with ſeveral jewels, likewiſe a dagger, and ſome beautiful pearls, of ſix carats each, which made a ſtring of more than a foot in length, beſides a fine pearl of 18 carats: for much oriental pearl is taken on this part of the coaſt of Arabia. He likewiſe gave to each of the Turks, two veſts of cloth and a little black ſlave. The kiahya made him many compliments, and conjured him to come down to the coaſt; but the king would by no means conſent, fearing he ſhould be put to death. When the kiahya ſaw that he could not prevail on him to go, he ſaid, "If you will not go to the baſha, he will come to you;" and ſo took leave. The fleet ſtaid here 20

Enter the ſtreights.

Portugueſe fleet appear.

The Turkiſh ſhips depart.

Aſer, a Portugueſe factory.

Betrayed to the baſha.

days. The 23d of January they departed from Mocha at sun-rise, with a brisk gale, and sailed west by north, till noon; then the wind changing, they proceeded north-west, having run in all 100 miles. The 24th they advanced north-west, with their small sails, and a fair wind, 30 miles in the day, and by the 6th hour of the night cast anchor at the island of Chamaran, 20 miles farther. The 29th the basha landed, and gave pay to all the janissaries, who were willing to fight; but not any thing to the galley slaves and seamen. The 22d of February the weather being calm, they left Chamaran, by help of their oars, and about six o'clock came to a place on the coast, called Cubit Sarif, 20 miles from Chamaran. The 3d, at sun-rise, a Turk, of those in pay of the king of Zibit, having revolted, with 50 horse, came to the basha, who received him kindly, and made him presents. This man encamped on the shore with his tents. In this country, they all make use of horses cloathed with armour, on account of the darts and arrows, which are their principal weapons. On the 4th the basha landed, and caused some pieces of light cannon to be put on carriages, and his men, provisions, and ammunition, to be gotten ready in order to march to Zibit. On the 19th he set out on horseback, three hours before day; and on the road met another Turk with 50 horse, who had also rebelled against the king; him the basha made free, and continued his journey. On the 20th he arrived at Zibit, and encamping without the city, sent for the lord thereof, who seeing himself betrayed by many of his own people, and distrusting the rest, came forth with a cord about his neck, as the Grand Signior's slave, and presented himself before the basha: who immediately caused his head to be struck off. His people seeing this, fled to the mountains, to the number of 300; and among the rest three of the principal men, with all their riches, which were very great, not knowing where to go. Upon this, the basha sent to tell those who made their escape, that they ought to return and join him, promising them good pay, and to enrol them among his own troops: hereupon there returned 200 black Abyssinians, who had been soldiers to the king. These were desperate fellows, who did not value life, and ran almost as swift as a horse. They went quite naked, only wrapping their pudenda in a clout. For arms, some carried clubs of the cornel tree, headed with iron; others pointed stakes to throw in the manner of darts, and some a short sword, a span shorter than those used by the Christians: besides every one had at his girdle a dagger, bent after the Moorish fashion. The basha asked every one his name, and caused him to write it, and set down more pay than he had before. He dismissed them thus, one by one, with orders to return next morning, but without arms, giving them to understand, that he intended to give them their pay, and admit them to kiss his hand, in which case they had no occasion to carry arms. These men having presented themselves at the time appointed, were ordered to lay down their weapons, and go where the basha was sitting near a tent in the plain, with the Turks in a circle about him, under arms: but as soon as they were all entered within the ring, upon a signal given, they were in one instant cut in pieces. After this, the basha sent a sanjac, with a thousand soldiers, to secure Zibit. Both the city and country about it, are very fine, abounding with running water and delightful gardens, and many things besides, not to be found in any other part of Arabia, especially zibibs of Damascus without a stone, and other excellent fruits;——dates, and Fresh meat is plenty, and corn is not scarce. The 8th of March, the basha returned to the sea side, and ordered ammunition to be sent to Zibit, leaving also four foists to guard the coast. The 10th the basha landed, and ordered the Portuguese, who were 146 in all, reckoning some Indian converts, to be taken out of irons, and brought bound to the shore, where being distributed among the troops, their heads were by his command struck off, and that of the chief flayed, salted, and filled with straw; of others they cut the noses and ears, to be sent to the grand signior. The 13th the kiahya departed, in company with another galley, to Zadem, thence to Mecca, and so on towards Constantinople, with an account of the voyage to India; carrying with him besides the presents, the heads, noses, and ears, that their master might see they had done great feats. The 16th, they departed an hour before day, with a pleasant wind, and sailing along the coast, at sun-set, came to an anchor at Zerzet, a place subject to Mecca, in eight fathoms water, and 70 miles from Cor. Hither were brought the three persons who fled from Zibit with their riches. The basha caused their heads to be cut off, and seized the whole treasure, which filled three pair of wallets, each of which was a load for any one man. The 17th they sailed along the coast with a pleasant gale, which an hour before sun-rise, proving contrary, they cast anchor in a place called Adiudi, in eight fathoms water, having ran 50 miles. The 18th, two hours before day, they departed, coasting along the shore till noon, and then cast anchor in four fathoms, at Mugoro, a good port, fifty miles distant, where there is both water and wood. The 19th, an hour before day, they departed with their oars, and at sun-rise, the wind changing, they sailed along shore 50 miles, to a place called Darboni, subject to Mecca, in seven fathoms water. The 20th, being calm, they coasted it till noon, when a gale springing up, at sun-set they came to an anchor in ten fathoms water, at a place called Yasuf, belonging to Mecca, 50 miles farther. The 21st they went on along the coast. At noon the wind sprang up, and at sun-rise, having made 60 miles, they anchored at Chofodan, a place dependant on Mecca, in 40 fathoms. The 22d the basha ordered six galleys to go foremost, on account of the sand banks, which are so thick, that there is scarce any sailing in the day-time. They came to a shelf called Turach. The 23d they coasted it among the shoals, through which only a single galley could pass at a time, and cast anchor at a place called Salta, in four fathom water, having ran 50 miles. The 24th, sailing along the coast, at noon they anchored in a place called Ariadan, but the port Mazabraiti, a place inhabited by peasants, subject to Mocha, in six fathoms water. The 25th they sailed along shore; but at sun-rise, the wind changing, drove them to sea till noon, and afterwards towards land; so that they cast anchor betimes, and rested till the 27th.

On the first of April they landed at Joddah, and pitching their tents without the town, staid there four days; and the basha himself rode towards Mecca on a pilgrimage, ordering the fleet to proceed towards Suez. In coming into the port Contior Abchein, a galley sunk in endeavouring to double the point. Here a carpenter called Mark, belonging to the Venetian galley, of Alexandria, staid and turned Mahometan. Thus they continued ranging the coast till the 19th, when they came close in shore, without any thing material happening; for which reason we shall not trouble the reader with the names of all the places they passed by. We shall only observe, that on the 24th they proceeded with a pretty favourable wind; a half galley having left behind an anchor and three cables; and one galley ran a-shore, but was not lost. On the 27th, sailing west north-west, at noon, they were up with Tor; and continuing their course, two hours after night, the wind turned against them; therefore they lay by till day-break, when the Moorish captain set sail again; and the other galleys weighing anchor, hoisted their foresails; after running 100 miles, they came into shoal water, where they staid five days in six fathoms.

The 3d of June the fleet left the bank, and holding on their course, cast anchor sometimes on the coast of Abyssinia, (or rather of Egypt) sometimes on the other side, and the 15th they arrived at Corondel. At this place the fleet took in water; and here are the baths of Moses, as they called them.——Here they staid two days. The 16th the fleet sailed, and pur-

Cubit Sarif. Deserters from Zibit.

Solyman encamps before Zibit.

The king beheaded.

200 Abyssinians invited.

They are slain.

1521

Adiudi.

Mugoro.

Darboni.

Yasuf.

Salta.

Ariadan.

Pass by Tor.

Corondel.

Bathsof Moses

1540 purſued its courſe for two days together; at the end of which, they arrived at Suez, whence they ſet out, and on the 17th, began to draw the barks on ſhore.—

Arrive at Suez

They began to haul their chief galley on land the ſecond of July, next the baſha's half galley; and then the reſt were arranged and drawn on ſhore, in the order they arrived. The Chriſtians were the porters, and thoſe who worked the engines in unloading, cleared and unrigged the veſſels: all the fatigue lay upon them till the 16th; when the lemin paid them all off.

On the nineteenth of Auguſt, the lemin, accompanied with ſeven boats, went to Tor to pay off the galleys which ſtaid behind; he took with him the beſt and ſtrongeſt Chriſtians that were on the ſpot, in order to carry thoſe galleys to Suez, which were in a manner diſarmed; as well by reaſon of the death of many, as the flight of others. At Tor all were paid off, and the Chriſtians diſtributed among the galleys. The remainder of the fleet arrived at Suez, the 20th of October, and were all drawn on ſhore by the hands of the Chriſtians; who wrought hard, both day and night.—The 26th, an end was made of hauling the galleys on land; and the cables, rigging, tackle, irons, planks, ſmall cannon, and other materials were carried into the caſtle.—This is the author's account of the voyage.—The fate of the expedition againſt Diu, will be ſeen at large in the following pages.

The men paid off.

The ſhips hauled on ſhore.

From the mouth of the Red-ſea to Suez, are 1800 miles; the coaſt running north weſt all the way. The breadth of this gulph is 200 miles, and in ſome places more. It is full of banks, ſhoals and ſhelves towards land, ſo that there is no ſailing by night, except in the middle. The place is ſo intricately diſpoſed, that a perſon cannot poſſibly diſcover the proper channels, otherwiſe than by the eye, or direct the courſe to be taken, but by ſtanding at the prow, and crying ſtarboard, larboard; and for this reaſon the return could not be deſcribed ſo well as the ſetting out. There are two ſorts of pilots for this ſea; the firſt, thoſe acquainted with the middle of the gulph, which is the courſe of navigation outward; the other ſort are for ſhips returning from the ocean, and ſail within the ſhoals: theſe are commonly called Rubati, and are excellent ſwimmers, ſo that in many places, where they cannot caſt anchor, by reaſon of the bad ground, they will ſwim under water, and fix galleys within the ſhoals; and often times even faſten the prows under water according to the nature of the place.

On the 28th of November, 1539, the Chriſtians of the galleys of Alexandria, left Suez, and the firſt of December, arriving at Cairo, were lodged in the ſame houſe where they were at firſt. Each was allowed half a maiden a day, which is equivalent to two pence of Venice; ſo that they ſuffered great affliction and fatigue: for every time it happened that the ciſterns were to be cleaned, hills made plain, gardens to be put in order, buildings raiſed, or the like, all the labour fell upon the Chriſtians.——The 25th of March, 1540, many of thoſe Chriſtians went from Cairo with a guard of Turks, to a hill or mount two miles from the Nile. —— *

Venetians return to Cairo.

We have already obſerved that the author of this voyage, was obliged to follow Solyman Baſha on his expedition, which ended with the ſiege of Diu; before we proceed to a narration of that remarkable event, we ſhall ſay a few words by way of digreſſion, of the occaſion of it, and of the character and behaviour of Solyman, which may not be improper for the information of the reader.

A preſent ſent by Badur, king of Cambaya, to Solyman the Magnificent, Emperor of the Turks, was delivered, together with the news of his death. The great value of this preſent demonſtrated to that prince the vaſt riches of India, and ſtirred up in him a deſire of becoming maſter of it. He thought it might be in his power to expel the Portugueſe in the eaſt, and one of them, a renegado, then at Conſtantinople, promoted the deſign, by repreſenting it as eaſy to be executed.—The ſultan ordered a fleet to be fitted, and gave the command to the eunuch Solyman Baſha, governor of Cairo; this Solyman was a Greek janiſſary, born in the Morea, his age eighty years, of ſtature ſhort, his face ugly, and his belly ſo big, he was more like a beaſt than a man, and could not riſe up without the help of four. His purſe purchaſed this command: offering the Turk to furniſh the ſhipping at his own expence. The better to perform this, he put to death many rich men, in order to ſeize their eſtates; among others, he hanged prince David, king of Upper Egypt, after taking from him a great ſum of money. The fleet was got ready by Ibrahim, a conſiderable officer under him, and conſiſted of ſeventy ſail, moſtly large galleys, well ſtored with cannon, ammunition, and proviſions. In them were embarked 7000 land ſoldiers, Turks and Mamalues, beſides the ſeamen and ſlaves; many of which latter were taken out of the Venetian galleys, then ſeized at Alexandria, the peace made by Bajazet in the year 1503 being newly broken. Solyman having ſet out, he cauſed 400 ſoldiers to be put to the oars, and becauſe they complained, put to death 200. He thought to have taken the king of Jodda; but he, who well knew him, retired with the inhabitants. At Zibit, after receiving a rich preſent, he beheaded the king Nocada Hamed, with a hatchet. At Aden he pretended he had many ſick men on board, and having obtained houſes in the town from the king, to lodge them in, conveyed ſoldiers in beds, counterfeiting ſickneſs, on ſhore. Theſe at a ſign given from the fleet, ſeized the city; and the king coming on board the fleet, Solyman aſked him how it came to paſs that he had neglected coming, (as it was his duty) for three days. The king's anſwer having perhaps been freer than his ears were accuſtomed to, he cauſed him to be hanged at the yard-arm of his ſhip; as has been already related.

Solyman's cruelty.

Solyman Baſha

About the beginning of September, the baſha arrived before Diu, having left ſix ſhips by the way. He was, by inſtructions, to have viſited Goa firſt; but, on farther thoughts, had changed that deſign.

When king Badur was killed upon the ſea, with ſome of his retinue, one Chojah Zaffar ſwam to ſhore, and was well received by the Portugueſe, who put all others to the ſword. He upon ſeveral occaſions ſhewed himſelf ſo grateful, that Nunno da Cunna much favoured and recommended him earneſtly to Antonio de Silveyra. At laſt, without any provocation, he fled from Diu to Mohammed, the new king of Cambaya, offering his ſervice, and perſuading him to war upon the Portugueſe; affirming it would be eaſy to drive them from that coaſt, with the aſſiſtance of the Turkiſh fleet, which he knew would ſoon be there. The king with this encouragement, formed a body 5000 horſe, and 10,000 foot at Champanel, the place of his reſidence. The firſt who appeared was Chojah Zaffar, with 3000 horſe, and 4000 foot, which he maintained at his own charge, knowing it is ſuſpicious to adviſe dangerous enterprizes, and not have part in them. Antonio de Silveyra, having notice hereof, provided for a long and dangerous ſiege.——Chojah Zaffar made the firſt breach, falling upon the town of the Turks near Diu, where he did much harm. Franciſco Pacheco defended himſelf bravely in a bulwark, with fourteen Portugueſe, till he was relieved by Antonio de Silveyra, and Zaffar obliged to draw off, being wounded in the arm. At the ſame time appeared Alu Chan, the king of Cambaya's general, with all the army; who, in conjunction with Zaffar, ſat down before the paſſes: which poſts, on their approach, Antonio de Silveyra gave orders ſhould be quitted by his officers,

Chojah Zaffar

Beſieges Diu.

* Here we might entertain the reader with an account of a burying place on this mount, two miles from the Nile, where, once every year a number of people aſſemble to ſee a partial reſurrection of dead bodies: but M. Thevenot and other authors, having ſufficiently expoſed the falſity of the ſtory, we ſhall paſs it by without farther notice.

the

the better to maintain the city and fort. In the execution whereof they loſt ſome ſhips and guns.

By reaſon of this loſs, and becauſe there were many private enemies, who only waited an opportunity of ſhewing their malice, Silveyra could not maintain the city. Some he hanged, and then retired to the fort; always taking the advice of his captains. Alu Chan and Chojah Zaffar preſently poſſeſſed themſelves of the city and iſland, abandoned by the Portugueſe, and began to play their ſhot vigorouſly, Lope de Souſa, who guarded the wood and water, whereof the fort ſtood in need, had ſeveral rencounters, and ſlew many of the enemy, without loſing one man; but was himſelf much wounded. Antonio de Silveyra hearing of the approach of the Turkiſh fleet, immediately ſent advice thereof to Nunno de Cunna; the anſwer was the diligence wherewith he prepared to relieve him in perſon.

The city quitted.

Michael Vaz, a reſolute man, ſent by Silveyra to reconnoitre, ſaw the enemies fleet, and the better to view it, came up ſo near, that their ſhot reached his veſſel: however he got off, and carried the news to the governor at Goa. The fleet came to an anchor in the harbour, and was now formidable not only to thoſe few Portugueſe, but even to the Moors who had expected it. Next day Solyman landed 600 janiſſaries, well accoutred, and armed with bows and muſquets, to terrify the beholders. They entered the city, and there acted all the inſolences uſed by ſoldiers. Then drawing near the fort, they killed ſix Portugueſe, but 300 of their muſqueteers advancing, killed fifty of them, and forced the reſt to retire.

The Turkiſh fleet appears.

A ſtorm obliged Solyman to remove to Madrefavat, a ſafe harbour, five leagues from Diu. There he continued twenty days, in which time Silveyra improved the fortifications, planted his artillery, and aſſigned every man his poſt. The ſame was done by the Turks, aſſiſted by Chojah Zaffar. Some of their cannon played upon a bulwark; to burn which, they built a wooden caſtle on a great bark, filled with combuſtible matter: but Franciſco de Gouvea, who had the command by ſea, went out by night, and with great difficulty, got to, and burnt it. At this time came ſome relief ſent by Nunno de Cunna: yet the greateſt comfort they brought was the hopes of his coming after in perſon.

Solyman returned from Madrefavat, and fired his cannon upon the bulwark where De Gouvea commanded; from whence, and from St. Thomas's tower, he was ſo well anſwered, that one of his galleys ſunk with moſt of the men. The greateſt harm the Portugueſe received was from their own cannon, which burſt, and ſlew ſome: for the enemy only killed two brothers, whoſe mother (named Barbara) took them in her arms, and carried off the bodies without ſhedding a tear. Zaffar now furiouſly battered the bulwark commanded by Pacheco, which he rendered not tenable, 700 janiſſaries aſſaulted it, and ſet up their colours, but ſome of the ſcattered Portugueſe advancing, fell on, diſlodged them, and killed 150. The diſpute laſted all day, and the enemy drew off with ſhame; for the weight of this action lay upon two reſolute gentlemen.—Next day Pacheco in deſpair, ſurrendered. The enemy entered the bulwark, caſt down the Chriſtians colours, and ſet up the Turkiſh. Juan Perez, a man in years, enraged hereat, threw down the Turkiſh, and again reared the Chriſtian enſigns. But the enemy preſſing, he and five Portugueſe more, who joined him, were all killed upon the ſpot, and their bodies caſt into the ſea, which laid them at the gate of the fort, where they were honourably buried. Pacheco, and thoſe with him, had articled for life and liberty; yet the latter was not performed at all by Solyman, and the firſt but for a while. However he gave them Turkiſh veſts; and ſent one of them to ſummon Silveyra to ſurrender, who made a jeſt of the propoſal.

Enraged at this contempt, Solyman prepared to batter the fort, and planted his artillery in ſeveral places, under the direction of Zaffar. Among the cannon (about 130 in all guarded by 2000 Turks) were nine pieces of enormous ſize, carrying a ball of above ninety pounds weight: beſides ſeveral other ſizes. On Monday the 4th of October, the battery began, and continued violently twenty days, doing great harm to the fort; from whence little damage could be done; nor were the beſieged well able to repair the moſt dangerous breaches, notwithſtanding all art and diligence was employed. 1540

The caſtle battered.

The ſixth day after they began to batter, the Turks perceiving Gaſpar de Souſa's bulwark much damaged, thought to carry it; but many of them were killed in the attempt, with the loſs of two Portugueſe. Every day there was an action, Gonſalo Falcam had his head ſhot off, Juan Fonſeca being wounded in the right arm held his lance with the left, as if he had received no hurt; Juan de Gallego, a youth of nineteen, of a little body but great heart, purſued a Moor into the ſea, till loſing ground, he was like to drown; which the Moor perceiving laid hold on him to kill him; but he recovering himſelf, without loſing gun or ſword, ſlew his adverſary, and came out all bloody; walking leiſurely towards the fort, while ſhowers of bullets flew about him. Many other ſingular acts of valour were performed at this ſiege.—But by this time many brave gentlemen had been killed in the fort; powder grew ſhort, the proviſions ſcarcer: the relief of the viceroy Don Garcia de Noronna, now arrived in India, moved ſlow. The neighbouring forts ſent no aid; and all began to be in confuſion; which was increaſed by a ſickneſs (cauſed by the bad water) that hindered moſt from ſwallowing the little proviſion they had, ſwelling the gums, and looſening the teeth, ſo that they fell out.—The Portugueſe fought and ſuffered, as if the greateſt miſery could not overcome them.

Portugueſe bravery,

And great diſtreſs.

The valour of the Portugueſe women here, deſerves notice. Donna Iſabel de Vego, a woman of great virtue, and ſome beauty, was wife to Manuel de Veſcencelos; who fearing the fort might be loſt, and, ſhe taken by the Turks, earneſtly intreated her to go to her father, Franciſco Serram, at Goa; but ſhe begged not to be parted from him; which with much regret, at laſt he conſented to. This heroine conſidering there were many men employed in the works who might fight, and their places be ſupplied by as many women, aſſembled all of that ſex who were in the fort; and having exhorted them to undertake that labour, to the end ſo many men might be added to the number of their defendants, they all chearfully complied, and followed her as their leader with Anne Fernandez, to whom ſhe had before communicated her deſign. This Anne was wife to a phyſician, and ſo courageous, that by night ſhe viewed all the poſts, and appeared at aſſaults encouraging the ſoldiers; her ſon being killed in her ſight, ſhe drew him away, and returned to her poſt; when the ſervice was over, ſhe went to bury him.

Valour of the women.

Gaſpar de Souſa perceiving the Turks undermined his bulwark, ſallied with ſeventy men to view their work, which he did, and made great ſlaughter among them. At his retreat, miſſing two men, he turned back upon the enemy, and fought bravely; but being ſurrounded, was hamſtringed; yet ſtill he defended himſelf upon his knees, till oppreſſed by the multitude. The mine was countermined; but the continual labour became inſupportable, and it was impoſſible to repair ſo many ruins.——

At this juncture arrived four veſſels, ſent by the viceroy, Don Garcia de Noronna, which brought only twenty men. Solyman was concerned at this ſuccour, though ſmall, but much more that the fort ſtood ſo many aſſaults: Chojah Zaffar having affirmed he would carry it at two. At the beginning of the ſiege, there were no more than 600 men in the fort, of whom many were killed, and ſome cannon burſt: but the baſha little encouraged thereby, ſtill looked toward the ſea, fearful of the Portugueſe fleet; which he heard was coming upon him. This moved him

1540 The siege pressed hard.

to press the siege with more vigour. The bulwark of the sea where Antonio de Sousa commanded, was furiously attacked by 50 barks, two whereof were sunk by the cannon of the castle. Then they attempted to scale it, and were repulsed with great slaughter. The assault was repeated, and still the enemy came off with loss. Amongst the wounded men, sent to be dressed, Fernan Pinteado was one, who, while he waited his turn, heard the noise of a fresh attack, and forgetting the dressing, ran thither, and received another wound; the very same happened to him the third time, and then he was dressed of all three: by this time there were left in the fort but 250 of the 600 men fit to bear arms.—

Solyman, now in despair, resolved to make one push for all. The better to succeed in his design, he counterfeited raising the siege; and twelve galleys put to sea, that Silveyra might be the easier surprised; but that vigilant commander kept still upon his guard, as much as ever. One night, some noise being heard, at the foot of the wall by water, it was found that the enemy were applying great numbers of scaling ladders. They were opposed till morning appeared, which shewed the place beset all round, and assaulted by 14,000 men. They began by playing the cannon, and then mounted on all sides, chiefly next the commandant's house, where it was weakest, but he had posted such men there, as made a terrible slaughter of them. Having failed in this place, they attempted a bulwark, pouring in showers of arrows and bullets. Great was the confusion and havock on both sides. In the interim, came up 14 galleys, furiously discharging their great shot, but did no execution. At length Francisco Gouva made them draw off, having battered two of the vessels, and killed some men with his cannon. By this time 200 Turks had entered the bulwark, and planted their colours; scarce 30 Portuguese were there to oppose them; but they rushing on desperately, to regain the work, none of their shot were lost, the enemy being very thick; so that having sustained great damage, such as were in this action drew off. However, fresh men succeeded, and set up four colours. The Portuguese, wounded and burnt, ran for ease, and dipped themselves in jars of salt water, where seeking refreshment, they perished with great torture. Antonio de Silveyra indefatigably repaired to every place, encouraging all. Here a soldier wanting ball, pulled out one of his teeth to load his musquet. The enemy had much the better this second assault, which a few gentlemen perceiving, furiously rushed upon them, among whom Juan Rodrigues, a man of great body, and as great courage, ran with a barrel of powder, crying, "Clear the way, for here I carry my own and many a man's death." He threw the barrel among the enemy, and suddenly above 100 men were carried into the air, torn in pieces; 20 lay burnt upon the ground, yet Rodrigues himself came off unhurt, and doing other considerable actions, deserved some of the first rewards and honours, gained the siege. Other fireworks burnt the four ensigns, who had set up the colours; two of the cannon cleared the place of enemies; and two bullets threw down two ensigns, that succeeded the former. The enemy withdrew, and fresh supplies came on the third time, and placed their colours. The commander of these, son-in-law to Chojah Zaffar, being killed, his men were dismayed, and turned their backs. These assaults lasted above four hours; the same small number of Portuguese withstanding still fresh, and numerous detachments, while their women in the fort, and those of the enemy on the city walls, were spectators of the whole action. The Portuguese, all smeared with powder, appeared like Moors, and were known by their cloaths and voice, not colour; so black was their appearance with fire, blood and sweat. At length the enemy retired, carrying off above 1000 wounded, and leaving more than 500 men killed: of the Portuguese 14 were killed, and 200 lay useless for want of blood, only 40 remained able to bear arms, and the weapons lay broken to pieces on the ground, some serving such as could not stand on their legs, for crutches. No hope was left, if the enemy renewed their attack; the walls were all shattered, and the powder spent; nothing but horror appeared; only the brave Silveyra's countenance was what encouraged all men. Solyman put an end to all these calamities; for not knowing the condition the fortress was in, and terrified with ill success, he raised the siege. Antonio de Silveyra seeing them weigh anchor, and hoist sail, thought it was only another feint, and prepared to resist; as if he could still resist an attack. He posted the 40 men, and caused some that were wounded to lean against the walls, to shew a number. Those who could not rise, ordered themselves to be carried in their beds, saying, It was to die in an honourable place: some of the women also armed themselves, and appeared upon the works. The night was spent upon the watch, but the morning was more comfortable to the afflicted; for Solyman was withdrawn in earnest, without any thought of returning. Though fear did much, yet a device of Chojah Zaffar did more towards removing the basha. Zaffar was moved to it as well by the insupportable pride of that Turk, as an order he had from his king, that in case, he found the basha intended to keep that city and fort, (as was feared) he should rather endeavour to leave it to the Portuguese. To effect his purpose, he framed a letter, intimating, that the viceroy of India would be there the next day, with a vast fleet; which falling into Solyman's hands, as was designed, he thought fit not to delay his departure; but sailed away on the 5th of November, after two months siege, having lost 9000 men.— The same night Zaffar's men fired the city, and marched off. This was the *first* siege of Diu, which was admired throughout the world, and added new lustre to the Portuguese glory: all due to the invincible courage and vigilance of the heroic Antonio de Silveyra, and those valiant gentlemen who were with him. Solyman touching at the ports on the coast of Arabia, and took some Portuguese, he found there. He gathered above 140, and cutting off their heads, then their ears and noses, salted and sent them to the Grand Turk, as we have seen. Among these likewise was Francisco Pacheco, who had not the courage to die like a gentleman in his bulwark. Solyman being arrived at Constantinople, and not agreeing with one who aspired his post, was reduced to kill himself.

Solyman raises the siege.

His death.

This famous siege was far advanced, when the viceroy Don Garcia de Noronna arrived in India, to whom Nunno de Cunna immediately resigned the government. His arrival, (with so considerable a relief as he brought) might well have bettered the affairs of Diu, yet, on the contrary, it much endangered them; for had he not come, De Cunna had relieved Diu with 80 sail that he had in readiness for that purpose, and prevented so many miseries, and the death of so many brave men. Still fresh advice was brought of the danger the besieged were in, and still Don Garcia wasted the time in considering the means to relieve them, chusing rather to commit an error through his own wilfulness, (for he did not want for courage) than act rightly by the advice of De Cunna. Thus the siege was raised, before he pitched on the method for relieving the place, and the expence of preparation thrown away. Antonio Sylva Meneses was the second sent with succours, being 20 small vessels, and came too late: yet he contended with Silveyra for the honour of that victory. The viceroy was still at Goa, though ready to sail with a fleet of 160 sail of several sorts, and in them 5000 fighting men, and 1000 cannon, when advice came, that the Turks had raised the siege. On this news, he set out with 90 ships, but moved slowly, as if he did not care to go thither. Hearing at Dabul that Asu Chan and Chojah Zaffar still ranged about with fire and sword, he sent against them Martin Alphonso de Melo, with his galley, and the vessels that went with De Sylva; but being hard set by the enemy, he was forced to take

shelter under the castle. The viceroy, at the same slow rate, sailed to Bazaim, nothing moved with the news he received from Diu. It was whispered about that he either consulted his safety or private interest. Let what would be the cause, his actions justified the worst of suspicions; but when least expected, he steered for Diu, on the first of January, when a storm rising, which lasted eight days, his fleet was dispersed into several ports, and several vessels, with two galleys lost, so that he entered but with 50 sail. A treaty of peace was presently set on foot, and concluded little to the advantage of the Portuguese, which common fame attributed to covetousness.——

Sylveyra's character.

Antonio de Silveyra soon after returned to Portugal, and had scarce anchored at Lisbon, when the great men of the court came to conduct him to the king, and princes, who with joy to see and honour this hero, whose generosity did him as much honour as his valour at the siege of Diu. What a pity so much courage as the Portuguese displayed in the discovery and conquest of the Indies, had not been always sanctified by justice, and crowned by humanity!

Don Stephano de Gama's expedition.

In the year 1540, Don Stephano de Gama, set out from Goa, on an expedition, wherein he is said to have had two ends in view; the one of which was to carry succour to the emperor of Abyssinia, and the other, to destroy the Turkish fleet, which he expected to find at Suez.

The account of this voyage is written by Don Juan de Castro, who was afterwards governor and viceroy of India,* from whence we have derived our authorities.

It was on the 31st of December at sun-rise, that they departed from the bar of Goa, towards the streights of Mecca, and discovered the island of Socotra on the 13th of January following. Of this island we have already spoken, but the description given by our author is so exact in many particulars, that we shall here transcribe it.

"Socotra (says he) is twenty leagues in length, and nine in breadth, and lies in 12 deg. 40 min. of south latitude. The northern coast runs east and west, somewhat inclining to the north-west and south-east. The shore is quite clear from rocks and shoals, and all impediments to sailing. The ground in the road is generally sandy, but in some places stony, yet, not so as to cut the cables. But there is no other place or harbour throughout the island where ships may safely anchor. The coast is very high, and girt with lofty craggy mountains. The tides there are contrary to those of India; for when the moon appears on the horizon, it is high tide, which from that time begins to ebb, and by the time she comes to the meridian of the island, it is low water; then as the moon declines from the meridian, it begins to flow again in the same order, as it sets at Goa, and being set, it is here full sea."——The inhabitants of Socotra are Christians. They have churches throughout the island, in which there is no oracle but the cross; for which sign they have great devotion, it being rare to find any person without one about his neck; and they use the Christian names of John, Peter, Andrew, &c. and the women generally that of Mary.

These people have no king, ruler, prelate, nor any other person to whom they are subject, but, though Christians, live in a manner like wild beasts without any order or government. In all the island there is neither city nor town, but most part of them live in caves, and some in little thatched cottages quite separate from one another. Their food is flesh and wild dates. They drink milk, and seldom any water. The people are of the best disposition. The women are fair, and the men go naked, except covering the private parts with a sort of cloth, the manufacture of the islands. The inhabitants are not industrious in catching fish, and have not the art of navigation.† The fruit of the palm-tree is their chief sustenance; but the land yields all sorts of eatable and medicinal plants.—

1541

The fleet came within sight of Aden on the 27th of January, when they perceived some land, which they had seen before, and taken for an island, to be the mountain of Aden. Leaving Aden, they proceeded on their voyage; and our author here takes occasion to describe the streights of Babelmandel, and the Arabic gulph or Red Sea, of which we shall say more hereafter. We have already observed that the destination of the fleet was towards [Habesh, Abesh, or] Abyssinia, which they supposed to be the empire of Prester, or Presbyter John, a prejudice that for a long time was entertained among the European nations. In their course they passed by Shamoa, Dallaka, and other places in the channel, and on the 12th arrived at Massua, the situation of which the author has described in the following manner.

Massua described.

"Massua is an island not half a mile in length, and in breath not a caliver shot. It is very flat, and lies in a great and crooked nook of the coast, very near the point of it. The current is very small, and all the winds come from the land. The depth of the water is eight or nine fathoms, and the ground oozy. The enterance of this port is on the north-east side, towards the middle of the channel, in order to avoid the shoal running from the point of the work. Near this island lie two others. There is no spring in any of them; but in Massua are many cisterns of water, and many shoals lie scattered between them; but vessels are safe in the mid-channel."

Massua was subject to the emperor of the Abyssinians or Abassins, till the king of Dallaka seized it, and fixed his residence on account of the trade carried on for gold and ivory. The air is exceeding hot and unhealthy in May or June, for want of wind, so that both the king and inhabitants retire to Dallaka, during these two months. The land, as far as Archico, where there are many wells, a league to the south of Massua, is very high and full of mountains, between which and the sea are spacious fields and plains; but thence forward the coast is more clear. The country abounds with elephants, tygers, wolves, wild bears, stags, elks, and other sorts of beasts unknown to the Portuguese.

Head and course of the Nile.

Nilus is still called Nil, by the Abyssinians, Egyptians, Arabs and Indians. Its springs are in the southern borders, towards the country of the Caffres; nor does the river hide itself any where under ground, according to the author, but continually shewed itself carrying a great breadth and depth. He likewise learned, that the increase and overflowing of the Nile was owing to the great and continual rains which fall in June and July, in their country, which also was overflowed; and that in August the rain ceased, and the water fell by degrees. As a confirmation of this, he observes that at Massua in June, and part of July, there fell great storms, rains, and thunder; and that he could perceive within land continual tempests, and the sky black and cloudy; which yet the Abyssinians said gave but a faint idea of what it really was. He adds, that the same months of June and July, are the winter at Cape Buena Esperanza, and along that coast, where the rains fall without intermission. Upon enquiry he was farther acquainted that the river made several islands; and, among the rest, one very large, with a great city on it, which he concludes must be the antient Meroe; that it abounded with certain dan-

Cause of its increase.

Meroe. The cataracts.

* Don Juan de Castro was a Portuguese nobleman, the son of Alvero de Castro. In his youth he had served at Tangiers, and afterwards under Charles V. (against Tunis) of whom he refused to accept his part of a present in money, saying, he served the king of Portugal, and from him expected his reward. He afterwards commanded a fleet upon the coast, and was sent with another to the relief of Ceuta, which joined that of Spain

† These people have since been conquered by the Arabians.

1541 dangerous animals, which he ſuppoſes to be crocodiles; and that in a certain place which they named, it fell from a large rock with great noiſe; but not ſo as to make people deaf.

Atine Tingil, (called afterwards David) reigning in 1530, became ſo cruel and tyrannical, that he grew hateful to the Abyſſinians. At this time Gradumot, king of Zeyla, encouraged by the diſaffection of his ſubjects, or invited by ſome of the lords, invaded his dominions, and took ſome towns; by the plunder of which, he animated his troops, the chief ſtrength whereof conſiſted of 300 Turks, armed with harquebuſſes. On the other hand he made all the inhabitants free in the cities he paſſed through, and eaſed them of taxes: by which means he gained not only the people in general, but the nobles themſelves over to his intereſt.

Abyſſinia invaded.

The emperor ſent an army againſt him, but on the Turks firing their calivers, which killed ſome, the ſoldiers were ſo terrified, that they preſently fled. The king of Zeyla, encouraged by this victory, and joined by multitudes of Abyſſinians, ravaged the country; and marched towards that part adjoining Magadoxa and Melinda, in order to attack a mountain, where the royal treaſure was lodged. To prevent this, Atine Tingil met him, with all the forces he could muſter: but this army was very ſoon put to flight like the former, by means of the Turks. The emperor, after this defeat, directly retreating to the mountains, died within a few days. The king of Zeyla, after his victory, continued his march to the mountain, by great journeys; and arriving there, aſſaulted the paſſes with ſuch vigour, that although the place ſeemed inacceſſible, yet, at length, he took it, and therein the greateſt treaſure that ever was known in the world.

The loyal Abyſſinians on the emperor's deceaſe, elected his eldeſt ſon in his room; who being very young, and the country in confuſion, a brother of his tampered with ſome great men (or they prompted him) to obtain the kingdom, which proved the utter ruin of the Abyſſinians. While the unfortunate youth was thus engaged in a civil war: the king of Zeyla came upon him; and he being unable to reſiſt, fled to a mountain very high and great, and of difficult aſcent, having but one way up to the top, which is a large plain, abounding with ſprings, fruit-trees, cattle, and cultivated lands. The inhabitants here, were ſaid to obſerve the law of Moſes; but how they came here, (there being no Jews any where elſe in the land) or why they never came down and converſed with the Abyſſinians, Don John owned he could never diſcover. However theſe people defended the king againſt the Moors, and king of Zeyla, who entering the mountains, were obliged to retire.

About this time the Portugueſe arrived at Maſſua, which diſmayed the Moors, and encouraged the king to quit the mountain, and advance with his people to certain hills near the coaſt about Maſſua, from whence he ſent moſt dutiful letters to the Portugueſe governor, who returned anſwers with hopes of ſuccours; and after his return from Suez, 500 men were ſent under a commander, to his aſſiſtance.

"The Abyſſinians are deſcribed as ceremonious and full of punctilios of honour. They uſe no weapons but darts, marked with a lance and croſs, only a few wear half ſwords. They are very active on horſeback. They are generally addicted to lying and rapine. They do not reckon thoſe rich who poſſeſs money, but only ſuch as have abundance of cattle and camels; notwithſtanding which, they prize gold very much. At home they are weak and cowardly; but in other countries, ſtrong and valiant; ſo that it is become a proverb through India, "That the good ſoldier muſt be an Abyſſinian;" and they are ſo highly eſteemed in Ballegat, Cambaya, Bengal, and other places, that they are always the principal perſons in the army. Their habit is very mean, conſiſting of a linen ſhirt; only ſome great perſons wear a bedon: the common people go naked. They eat

People of Abyſſinia,

Their habit and diet.

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their victuals either quite raw, or with moſt of the blood in it, only juſt ſhewing it to the fire. In the land there is no cities nor towns, but they live in the fields, under tents, like the Arabs.

It is a thing much talked of among the Abyſſinians, that a ſultan of Babylon having made war againſt the emperor, the latter gathered a great multitude of people, with an intent to turn the river Nile by another channel, into the ſea; which when the ſultan heard of, he was amazed; and being ſenſible, that if the work was executed, it would ruin Egypt, he ſent ambaſſadors, with great gifts, to obtain peace and friendſhip with the emperor, and gave the Abyſſinians a privilege to paſs through his country, without paying tribute; and at this day they pay none, when they go to viſit Jeruſalem and Mount Sinai. This paſſage was confirmed in every circumſtance, by ſome learned grave Moors, of whom the emperor made enquiry in the Arabic Gulph.——The 19th, at ſun riſing, they left the nook half a league beyond Maſſua, and ſet ſail, keeping about half a league from land. This day the weather was very cloſe, and it rained. The fleet conſiſted of ſixty-four rowing veſſels, viz. three galliots, eight ſmall galleys, and thirty-five foiſts. At night the wind being N. W. it calmed, and blew a little at W. In the ſecond watch it began to rain, ſome time after they weighed anchor, and rowed along the ſhore till morning, it raining ſtill very hard.——The 20th, in the evening, they were as far as the point of the range of iſlands on the north-ſide, about fourteen leagues from Maſſua, and four from the coaſt: which in that diſtance, lies N. N. W. In Herate, Dohul, and Damanil, ſome of the outermoſt iſlands, they found cattle and water, with a few poor dwellings, the land of them is low, and they are ſurrounded with ſhoals and flats. All the firſt watch of the night, they ſailed N. N. W. with a fair wind at E. At the beginning of the ſecond, they fell on a ſudden among certain white ſpots, which caſt flames like lightnings; wondering at this ſtrange appearance, they took in their ſails, believing they were upon ſome ſhoals or banks; but on ſounding, found twenty-ſix fathoms water. Therefore, perceiving the pilots of the country not ſurpriſed at it, they continued their courſe.——The 21ſt, when it was day, they ſaw off at ſea a low iſland, whereof the Mooriſh pilots were afraid.—The 22d, at day break, they ſet ſail, and arriving by noon at a very long point of land, which comes from ſhore, the emperor's pilot obſerved the latitude to be 18 degrees 30 minutes. After doubling this point, they found the ſea very open, and ſailed N. W. by W. An hour after they came to an harbour called Marate. The coaſt this day ſtretched N. N. W. and is all low land; but farther inwards, the mountains ſeem to reach the clouds.—Marate is a very low deſert iſland, of a roundiſh ſhape, about three leagues from land, ſixty-ſix beyond Maſſua, and in compaſs, a league and a half. On the ſouth-weſt ſide facing the coaſt, thers is a very good haven, ſecure from all winds, eſpecially the eaſtern, made by two long points, which extend north by weſt, and ſouth by eaſt, encloſing a ſpacious harbour, narrow at the mouth; where there lies a long very flat iſland, with ſome ſand banks and ſhoals, ſo that no ſea can get in. This port has two entries, both very near the points. The channel, on the eaſt ſide, lies north by weſt. The depth is three fathoms in the ſhalloweſt place, and increaſes advancing in the port, where, near the ſhore, there are four or five fathoms: the bottom is muddy. They rode here all night.—On the 23d, departing at ſun riſe, they found ſeven fathoms, and ſandy ground. At eleven, they came in ſight of two little iſlands, far off at ſea; one called Daratata, the other Dolcofallar, from which to Swaken, is a day's ſail; from noon they ſailed N. W. by W. till evening, when they entered the channel of Swaken, ſteering N. W. for the ſpace of a league;—then meeting with ſhoals, they, to avoid them, ſailed W. by N. and ſometimes W. They held

White ſpots in the ſea.

Marate deſcribed.

Two iſlands.

held this courſe about three leagues, and then ſeeing a great iſland a-head of them, tacked towards land; and, before ſun-ſet came to an anchor among rocky ſhoals, in a good harbour called Shabac. This day the pilot found the latitude, by the meridian altitude, to be ſcarcely 19 degrees.—The ſhoals of Swaken are ſo many, and ſo intermixed with iſlands, banks, rocks, and channels, that there is no deſcribing them; at the entrance among them to the right, there is a ſhoal under water, on which the ſea breaketh much: and to the left, a little iſland that ſtretcheth with the ſhoals, N. E. by E. and S. W. by S. The diſtance is about three quarters of a league.—Being entered, the channel appeared very ſpacious; and, the farther they advanced, the more numerous the iſlands appeared to the right, or ſea-ward. They are very low, and with the flats and banks of ſand or rocks, are without number: but thoſe towards land are not ſo many; though in compariſon of any other ſea, it is the fouleſt and moſt unnavigable. The rule for ſailing through theſe ſhoals, is to keep as near thoſe to the right as may be. The breadth of the channel, in ſome places is about half a league; in others, a quarter; and in others, leſs than a caliver ſhot. From the entrance to the port of Shabac, which is about five leagues, they never found leſs than ſix fathoms water, or more than twelve. The extent of theſe ſhoals may be eight or nine leagues, and then you paſs into another channel, ſurer for ſhips and great veſſels. Or you may leave all theſe ſhoals to the right, ſailing cloſe to the ſhore; and this is by much the beſt, and moſt pleaſant way.

Port Shabac.

Shoals of Swaken.

The channel.

On the 24th, at ſun-riſe, they left Shabac, and rowed along ſo narrow a channel, that two could not go a-breaſt; the wideſt part being not above a croſs-bow ſhot over. They never went nearer the land than the ſame diſtance, nor a cannon ſhot from it, all the ſhoals, rocks, and banks, which ſurrounded them, were under water, yet eaſily diſcovered by the colour of the ſea, which over them appeared either very red or very green; but dark or blackiſh, where the channel was deep and open. At half an hour paſt eleven, they caſt anchor to leeward of a little low, round iſland, four leagues from Shabac, in nineteen degrees. In this latitude Ptolemy places the Mountain of Satyrs, which the pilots of the country knew nothing of. But the emperor walking about two miles from the coaſt, found various kinds of beaſts, and vaſt flocks of pianets, whoſe footſteps covered all the plain to the ſea-ſide. From Shabac hither, the depth is never leſs than two fathoms and a half, or more than eleven. The tide here riſes not above half a yard; and it begins to flow as ſoon as the ſun aſcends the horizon, after the manner of the tide of Socotora.——The 28th, at day break, they hoiſted ſail, and at nine o'clock came to an anchor about two leagues from the land, in twenty-three fathom water, on a ſoft ſand, like ooze. In the way, they perceiving ſome ſhoals out at ſea, by the water's appearing either very green or red. Two hours after noon, they ſet ſail again, and at night caſt anchor in thirty-ſeven fathoms water, the bottom ſand, near by an iſland, a league and a half ſhort of Swaken. The coaſt bears N. N. W. and S. S. E. along it runs a ſhoal that entereth into the ſea, half a league. The land upon the ſea-ſide is like the former.——The firſt of March, ſetting forward, they doubled a point made by the ſhoals: and entering by the channel inward, came to anchor in the port of Swaken.

The ſea of various colours.

Swaken was one of the richeſt cities in the eaſt, ſtanding on the coaſt of the Abyſſinians. It equalled, if not exceeded, the moſt eminent places in goodneſs and ſecurity of the port; facility in lading and unlading ſhips, traffic with remote countries; ſtrength and advantageous ſituation of the town.—The harbour is ſheltered by nature from all winds, and the water is ſmooth and ſtill, that the tides are ſcarce perceptible. It is able to contain 200 ſhips, and galleys without number. The road has in all places five or ſix fathoms water, and in ſome ſeven. The bottom is mud, and may be ſeen, except where it is ten or twelve fathoms deep. The ſhips come up cloſe to the ſhore, quite round the city, and may be laden by laying a plank from them to the merchants warehouſes, to the doors of which the galleys are faſtened, with their beaks ſtretching over the ſtreets, which ſerve as bridges. As for commerce, the author ſays he knew no city that could compare with it but Liſbon, for it traded to both Peninſulas of the Indies, particularly Cambaya, Tanaſarin, Pegu, and Malacca; within the Arabic Gulph, to Joddah, Cairo, and Alexandria; beſides what it carried on with Ethiopia, and the land of the Abyſſinians, from whence it had vaſt quantities of gold and ivory.—For the ſtrength, the city ſeemed naturally well ſecured, by the many ſhoals, iſlands, rocks, ſand-banks, and intricate channels, that lay for ſixteen leagues about it; which made the approach by ſea very dangerous and terrible to navigators; yet the inhabitants have not taken the leſs care to defend it by art. The ſituation of this city is in this manner; in the midſt of a circular nook ſtands a flat iſland, almoſt perfectly round, and level with the water, about a mile in compaſs. In this ſpace, there is not a foot of ground that is not taken up with houſes; ſo that all the iſland is a city, and all the city an iſland. On the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, and ſouth-weſt, its diſtance from the land is not a bow-ſhot. The road lies round about the city, to the diſtance of a great croſs-bow-ſhot; having every where ſix or ſeven fathoms water; ſo that the ſhips may caſt anchor at pleaſure, in a mud bottom. This road is incompaſſed with a great ſhoal, and that by others, which render it almoſt inacceſſible by ſea.—In the nook on the north-weſt ſide, lie three other iſlands: two of them which ſtand fartheſt in, are but ſmall; but the third next the channel, is about as large as the city. Between this iſland and the coaſt, on the north ſide of the nook, runs a great and long channel: where a numerous fleet may ride in ſeven fathom water, out of all danger of being hurt or even ſeen from the city, except their maſts. At ſun-riſe it is full ſea, and gradually ebbs, till he comes to the meridian, when it is dead low water; after that the tide begins to riſe, and at ſun-ſet is full in. At this time the water does not riſe in the city, above one quarter of a yard; and along the coaſt the moſt that it riſes is a yard and a half, and, in ſome high places, leſs than three quarters.—Before ſun-ſet, on the 9th of March, they left Swaken, and anchored at the mouth of the channel. The 10th, they departed; they lay all night at anchor, when a vaſt quantity of dew fell. The 11th, they had a ſtorm from the north, which carried up the ſand of the ſhore to a great height, and then ſcattering it through the air, made it appear like a great miſt or ſmoak.

1541

The road for ſhips.

Channel and tides.

City of Swaken

On the 12th, they paſſed out of the channel two leagues beyond Swaken, being about a league and a half from the coaſt; but met with ſo many rocks, ſhoals and flats, whereon the ſea broke violently, that they were forced to take in their ſails, and row for three hours, till they got clear of them. In the evening they came to an anchor within the banks, entering a very narrow channel, one league beyond the former, and three from Swaken. It is great and ſpacious within, the ground very clean, nor can the ſea enter and do any damage.

The 13th, an hour before day, they paſſed out of the channel, and ſaw to the right, about a cannon-ſhot diſtant, a very long range of ſhoals, which ſeemed to bear the ſame courſe with the coaſt. At eleven, the wind leſſened; then blowing from the north north-weſt, they could not make any way, and were forced to faſten their veſſels to the rocks. But about two in the afternoon, the wind ſpringing briſker at N. N. E. they bore N. W. and coming up with the bank of the land, took in their ſails, and rowed into a very narrow and winding channel, harbouring within the bank. It is about ſeven leagues beyond Swaken,

from

1541 from whence the coaſt bears north and ſouth, and north by weſt, and ſouth by eaſt. The 16th Don Juan went on ſhore, and obſerved that when the ſun was two hours above the horizon, it was full ſea, and at two in the afternoon, low water.——The height to which the tide roſe was twenty-two cubits.

On the 16th they left the channel, the wind at north, and half a league beyond, caſt anchor. The 17th they put into a very good harbour; called Tradate, ten leagues from Swaken; the coaſt between lying north by weſt, and ſouth by eaſt; the land near the ſhore is all very low; but three leagues within, there are very great and high mountains.

Tradate juſtly merits to be ranked amongſt the moſt eminent ports: it lies in the altitude of 19 deg. 50 min. The entry has in breadth about a ſmall falcon ſhot, but within runs gradually narrowing, yet the depth of water all the way is twenty fathoms; the ground oozy. About a quarter of a league inwards, there are ſeveral wells, affording the beſt and greateſt quantity of water known in all theſe coaſts.

The 19th, they ſailed about three leagues and a half in ſight of many ſhoals: the coaſt ſtretched north and ſouth. The 20th, at ſun-riſing, the ſea being ruffled with a north wind, they were forced to ſeek a harbour within the ſhoal, entering by a very narrow and troubleſome channel: after they had caſt anchor, the wind came north north-eaſt. The 21ſt, they departed with a fair weſt north-weſt wind, and ſailed north, within half a league of the ſhore. An hour after ſun-riſing they came up with a very long and fair point, behind which, is the bay of Doroo.

Doroo bay. Doroo, is a very fine and great bay, fifteen leagues and a half beyond Swaken. On the ſouth ſide it thruſteth a very large and bare point into the ſea, where there is built a great and round tower, reſembling a pillar. The bay is full of iſlands, creeks and nooks, where many veſſels may take ſhelter unperceived: the mouth is cloſed up all round, with a dry ſhoal, lying about a mile off at ſea; only oppoſite to the cape, it leaves a narrow entry, in which is found ſix fathoms water; and advancing gradually, the depth diminiſhes till you come into three fathoms, which is the ſhalloweſt. The ground is a very hard clay, and the courſe into it eaſt by north: about a cannon ſhot from this port is a well, with plenty of water, but very brackiſh.

Bay of Fuſhaa. At day-break on the 22d, they departed with their oars, and paſſing ſafely through the rocks, with which the ſea was full, towards ten o'clock made their ſhips faſt to ſome of them; and about evening, doubling a low point of land, came into a very ſpacious bay, called Fuſhaa, three leagues and a half beyond Doroo. The coaſt between lies north and ſouth, inclining a little to the weſt and eaſt.

Fuſhaa Bay is remarkable for a high and ſharp peak, the latitude is 20 deg. 15 min. the mouth is made by two very low points, lying north by eaſt, and ſouth by weſt, a league and a half aſunder. As no great ſea enters, there is a good harbour, with an oozy bottom. At the mouth there are ten or twelve fathoms water; the depth inward diminiſhing till it comes to five fathoms. There is no water here, and the land is very dry and barren. Along the ſouthern coaſt of the bay there lie nine little iſlands in a row, and others ſcattered elſewhere, all ſmall, low, and ſurrounded with ſhoals.

On the 25th, coaſting the land in ſight of many rocks on the right, at ten o'clock they entered a very capacious harbour, called Arkea, four leagues from Fuſhaa. This is the ſtrongeſt and moſt defenſible haven that our author had ſeen, 22 leagues beyond Swaken. In the midſt of the entry lies an iſland, about a croſs-bow ſhot in length, and near the ſame in breadth. On the ſouth ſide there runs out a ſhoal and bank from the land, which hinders a paſſage that way. The channel on the north ſide is a croſs-bow ſhot over, and 15 fathoms deep, running north-weſt, and ſouth-eaſt, the length of a caliver ſhot. It muſt be ſailed in the middle, for the ſides are ſhallow, and full of rocks. Having paſſed through this channel, the coaſt winds on both ſides, and widens, forming a large and ſafe port, one league in length, and a half in breadth. 'Tis deep in the middle, but near the land is full of ſhoals. There is no water in this place. When the peak bears weſt ſouth-weſt, you are then up with the port. From hence Gama ſent all the fleet back to Maſſua, except 15 ſmall galleys, with which he continued his voyage. From hence the coaſt begins to wind very much, and for a league beyond Ras al Dwaer, runs very low to the north north-eaſt, and at length makes a point of land, where there are 13 little heaps or elevations of ſtone, which the Mooriſh pilots ſaid were graves. And from this point of the Calmes, about two leagues, the coaſt runs north north-weſt, and thence as far as the ſhoal, where they anchored. It is the moſt noted point through all this coaſt, becauſe all that ſail from Maſſua, Swaken, and other places, to Joddah, al Coſſir, and Tor, muſt of neceſſity make it. The ſea, for theſe ſeventeen leagues, is ſo full of rocks and ſhoals, that it ſeemed fitter for wading through, than paſſing even in boats; inſomuch, that no directions can be given for ſailing hereabouts; but all muſt be left intirely to the care of a ſkilful pilot.

Between Salaca and Ras al Dwaer, there are three iſlands, forming a triangle; nearer the latter place of the two. The biggeſt of them, named Magarzawn, is about two leagues in length: it is very high land, and without water, lying three leagues to the ſouth of Ras al Dwaer. The ſecond iſland, called Almante, which lies much out at ſea, is likewiſe high, and without water; but the third is very low, and all of ſand, four leagues from Salaca. On the 2d of April, an hour before day, they looſed from the ſhoals, and having rowed along the coaſt four leagues, came to Farate, a very large and fine river. On each ſide of the channel, which runs from weſt to eaſt, in 21 deg. 40 min. north lat. is a low point of land, diſtant from each other a caliver ſhot; and from each point runs a ſhoal, and between the two is the entrance into the river. The water there has thirty fathoms depth, and thence diminiſhes to eighteen. The land on each ſide is very low, and without either buſh or tree to be ſeen. Sailing a league farther, they came to Kilfit.— Kilfit harbour.
Kilfit is a fine harbour, ſecure from all winds, with 12 fathoms water. Every where there are at the entry two very low points, bearing north-weſt by north, and is about diſtant near a mile. The circumference of the whole port may be three leagues. Along the ſhore the coaſt is rocky. Between this port and the river Farate, there croſſes a range of mountains one higher than the reſt.

The third of April they departed one hour before day, rowing along the coaſt; and, having advanced nine leagues an hour before ſun-ſet, came to anchor in Port Ras al Jidid, that is in Arabic, the New Head. Rasal Jidid.
In the way they ſaw ſome ſhoals to the right, but not ſo many as they uſed to do.

Two leagues from Kilfit there is a very good harbour, called Moamaa. And preſently from this point of the ſhrubs, to another very long point of ſand, about two leagues before (or on this ſide of) the port of Ras al Jidid, the coaſt lies north by weſt, and ſouth by eaſt; the diſtance is about three leagues and a half.—Ras al Jidid is a ſmall, but very pleaſant harbour, about two miles in compaſs, fifty-ſeven leagues beyond Swaken. It is ſhaped like a great cauldron, and round as the arch of a circle. The entry is formed by two points, which lies north and ſouth of each other, and has 18 fathoms water; within there are thirteen. The ground is very clean, and the port ſubject to be ruffled by no wind but the eaſt. Half a league within land there is a well of very brackiſh water.

On the 4th, from ſun-riſing till eleven o'clock, they had a ſtorm at north-weſt, and then it began to thunder very hard, and hailed with the biggeſt drops

Variation. the author ever ſaw: during theſe thunders, the wind ran through all the points of the compaſs, and at laſt ſettled north. This day Don Juan found the variation one degree and a quarter to the north-eaſt, and the port 22 deg. of north lat. by many obſervations. But he takes notice, that notwithſtanding theſe operations were performed on ſhore, and ſo great care was taken to fix the inſtrument, that it was never ſtirred after it was once placed, till the whole was over; yet that they muſt needs have erred ſomewhat, becauſe the intenſe heat of the ſun had cracked the ivory plate in the middle, and made a ſlit wide enough to thruſt in a piece of Portugueſe gold. The 6th, an hour before day, they left the port of Jidid; and proceeded all this day but about three leagues and a half. The 7th, in the morning, having a briſk wind, at north-weſt, they rowed along the ſhore about three leagues, and at eight o'clock faſtened themſelves to a rocky ſhoal, that lies before a long point of land: about noon they ſet ſail, but in great apprehenſion, by reaſon of the ſurpriſing number of ſhoals that appeared on both ſides of the ſhore, ſo that they were forced to take in their ſails, and make uſe of the oars again. At ſun-ſet they came to an anchor in a good haven, called Comol, 11 leagues from Ras al Jidid.

Two leagues beyond Ras al Jidid is a point of land, from which, to the long flat point abovementioned, are about four leagues north-weſt. Between theſe two points, there is a great and famous bay, in which, towards the north-weſt point, is a very deep and cloſe harbour, ſecure againſt all winds. This point is an iſland; and from hence, to another great point, at Comol is about five leagues, north weſt by weſt, making another great bay between them: at this point, which is low and flat, the great mountains running along this coaſt end.

Coaſt to Comol.

Comol port. Comol is 68 leagues beyond Swaken, in 29 deg. 30 min. north lat. This port ſtands in the end of this ſecond bay, very near the face of the north-weſt point; though ſmall, it is very ſecure, for the entrance is guarded with a dry ſhoal before it, that keeps out the ſea. The land ſurrounding it is flat and pleaſant, inhabited by Badwins, or Badonins, like (wild Arabs.) ——About three hours after midnight, leaving the port of Comol, they rowed along the coaſt a little while, and then hoiſted ſail, but an hour before day-light ſome foiſts ſtriking upon rocks and ſhoals, they lowered their ſails, and fell to their oars again till morning. The 8th, at day-break, they came into a great and fine bay, to which, towards the north and north-weſt ſide, they ſaw no end, or any point to bound it. And although they ſailed in open ſea, the ſhoals on every ſide were ſo numerous, that with tacking and wandering to find the way, they could make but little advantage of a briſk gales. About ſun-ſet they faſtened themſelves to the rocks of a great ſhelf, and there harboured. The 9th, being clear, they ſet ſail, and took harbour within another great dry ſhelf, extending north eaſt by eaſt, called in Arabic, Shaab al Yadayn, which ſignifies, The ſhelf of the Hands, becauſe it is ſhaped like two arms, wide open with their hands. It lies at the end of a great bay, far out to ſea. The port is on the ſide towards land, four leagues diſtant from Ras al Naſhef, eaſt ſouth-eaſt; and by the much winding of the ſhelf is ſhut up, and ſecured againſt all winds. From the point of the cape of the mount, to another point beyond it, where there are great furze buſhes, the coaſt runs north-weſt by north, the diſtance about three and a half, or four leagues, from this laſt point. The coaſts of the great bay wind and turn very much: and taking a large ſweep from another great cape, called Ras al Naſhef, or the Dry Cape. The iſland of Zemorjete, (which they ſaw from the ſhoal off to ſea) is diſtant from this point about eight leagues, towards the eaſt, and according to the Mooriſh pilots, is the firſt place from whence both coaſts may be ſeen, but that of Arabia is much the farther off. This iſland is very high and barren, with another very ſmall one cloſe to it.

Shaab al Yadayan.

Ras al Naſhef.

Zemorjete iſland.

On the 10th, the ſun being up, they ſet ſail, north north eaſt, the wind blew freſh, and the ſea appeared open and navigable, about half a league from the point, they thought they ſaw a ſhip under ſail, but making towards it, found it was a white rock, by which they were informed all mariners are deceived. Hence ſailing north by eaſt, at nine o'clock, they came up with an iſland called Cornaca, and paſſed between it and the land, which is about a league and a half diſtant. This iſland is ſmall and barren; it is about half a league in compaſs, and in ſhape reſembles a great lizard, with its legs ſprawling out, whence it is noted by navigators: it is diſtant from Zermorjete, about ſix leagues north-weſt by weſt. Half paſt ten o'clock they were up with a very long point of land, called Ras al Anf, that is the Cape of the Noſe. It hath no high land about it, but a vaſt plain, without tree or herb. In the very front of the point ſtood a great temple, without any other building near it. On every ſide of it is a very clear ſandy coaſt, in manner of a bay. Ras al Anf, is very famous among navigators, for being once paſt it, they reckon all their trouble and danger over. 1541

Cornaca iſland

Ras al Anf.

Proceeding along the coaſt, with a ſouth-eaſt wind, at noon, being about three leagues beyond the cape, Don Juan's pilot found the lat. 24. deg. 10 min. whence Ras al Anf, muſt lie in 24 deg. Half an hour before ſun-ſet, they paſſed by Shevarit, an iſland two miles from ſhore. It is a caliver ſhot in length, and in the middle appeared a large green buſh; on the eaſt ſide there is a great rock, like a little iſland, and about a mile farther, they came to an anchor among certain ſhelves, ſome of ſand, others rocks, in an harbour called in Arabic, Sial, one hundred and three leagues beyond Swaken. On theſe ſhelves, they ſaw a greater number of fowls than they had met with any where before in this ſea. From Baſal Naſpaf, till ſo far as the iſland Shevarit, is about 16 or 17 leagues. The coaſt at firſt winds very much inwards, and there thruſts out the very long point of ſand, called Ras al Anf, which point bears north eaſt and by north of the other.——About ſix leagues diſtant from Ras al Anf, the coaſt runs directly north-weſt, as far as Shevarit, the diſtance ten or 11 leagues. The country from Swaken to Ras al Anf, is inhabited by the Badwins beforementioned; ſo is the country from thence to Suez, (which belongs to Egypt.) Between the coaſt and Nile, Don Juan obſerves, that Pomponius Mala, and the reſt of the ancient geographers, call the former Ethiopians, and the latter, Arabs; except Ptolomy, who gives them the name of Egyptian Arabs.

Shevarit iſland

Sial port.

People of the coaſt.

On the 11th, leaving Sial, they rowed about four leagues north-weſt by north, and at nine o'clock entered a great bay, which is called Gadenauhi: the land over the ſea leaving the ſhape it had, of a wall or trench, becomes very mountainous, forming a double ridge of hills, ſurpriſingly cloſe. The port of Gadenauhi, is beyond Swaken, 170 leagues, and in lat. 24 deg. 40 min. Here, at one o'clock in the afternoon, it was low water; and full ſea an hour after the moon appeared above the horizon; thence it ebbed till an hour after ſhe had paſſed the meridian, and then began to flow again, till an hour after the planet was ſet, which made full ſea. The wind blowing from north-weſt, two or three hours after midnight, they departed; and in paſſing between the ſhoal, at the north-weſt point of the bay, and the iſland of Bahuto, they ſtruck upon the ſhoal, but got clear without damage, and hit upon the channel; rowing along the ſhore, againſt the wind, till day; and on the 12th, an hour after ſun-riſe, anchored in a ſmall but very ſafe port, called in Arabic, Sharm al Chiman, that is a Cliff, or Opening of the Mountain; it is a league and a half beyond Gadenauti, and 180 from Swaken, much like the harbour of Ras al Jidid.

Gadenhauhi port.

Bahuto iſland.

Sharm al Chiman

From Gadenauti, to a port that is called Shacara, (incompaſſed with a very red hill) the coaſt runs north-weſt by north, about 10 leagues; and from this

1541. red hill, to a point almoſt a league beyond Gualibo, there are about ſix leagues, north north-weſt. In theſe ſixteen leagues the coaſt is very free from ſhoals, (excepting one, a league beyond the red hill, and half a league from ſhore) and is full of many good ports: among them is Shawna, abovementioned, a very capacious and noted harbour, where, according to the report of the Moors and inhabitants, there ſtood formerly a famous city of the Gentiles. Along the coaſt run an infinite number of huge mountains, cloſe together, and double like the former: and beyond them, far within land, other loſty hills rear their heads. Among theſe which range the coaſt, are two more remarkable than any to be met with, here or elſewhere. One of them is very black, and looks as if it was ſinged; the other yellow; and between them are certain heaps of ſand. Beyond the black mountain, in a large plain, there are many very great and high trees, with ſpreading tops. They were the firſt which ſeemed the native ones and proper to the land: for thoſe before mentioned, a little beyond Maſſua, are the kind that grow in marſhes, and by the ſea and rivers. In like manner, the trees at ports Sharm al Cihiman, and Al Jidid, are wild, without either boughs or fruit; and the leaves ſeemed naked and dry. Theſe two mountains ſtand about two leagues before the port of Sharm al Cihiman.

Gualibo port. The port of Gualibo, which is 122 leagues beyond Swaken, reſembles much, both as to ſhape and entrance that of Sharm al Ciman: only, whereas the land about this latter, is mountainous, the country round Gualibo, is a vaſt plain.——The entry of this port is between certain rocks or ſhoals, whereon the ſea breaketh exceedingly, but the channel is deep and large. The 13th of April, after ſun-riſe, they rowed out of the port of Gualibo. The wind blew very ſtrong at north-weſt, and made the ſea ſwell much. At ten in the morning, they entered a port called Tunna, a league and a half beyond the other.

Tunna port. Tunna is a ſmall and foul harbour, in 25 degrees 30 minutes latitude, one hundred and thirty-two and a half leagues beyond Swaken, the entrance is between certain rocks, and within, the greateſt part of it is occupied with a ſhoal, and rocks, to which is owing the ſmallneſs of the port. On the north ſide, there is a point of land, which by its turning, makes a good harbour and road, againſt the north-weſt wind. The country about it is a very barren ſand. On the north-weſt ſide, towards the land, there are three peaked mounts of ſtone, made in Don Juan's opinion, to ſhew that there is an haven here.——An hour before ſun-ſet, they faſtened themſelves to a ſhoal a league beyond Tunna, from a point almoſt one league beyond Gualibo, a league and a half beyond this ſhoal, the coaſt bears north-north-weſt, the diſtance four leagues.——On the 14th, after they had rowed about five leagues beyond the ſhore, againſt both wind and ſea, which ſwelled much; at noon they entered a very good bay, and caſt anchor at the farther end, where it makes a good port, about 129 leagues beyond Swaken. The coaſt in theſe ſix leagues, bears north-weſt, and the land over it, is partly plain, and partly mountainous.——The 15th, having proceeded about ſeven leagues north north-weſt, an hour and a half after ſun-riſe, they came to anchor in the port of Al Coſſir.

Town of Al Coſſir. Al Coſſir from Swaken 136 leagues, and in the latitude of twenty-ſix degrees, fifteen minutes, as Don Juan found by obſervation. It was ſeated formerly two leagues higher on the coaſt; but for want of a port capable of the great reſort of ſhipping, it was removed higher. There are ſtill ſome remains of the antient town, which is called Old Al Coſſir. The new town is very ſmall. The houſes look like the yards cattle are kept in, although there is no kind of cattle in the place. They are built of ſtone and clay, or ſometimes only ſods, covered at the top with mats, or the like; more, as they ſaid, to keep off the ſun than the rain, which ſeldom falls. The port is the worſt on all the coaſt, and the only place that wanted fiſh, which every where elſe abounds. It is very large, and exceeding ſubject to eaſterly winds. The ſhips anchor between the land and ſome ſmall ſhoals, whereon the ſea breaks. Near the town are three wells of water, of which the people drink, though ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed from ſea-water. The place is quite encompaſſed with barren peaked mountains, ſcorched quite black with the ſun; which, together with the barrenneſs of the ſoil, makes a moſt uncomfortable proſpect; for there grows no manner of herb, graſs, buſh, or tree, in either the coaſt, the plains, or mountains; and whatever ground may lie between the hills and the town, is a barren ſand, intermixed with gravel.—The extraordinary barrenneſs of the place, made Don Juan curious to enquire of the more underſtanding Moors, how they came to pitch on ſuch a miſerable ſituation to inhabit. The reaſon, they ſaid, was becauſe it happened to be the neareſt port to the river Nile, fifteen or ſixteen days journey diſtant, and therefore moſt convenient for lodging the proviſions with which all the towns are furniſhed by their reſpective ſhips. Egypt they deſcribed as a plain, the moſt fruitful in the world, in cattle and all proviſions; and obſerved that theſe laſt were conveyed up the Nile to a place neareſt Al Coſſir, and from thence carried by land to this port; but they obſerved that the caravans were often attacked by the Bedouins, who ſometimes aſſaulted Al Coſſir itſelf, which circumſtance occaſioned the inhabitants, for their ſecurity, to conſtruct their houſes of ſtone and earth. It ſeemed that the name of Egypt was unknown to them; but all the country from Al Coſſir to Alexandria, was termed Al Rif, or Riſa.

Having ſtruck on a ſhoal on the 18th, getting clear of it on the 19th, they put into an iſland called Safanj-al-Bahar, * which ſtands thirteen leagues beyond Al Coſſir in latitude twenty ſeven degrees. It is about two leagues in length, and in breadth not a quarter of a league. The ſoil which is ſandy, produces neither trees nor water. On the north ſide of the iſland is one harbour, and another on the ſouth ſide; the former of which is reckoned ſecure againſt all weathers. The deepeſt part of the channel is towards land. There are ſome ſhoals above water in the mouth of the great port, which are not dangerous in the day time, and there is a rock in the opening of the ſmaller. There are a number of creeks, ports, and harbours along the coaſt. Safanj-al-Bahar.

On the 21ſt of this month, they came up with an iſle called Sheduam. This iſland is high and craggy, conſiſting of a hard rock. Its length is three leagues, and its breadth is about two; and is equally diſtant from the coaſts of Arabia and Egypt. There is no water, nor are there any trees to be found in this. Three ſmaller low iſlands, with ſhoals between them, were diſcovered to the north-weſt. Sheduam.

From hence the fleet ſailed along the land of Arabia Petræa, and came to Tor, at the diſtance of twelve leagues, which lies in latitude 28 degrees, 10 minutes, on a plain long ſtrand. At the diſtance of a cannon-ſhot from hence, they ſaw twelve palm-trees cloſe by the ſhore, and from thence diſcovered a plain extending to the foot of ſome mountains, which beginning at the gulph of Ormuz, ran along the coaſt ſkirting the ſea to this place, and then turned off to the north-eaſt, dividing Arabia Petræa, from Arabia Felix. Several Chriſtians led a devout life on the tops of theſe hills. A mountain appeared gradually riſing a little beyond the town, projecting a point into the ſea, and appearing at firſt ſight like three ſeparate mountains.

As to the town, it was ſmall but pleaſant, and inhabited by Chriſtians, who ſpoke the Arabic language, having a monaſtery of Greek Friars, where there was kept an image of St. Catharine of

* Signifying a ſea-ſponge.

Mount Sinai. A long rocky point ran parallel to the shore of the town, forming a safe harbour between it and the land. The breadth of the sea at Tor, Don Juan computed to be about three leagues. It is worth observing, that though Don Juan seems to have been very studious in examining situations, he appears to have made an error in affirming here, that this place must be the antient Elanatic, and adding, that there is no such gulph on the coast of Arabia; notwithstanding much plausible reasoning on the matter, not only the Arabs, but the more modern voyagers have confirmed what he calls a mistake. His wrong idea of this circumstance probably arose from his not having sufficiently examined the coast on the side of Arabia.—According to the account of the friars above-mentioned, Mount Sinai was but thirteen small days journeys distant, making eighteen leagues within land. They were the persons who informed him that many hermits inhabited the boundary mountains, and also that there were several Christian towers on the plains. It seems these good fathers being fearful of losing the body of St. Catharine, feigned a story that it was removed from them, lest the Portuguese should take it away by force. At this place they were also acquainted that none were suffered to enter Suez, except those appointed by the governor of Cairo. ——

The fleet departed from Tor on the morning of the 22d of April, and on the 24th, were in the latitude of twenty-nine degrees and seventeen minutes. On the 26th, at eleven o'clock, they were close in with the land. Then rowing a little along the shore, they cast anchor; but two hours before sun-set, they weighed again, and still rowed along the coast. Having proceeded little more than four miles before the sun had set, they put in behind a point of Arabia, (where there was good shelter) short of Suez about three leagues, and about half a league within land, found what was called the Fountain of Moses, the water of which, was very agreeable. When they had cast anchor, they went on shore, and saw the end of the Red-sea, and the masts of the Turkish ships; and the wind blowing hard at north, they lay at anchor till it was day.

The wind blowing hard at north-west, on the 27th, they departed at ten o'clock from the point, rowing along the coast at the distance of about a league from Suez. Don Juan went before to view the situation of the town, and the intended place of landing. They arrived at three in the afternoon, and saw many troops of horse in the field, and two large bodies of soldiers in the town, who shot at them several times from a block-house. After this they passed on to the bay on the west side of the town, and came to an anchor near the shore, in five fathoms water, where there was a very good harbour. Besides the little castle, there were two high and antient towers, supposed to be the reliques of the City of Heroes, which formerly stood here, and which Strabo says, was by some called Arsince. But on the point of land where the creek stood, they saw a great fortification of more modern date, which defended the mouth of the river, and commanded the coast by the stern of the galleys. To prevent any attempt to land in that place, there was likewise a trench, with a ditch between the galleys and the strand, so that the place seemed to be equally strong by nature and by art, and Don Juan could observe no place which was not sufficiently secured by the enemy, except behind a hill on the west side, where there might be a chance of gaining the town, by means of the eminence, without being exposed to the fire of their artillery; but the coast along was there so full of shoals, and the bottom in general consisted of a soft clay and sticky sand, circumstances very unfavourable to the landing of the troops. —— 1541

All these things being considered, nothing was done to answer the purpose of the voyage, and the Portuguese returned disappointed. *

Suez described

Suez, which as we have just observed, is supposed to occupy the same spot, once famous for the City of Heroes, lies in latitude 29 degrees 45 minutes north, being the neareſt port to Cairo in this sea. †

Sesostris king of Egypt, and Darius king of Persia, undertook to open a trench or canal from hence to the Nile, for the purpose of joining the Arabic Gulph to the Mediterranean sea; but both left the work unfinished, as some report, because they looked upon the latter to be higher, in which case, it was thought inundations would ensue. Ptolemy took up the idea, and absolutely cut a sluice of an hundred feet in breadth, and thirty in depth; but desisted for a similar reason.

When the fleet appeared before Suez, they found the place but small, and they observed that it owed its chief consequence to the Turkish army's lying there. The city stands on a long and narrow point of land, the sea terminating in two bays divided by it. ——

Portuguese fleet departs.

The expedition having come to nothing, the Portuguese fleet left Suez on the morning of the 28th of April, in order to return towards Massua, and, having run about twenty leagues, were about a league short of a sharp and red peak, which runs over the sea, at sun-set. They coasted along Arabia at night, under their foresails, the wind blowing hard at north-west, and at length came to an anchor near the shore in five fathoms water. They set sail the next day, and came to an anchor at Tor, at nine o'clock; but soon after weighed again, and proceeded to a place called the Watering Place of Solyman, where they took in water, (which however proved brackish) digging it out of pits in the sand, about a stone's throw from the sea.—On the 30th, they departed, and came to the first of three islands lying to the north-west of Sheduam.

Thus proceeding, on the 4th of May, they came to anchor in a port two leagues to the south-east of Shakara, where they lay all night, the wind being at north-west.

Bahulel Shame

The port of *Bahulel Shame*, ‡ furnishes a safe harbour in deep water. It is said to take its name from Bahulel, an eminent Bedouin, who used to sell cattle here to voyagers, on which account it was called Bahulel's Land. They found a handsome tomb here, with a sort of chapel built over it, where hung a silken ensign, and many arrows and trophies. There were also sweet waters and perfumes in the chapels, and they were informed, that Mahometan pardons were dispensed to such good Mussulmen as visited this house. However the Portuguese reverenced it so little, that they burned it to the ground.—

Bedouins or roving Arabs.

The Bedouins (or Badwis) are wild men among whom law and order are unknown. Certain tribes of them occupy the mountains and sea coasts from Melinda and Magadoxa in Africa, round by Cape Gardafu and the Abyssinian coast to Suez, and indeed along the whole coast of Arabia, as far as Ormuz. They are above all others given to stealth and rapine, and make depredations upon all they meet with indiscrimately, not sparing their own countrymen who live in cities. Their food is simple, their habit mean; but they are extremely agile, and fight well both on foot and on horseback with their darts. They have no king to rule the whole community, but each tribe has its chief, who leads them to war, and determines their differences. The greater part of them, like the original

* It appears however, that they made an attempt, but the enemies shot poured thick from the town, 2000 Turkish horse broke out from an ambush, and though the Christians killed many with their cannon, the enterprise was defeated.

† This is said to be the place whither Cleopatra caused ships to be carried by land from the Nile, (after the total defeat of Anthony by Octavius Cæsar) in order to fly to India.

‡ Shame signifies land in the Arabic language.

‖ These people are concluded to be the Troglodites mentioned by Ptolemy and other authors.

1541 original race of Iſhmael,* § dwell in tents, but ſome chuſe caves for their habitation. Their complexion is black, and they ſpeak the Arabic language.

Proceeding on their way towards Maſſua, they ſtruck on a ſhoal at about four leagues diſtance from that iſland, but having eſcaped that danger, they got ſafe into the port, about nine o'clock, where they made a great rejoicing through the whole fleet. From this time to the 25th of June, the winds continually blew at north-north-eaſt, and north-north-weſt, but from that time to the 7th of July, they came from the eaſt, eaſt-ſouth-eaſt and ſouth-eaſt, often with great violence. On the laſt day of June, there was a ſtorm ſo violent that the galleys drove, and were in danger of running a-ground. Rain and thunder accompanied this ſtorm, and the maſt of one of the veſſels attracting the lightning, was ſplit by it, in the midſt of the horrors of the tempeſt.

After having experienced more ſtormy weather, they departed from Maſſua on the 9th of July, and by day-break on the 11th, they were within three leagues of the port of Dallakha. Thus they held on their courſe, and came to Anchedivia on the 9th of Auguſt, from whence they embarked on the 21ſt, and proceeded directly to Goa, where they arrived in ſafety, after having completed a voyage, in the courſe of which they had made many curious remarks, but performed no military exploits worthy of notice.—

Red Sea.

The Red Sea, is called al Colzum, and the coaſts of it are accurately deſcribed by Aboulfaid Iſhmael, the celebrated prince of Hama, who died in the year 1332. He begins his deſcriptions at al Colzum, a ſmall city at the north end of this ſea, which from thence runs ſouthward, inclining a little to the eaſt, as far as al Caſir, (or al Coſſir.)——Hence it continues its courſe ſouth, bending ſomewhat weſtward. And from hence afterwards it paſſes directly ſouth to Swaken, a ſmall city of al Sudan, or the Land of the Blacks: thence proceeding ſouth, it encompaſſeth the iſland Dallakha, not far from the weſtern ſhore; after which, advancing on the ſame direction, it waſhes the ſhore of Ethiopa, as far as the Cape (mountain) al Mundab, at the mouth of the Red Sea, which here terminates, the Indian ſea flowing into it. The mountain al Mandab, and deſerts of Aden, approach very near, being ſeparated only by ſo narrow a ſtreight that two people may ſee each other acroſs it. The ſtreights generally called Babel Mandel lies on this ſide of Aden, a day and night's ſail towards the north weſt. The mountains of al Mandab, are in the country of the Blacks, and may be ſeen from the mountains of Aden, at a great diſtance.

Streights of Babel Mandel.

Eaſtern coaſt.

The coaſt of the Red Sea, runs northward from Aden; and thence it proceeds round the coaſt of Generen, till it comes to the borders, from thence it runs north to Joddah, and declines a little to the weſt, as far as al Jahafeh, a nation of the people of Egypt. Thence advancing north, and bending a ſmall matter to the weſt, it waſhes the coaſt of Yambaah.——Here it turns off northward; and having paſſed Madyan, comes to Aylah, then deſcends ſouthward to Mount Tor, which thruſting forwards, ſeparates two arms of the ſea. Whence returning to the north, it paſſes on to al Colzum, (where the deſcription began) which is ſituated to the weſt of Aylah, and in almoſt the ſame latitude. At Colzum, and Aylah, are ſeated on two arms or tongues of the ſea, between which the land interpoſes, running to the ſouth, which land is Mount Tor, almoſt in the ſame latitude with Aylah. This latter ſtands at the end of the eaſtern tongue, and Al Colzum at the end of the weſtern; ſo that Aylah lies more to the eaſt, and Tor more to the ſouth, than al Colzum. Aylah is ſituated on the fartheſt part of the promontory, which extends into the ſea between Tor and the coaſt of Egypt, the ſea paſſes, namely, that tongue of the ſea on the outermoſt part (or ſhore) of which al Colzum ſtands between Tor (or al Tour) and Hejaz, the ſea runs; that is, the tongue of water, on whoſe utmoſt part or ſhore, Aylah is ſituate. From Mount Tor, to either of the oppoſite coaſts, the diſtance is ſmall by ſea; but longer about the deſert, becauſe thoſe who travel from Tor to Egypt, are under a neceſſity of going round by al Colzum, and thoſe who would go from thence to al Hejaz, muſt paſs without Aylah. Tor, on the north, joins to the continent; but its other three ſides are waſhed by the ſea. The ſea of al Colzum, after paſſing a little towards the ſouth-eaſt, begins to widen on either ſide, till at length it becomes 70 miles broad.

Don Juan de Caſtro, (whoſe voyage is given above) was preſent at the ſecond ſiege of Diu, when he performed the part of a valiant ſoldier.

Chojah Zaffar, who was ſo active in the former ſiege, from that time forward, kept a fair correſpondence with the Portugueſe: yet, underhand, perſuaded the king of Cambaya, whoſe favourite he now was, to endeavour to ſhake off the yoke of the fort of Diu. To effect this, he drew together a great number of men; but deſirous rather to ſucceed by policy, than force, he agreed with an infamous Portugueſe, called Buy Freyre, to poiſon the ciſtern, fire the magazine, and, upon a ſign given, admit him into the fort. The treachery however was diſcovered by an Ethiopian, a Turk, and a woman ſlave. Chojah Zaffar, aſtoniſhed to ſee his deſign detected, began to compliment Don Juan Maſcarenhas, commander of the fort; and becauſe they obſtructed building that wall between the fort and the city, which Don Garcia de Norouna had ſo weakly allowed, and Emanuel de Souſa had courageouſly beat down, he aſſigned that as the reaſon for breaking the peace; making uſe of diſſimulation, till he had gathered a great power. Maſcarenhas, perceiving the danger that threatened him, prepared to meet it, and gave advice thereof to the governor Don Juan de Caſtro, and neighbouring commanders. He appointed every man his poſt, and placed an officer with 30 men in each of the four baſtions; his lieutenant over the gate with 20, and another with a like number, in a ſmall work; reſerving 50 for himſelf, to be wherever the greateſt danger called. This was his whole force, and this their diſpoſition, when Chojah Zaffar came on with all his power, reſolving to attack the baſtion of the ſea, with three caſtles, built upon a ſhip of a prodigious bigneſs, well ſtored with cannon to batter the wall. Within the caſtles weree 200 Turks, (out of 500 ſent from Mocha by the king of Zibid) who were to diſtract the defendants, by pouring in continually all ſorts of fire-works. But the Portugueſe commander, having notice of this deſign, ſent an officer to burn that ſhip. He took 20 men in two veſſels, and tho' unexpectedly diſcovered, (for he ſet out by night) yet did not deſiſt, but immediately went on and ſet fire to it; then returning, ſaw a great part of it fly into the air, with moſt of the Turks, the remainder caſting ſuch a flame, as at a diſtance, diſcovered the enemy's army running in battalions to quench it. He perceiving them in cluſters, let fly his cannon and killed many, having had only ſeven men wounded in the action. After this he went on to the mouth of the river, and took from the beſiegers ſome veſſels of proviſions, with which he returned to the fort, much admired of all. Chojah Zaffar now began to build the wall that had been before beat down; and

Zaffar's deceit.

He attacks the caſtle.

* Iſhmael is acknowledged to be the great father of the Arabians, and the Turks are ſtill willing to own him.—Hence the name Iſlim, by a prefix, Miſlim, corruptly *Muſſulmen*.

† There have been various reaſons aſſigned for this appellation; among theſe Don Juan de Caſtro attributes it to the redneſs of the ſea in certain parts, where there was red coral at the bottom, and a quantity of red weeds floating on the ſurface.

and though the cannon from the fortreſs killed many of the workmen, yet it was brought to ſuch perfection, that he planted thereon ſixty great cannon, beſides many ſmall; there was one of ſuch extraordinary bigneſs, that it ſhook the whole iſland, and made pieces of the fort fly, being managed by an expert French renegado. At this time arrived Don Ferdinand de Caſtro, ſon to the governor, with ſuccours: Maſcarenhas wanted ſome intelligence from the enemy's camp, which Diego Datnaya Coutinno, a gentleman of note, and a man of great ſtrength, coming to the knowledge of, at night put a helmet on his head, with a ſword by his ſide, and taking a ſpear in his hand, let himſelf down the wall, thus lying cloſe at ſome diſtance from the fort, he diſcovered two Moors, who being come up to him, he killed one of them with the ſpear, and taking up the other in his arms, ran with him to the gate of the fort, and calling, threw him in, to the great admiration of thoſe who beheld it: he had borrowed the helmet, and promiſed to return it, or die. In this ſcuffle it fell off, and he miſſed it not till the owner aſked for it; Coutinno ſaid nothing, but letting himſelf off the wall a ſecond time, went to look for the helmet, found, and reſtored it to the right owner.—Maſcarenhas obſerving an extraordinary motion in the enemy's army, and being deſirous to know the cauſe of it; ſix Portugueſe ſallied out at night, and fell among ſixty Moors who were all aſleep, whereof they killed ſome, but the noiſe waking the reſt, as alſo others not far off, they were forced to retire with the loſs of two. The four brought a priſoner with them, who informed the commander, that the king of Cambaya was come from Champanel with 10,000 horſe, to ſee (as Chojah Zaffar ſaid) that place taken. This action ſo incenſed them, that they renewed the fury of their batteries, and did much harm. However, the renegado Frenchman was ſtruck dead by a chance dart; and the gunner who ſucceeded him, being ignorant, did more harm to his own party, than to the Portugueſe. All the neighbourhood reſounded with the noiſe of the cannon, and cries of dying men, when a bullet from the fort, falling in the king's tent, ſprinkled him with the blood of one of his favourites, who was beaten to pieces, which ſo terrified him, that he inſtantly fled, leaving the command of the horſe to Juzar Chan, a valiant Abyſſinian. The ſiege being vigorouſly puſhed, there was great ſlaughter and deſtruction on both ſides; which was the more viſible and prejudicial in the fort, by reaſon of its little compaſs, and the ſmall number of men. Maſcarenhas appeared wherever there was danger, as hoping to gain no leſs honour than Antonio de Silveyra had done there a few years before. He was no leſs fortunate in courageous women, who encouraged the men, aſſiſted and relieved them at the work. One of them hearing, that the enemy were got into a houſe, ran with a ſpear, and fought till Maſcarenhas came, and put them all to the ſword.—Chojah Zaffar omitted nothing that could be deviſed, to fill the ditches, and lay open the fort; while the beſieged repaired the breaches. The prime gentry did the duties of private ſoldiers and maſons: the walls and baſtions were ruined at night, and reſtored by morning.—Zaffar, aſtoniſhed to ſee all he deſtroyed ſo ſuddenly made up again, coming on in a rage, with a freſh ſupply of men, a ball from a cannon took off his head and right hand, whereon he leaned it. His ſon, Rumi Chan, ſucceeded him in his command; who, (while Maſcarenhas was ſending freſh advice to the governors at Goa, and the captains of the neighbouring places, to haſten ſuccours) with Juzar Chan, gave a general aſſault, attacking the baſtions of St. John, and St. Thomas, where they met with a moſt vigorous reſiſtance, and many were killed: valour was forced to give way to numbers, and the enemy mounted St. Thomas's baſtion: but deſpair adminiſtered fury, the few Portugueſe fuſhed upon the multitude, and making a wonderful ſlaughter, threw headlong from the wall, ſuch as had eſcaped the ſword.—Rumi Chan, having ſpent this night in prayers and proceſſions, in the morning renewed the aſſault, but after mounting the two baſtions; was forced to retire with the loſs of near 2000 men, and among them Juzar Chan, general of the horſe, whom an uncle of the ſame name ſucceeded. In this action ſeven Portugueſe were ſlain; ſeveral other aſſaults were given with the like ſucceſs: in one of theſe, the fire was ſo cloſe and furious, that ſeveral who were clad in cotton, which ſoon took flame, ran and dipt themſelves in the water, and ſo returned to their poſts: thoſe who wore ſkins eſcaped better. Maſcarenhas taking notice of this, cauſed ſome gilt leather, wherewith his rooms were hung, to be made into coats for the ſoldiers. At one time he and Don Pedro de Almeyda, with 100 men, ſallied to deſtroy a mount raiſed to overlook the fort, killing 300 Moors. Martin Botello, another time, went out with ten men, to take ſomebody who might give intelligence, and falling upon eighteen, put them to flight, except a bold Nubian, who ſtanding all the eleven, wreſtled with Botello, and he finding it hard to overcome him whilſt he could touch the ground with his feet, ran with him in his arms to the fort.—Mean while, the defendants were equally ſpent with labour, and with hunger; ſo that they were glad to feed upon nauſeous vermin; a crow taken upon the dead bodies, was a dainty for the ſick; and ſold for five crowns; the ammunition was likewiſe almoſt ſpent; and now the enemy gave a hot aſſault with freſh men, 10,000 having newly joined them: they entered St. John's baſtion, and retired; ſcarcely had they left it, when it blew up, being undermined; and in it ſeventy Portugueſe, ten of whom came down alive; Diego de Sotomayer fell into the fort with a ſpear in his hand; a ſoldier in the ſame manner dropped among the enemies, and was killed by them. Maſcarenhas foreſeeing the danger, had ordered them to quit the baſtion; but one Reynoſo profeſſed, if they did, he would accuſe them of cowardice:—13,000 of the enemy having attacked the breach they had made, were withſtood by five ſoldiers only, till Maſcarenhas came with fifteen more: the women aſſiſted the men, and ran even to brave death. The prieſt, who was returned from carrying the advice to the neighbouring places, appeared, encouraging all, with a crucifix lifted on high. The actions done here were aſtoniſhing; but it growing dark, the enemy retired, having loſt 300 men, and Maſcarenhas ſpent all the night in repairing the damages. The enemy daily renewed their attacks with no better fortune, and held out by means of their vaſt numbers: Rumi Chan pierced the very rocks that ſtood in his way, but met not with ſucceſs as he had done the time before; for Maſcarenhas perceiving his work, countermined it, and killed many of them. Don Alvaro de Caſtro, the governor's ſon, who was ſent with ſupplies, having met with incredible ſtorms, at length arrived at Baſſaim: Antonio Moniz Barretto got firſt into Diu, with eight gentlemen, who, though ſo few, were no ſmall comfort to the beſieged; one of theſe, called Michael Darmida, a man of prodigious ſtrength, being refuſed admittance into the boat, leaped into the water with his muſquet in his mouth, and ſwimming after it, Barretto was obliged to take him up: Louis de Melo, and Mendoza, came alſo with nine men: then Don George and Don Duart de Meneſes, with ſeventeen; after them, Don Antonio de Atayde, and Franciſco Guillerme, with fifty each; and laſtly, Ruy Freyne, factor of Chaul, with twenty-four. All theſe fell upon the enemy, then poſſeſſed of ſome of the works, and among them the baſtion of St. Jago: the diſpute was hot; yet the enemy ſet up their colours on the walls. Antonio Barretto made good his poſt with only two ſoldiers, and was going to quench his flames in the water; but one of the two, who was in the ſame condition, detained him; and both did things worthy admiration. Antonio Correa ſallied out with 20 more to diſcover the enemy, and ſaw twelve Moors ſitting about a fire. He exhorted his men to fall upon them, but they fled.

1545

King Mohammed comes.

It frighted back.

Valour of the women.

Zaffar ſlain.

A general aſſault.

Juzar Chan ſlain.

The breach attacked.

Several aſſaults.

1545. However, going forward, in hopes to take one who might give intelligence, he fell on, and behaved himself bravely, but was taken and carried to Rumi Chan, who examined him about the posture the fort was in, which though then very miserable, he represented so powerfully, as drove that general into despair; and moved him to cause the unfortunate prisoner to be dragged through the streets; then his head being cut off, it was set upon a pole next day in sight of the fort. The enemy had, by this time, lost 5000 men, and the besieged 200; so that the latter had not so many more left; and what was worse, half of them were not able to do duty, when Don Alvaro arrived with the supplies, which consisted of 400 men, and a sufficient quantity of ammunition, having by the way taken a ship of Cambaya richly laden. The joy of this relief was soon allayed; for the soldiers of this reinforcement, fearing the mines, proposed to meet the enemy in the open field. Mascarenhas, prudently refusing to comply with their motion, they broke out into open mutiny, in contempt of all military discipline. The commander seeing himself in danger of perishing in the fort, by his own men, sallied with almost 500 in three bodies. Presently they gained the enemy's advanced post, forcing them to retire to their works; but when they came there, those who had so insolently forced their commander to this extravagancy, stood at the foot of the trenches, while others mounted who had been less forward with their tongues. Mascarenhas seeing them in this posture upbraided their behaviour in such terms, that, roused by shame, they took heart and went up. The whole army now came down upon the Portuguese, who having done wonders, were forced to retire in such disorder, that the enemy must certainly have possessed themselves of the fort, had not Mascarenhas, by his prudence and courage, prevented Mojato Chan, who with 5000 men attempted to enter, and was valiantly opposed by Lewis de Sousa in St. Thomas's bulwark. Sixty men were lost in this action, and Don Fernando de Castro mortally wounded in the head. The Moors had taken the cannon of the Bastion Sant Jago, when Vasquez de Cunna, and Lewis de Almeyda, brought a fresh relief. The latter immediately went out with three caravals, and quickly returned with two great ships of Mocha, and some other vessels, whose loading was worth 50,000 ducats. Many Moors were hung at the yard-arms, whose heads were then cut off, as was the captain's, who was a janissary, and offered 3000 ducats for his ransom. The siege had now lasted eight months; when in the beginning of November the governor Don Juan de Castro, had gotten together a great fleet of all sorts of vessels for the relief of Diu. Every one admired the constancy wherewith he received the news of the death of his son Fernando: for though he highly resented it, he dissembled his grief; and dressing himself gayer than ordinary, went first in procession, to give God thanks that Diu was still in the possession of the Portuguese, and then to a public feast, which was the imitation of a fight, wherein they use canes instead of lances. The fleet consisted of above 90 sail, besides three of the ships that then came from Portugal; and several gentlemen that came in them, went in other vessels.——The governor being come to Basaim, waited the coming up of the vessels that were scattered; and in the mean while sent Don Emanuel de Lima to scour the coast. Near Daman, he took several ships, and cutting the Moors in pieces, threw them into the mouth of the river, that the tide carrying them up, they might strike a terror in all that coast. Entering the river of Surat, after a vigorous resistance made, he destroyed all that belonged to the town of the Ethiopians. The same was done at the city Ansoto, not far distant, without sparing either sex or beauty: the finest women of the Bramins and Baneans, being slaughtered in that and the neighbouring towns. When the fleet appeared in the sea of Diu; the enemy stood amazed, though they had just then received a supply of 5000 fresh men sent by the king. The governor went privately into the fort, and afterwards landed his men. It having been resolved in council to attack the enemy, they marched in the following order: Don Juan Mascarenhas, commander of the fort, led the van, consisting of 500 men; Don Alvaro led as many; Don Emanuel de Lima the like number; the governor headed the rest, which were 1000, and a body of Indians. Among the rest were some Portuguese women in men's cloaths, to assist the wounded. In the fort was left the lieutenant with 300 men. The governor appointed rewards for those who first mounted the enemy's works. At break of day, on the 11th of November; this small army marched out to attack the numerous forces of the enemy, who were well intrenched, and prepared with cannon. They gave the onset with much bravery, and some fell. At length the Portuguese mounted the works. Such was each man's eagerness to be first, that it could not be known who really was so. Cosme Paivd having lost a leg, fought on his knees, till he was killed. Another cut down one Turk, and stooping to make an end of him, was slain by his fellow. Francisco de Azevedo was killed after having made a great slaughter. Mascarenhas, and Don Alvaro de Castro, having taken a bulwark, made them room in the field. The governor came up, and inflamed the fight. He ordered his ensign to fix the colours on the enemy's works. Twice was the ensign thrown down, and twice he remounted. The men, encouraged by the governor's presence, pressed forward, and the enemy gave way. The Portuguese entered their works pell-mell with them, and Rumi Chan came on with the whole body of his army; but, after a hot dispute, retired, leaving his adversaries masters of his works. He went to join Juzar Chan, who on the other side was worsted by Mascarenhas. The governor marched out of the works to meet them, giving the van to his son Don Alvaro. The Portuguese were much distressed, when Friar Antonio del Cazel put himself before them with a crucifix on the point of a lance; on which they took courage, and covering the field with dead and wounded men, put Rumi Chan to flight. He rallying again in his turn, forced the Portuguese to retire in great confusion; but the governor renewed the fight, and restored good order. At this time a stone broke an arm of the crucifix, and the priest calling to the men to revenge the sacrilege, they fell on with such fury, that drove the enemy to the city.——The first who entered the city with them, was Don Mascarenhas, and after him came Don Alvaro, and Don Emanuel de Lima, and the governor, all several ways, making the streets and houses run with blood. The women escaped not the fate of the men, and children were slain at their mother's breasts. The first part of the booty was precious stones, pearls, gold and silver: other things, though of value, were neglected. Rumi Chan, and his general officers, rallying their men, appeared again in the field with 8000 men. The governor and his son, and Don Juan Mascarenhas encompassed them. The fight was bloody: in the heat of it, Gabriel Teyxeira, took the standard of Cambaya (after killing the bearer) and dragged it about the field, proclaiming victory; George Nunez, from among the dead, brought out Rumi Chan's head, and presented it to the governor. Others took Juzar Chan, who was wounded. The Portuguese were left absolute masters of the field, having lost 100 men; of the enemy 5000 were slain, and among them Azede Chan, and some other men of note. Free plun-

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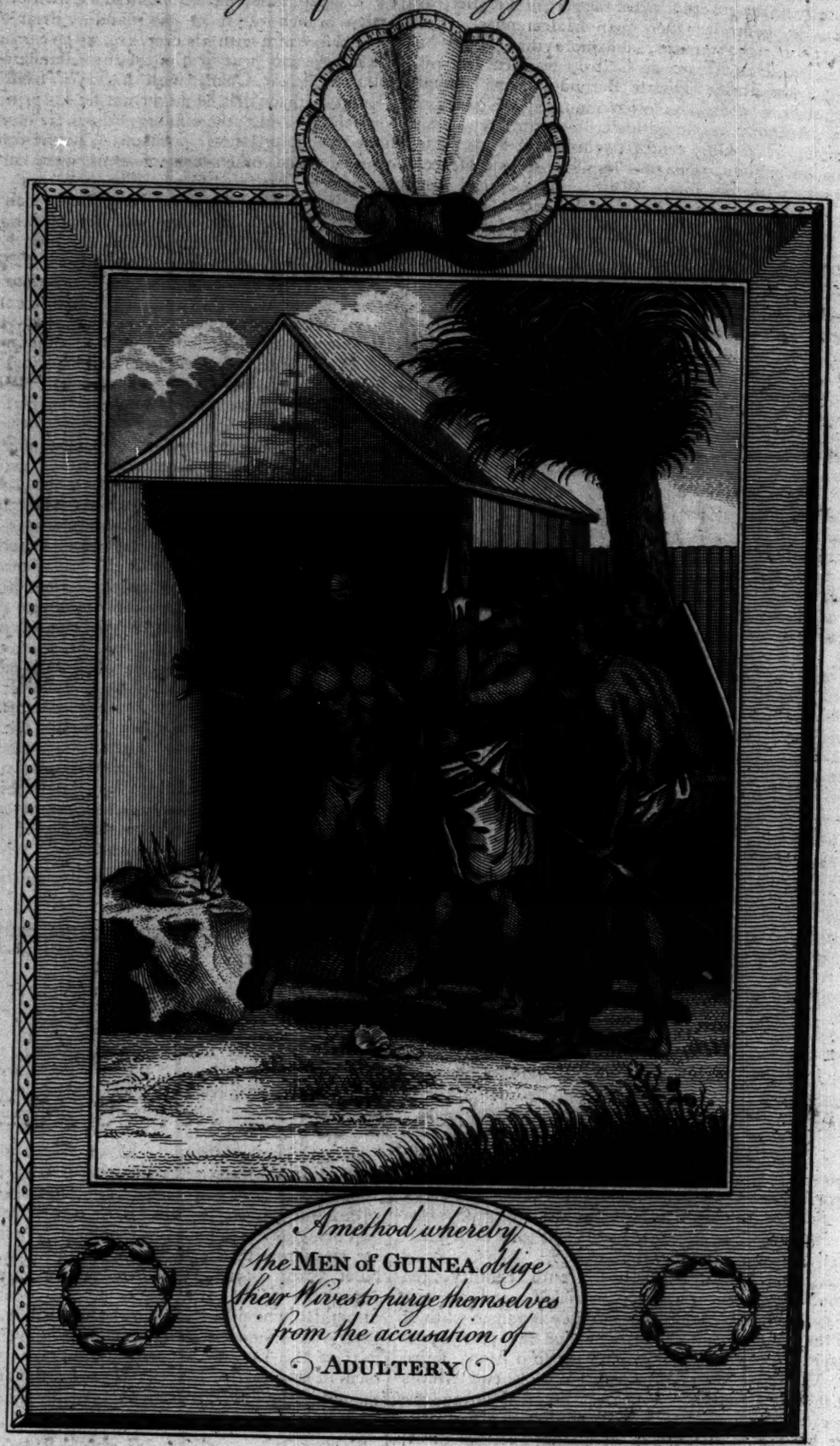
Engraved for Moore's Voyages & Travels.



A method whereby the MEN of GUINEA *oblige their Wives to purge themselves from the accusation of* ADULTERY

der was allowed; ſome were inriched, many got much, and all were ſatisfied, there were taken many colours, forty pieces of cannon of an extraordinary bigneſs, which with the leſſer ſort, made up two hundred, and a vaſt quantity of ammunition:—Many particularly ſignalized themſelves in the action, and the governor acted the part of a ſoldier, as well as the general. Don Juan Maſcarenhas, after a ſiege of eight months, did more than could be imagined; Don Alvaro de Caſtro, behaved like his father; the Enſign Duarte Barbudo, being ſeveral times thrown down, as often mounted the works; Friar Anthony employed his crucifix to very good purpoſe. The king cauſed twenty-eight Portugueſe he had in cuſtody, to be torn in pieces in his preſence, in revenge for his loſs. Whilſt the governor was employed in repairing the damage received. Don Emanuel de Lima, in the beginning of the year 1546, by his order, ſcoured the coaſt of Cambaya with thirty ſhips, demoliſhing all the towns along the ſhore. The city Gogo, one of the chief of that kingdom, was taken, plundered, and burnt, without any reſiſtance; the inhabitants flying to the mountains, where being purſued, they were found at night, about a league off aſleep, and all put to the ſword. All the cattle in the fields, were either killed or ham-ſtrung, and the city Gandar, and ſeveral other towns, ſuffered the ſame fate. And thus the Portugueſe ſullied their victories with thoſe cruelties that add to the horrors of war.——The joy at Goa was great on account of theſe tidings ſent by Diego Rodriguez de Azevedo, by whom the governor deſired the city to lend him 20,000 pardas's for the uſe of the army, ſending a lock of his whiſkers in pawn for the money. The city returned the pledge with reſpect, and remitted him more money than he demanded. The women, to expreſs their gratitude, ſent their pendants, necklaces, bracelets, and other jewels; but all was punctually reſtored by the governor, as it was ſent, having been ſupplied the day before, by a rich ſhip of Cambaya, taken by Antonio Moniz Barreto, on the coaſt of Mangalor. Afterwards the fort was repaired, and put into a better condition than it was before the ſiege: 500 men were left in it, and Don George de Meneſes, with ſix ſhips upon the coaſt. The city likewiſe became better inhabited, through the good uſage of the governor to the Moors. After which, ſailing for Goa, he arrived there the 11th of April, where he was received with loud acclamations, and a ſplendid triumph prepared by the city, in imitation of thoſe of Rome. The gates and ſtreets were hung with ſilk, the windows thronged with fine women, all places reſounded with muſic and noiſe of cannon; and the ſea was covered with veſſels richly adorned. The governor entered under a rich canopy, where taking off his cap, they put on his head a crown of laurel, and a branch of it in his hand; Friar Antony went before him with his crucifix; as he carried it in the fight; and next to him the royal ſtandard; then followed Juzar Chan, with his eyes fixed on the ground, perhaps that he might not ſee his prince's colours dragged and others flying, beſides the mortifying ſight of 600 priſoners in chains. In the front, the cannon, and other ſorts of arms were carried in on proper carriages.——The governor walked upon leaves of gold and ſilver, and rich ſilks. The ladies from the windows, ſprinkled him with ſweet water, and threw flowers on him. * The news of the victory at Diu was brought to Liſbon the ſame year: when the king having reſolved to honour Don Juan de Caſtro with unuſual favours, continued the government to him, with the title of vice-roy. He ſent him alſo a preſent in money; and made his ſon Don Alvaro, admiral of the Indian ſeas: but Don Juan did not live to enjoy that honour. When he ſaw that there were no hopes of life, he ſent for the council, which he had appointed to act in his ſtead, and told them "that he had nothing; and deſired that they would order ſomething out of the king's revenue, that he might not die for want;" then a maſs book being brought, he laid his hand upon it, and ſwore, "That he had no way made uſe of the king's or any other man's money, nor had driven any trade to increaſe his own ſtock;" and deſired that this act of his might be recorded. After his death there were found in his private cabinet, a bloody diſcipline, and three rials, which was all his treaſure. In 1576, his body was brought to Portugal, and laid in the church of the Dominicans, on a hill not far from Liſbon.——He is painted crowned with palm branches, and cloathed in red. He was a great linguiſt, and well ſkilled in mathematics. He was the fourteenth in the number of governors, and may be accounted the fourth vice-roy. His death is ſaid to have been accellerated by the bad conduct of ſome gentlemen in an expedition a little before; and thus died a good governor and a brave officer.

Much plunder.

Caſtle repaired

1552

De Caſtro's Triumph.

His death.

VOYAGES OF THE ENGLISH TO GUINEA AND THE EAST INDIES.

THE ſucceſſes of the Portugueſe in their African and Eaſt Indian expeditions, raiſed a ſpirit of emulation among other nations. The Spaniards had endeavoured to come in for a ſhare of the advantages; and the Engliſh failed not to follow their example. The deſigns of our countrymen in this reſpect, appear to have been ſupported by the Spaniards, and were ſuppreſſed upon the remonſtrances of the Portugueſe.—It appears however that the Engliſh frequently traded to the Canary Iſlands, and even eſtabliſhed factors in thoſe parts.

About the middle of the ſixteenth century, the Engliſh ſpirit for trade exerting itſelf, and meeting with a favourable conjuncture, they began to puſh it to the ſouth as well as north, about the year 1551. Capt. Thomas Windham, in the ſhip Lion, ſailed to Morocco, whither he carried back two Moors of the royal family. This was the firſt voyage we meet with to the weſtern coaſt of Africa; and theſe are all the particulars to be found relating to it; excepting, that one James Alday, a ſervant to Sebaſtian Cabato, in a letter to Mr. Michael Locke, in 1552, repreſents himſelf as being the firſt promoter of this Barbary traffic: he alſo obſerves, that he ſhould have performed this voyage himſelf; and have had the whole command of ſhip and goods, but that Sir John Lutterel, John Fletcher, Henry Oſtrich, and others, with whom he had joined, died of the ſweating ſickneſs: and he himſelf, after eſcaping that diſeaſe, had been ſeized with a violent fever. But before he recovered, the ſhip being at Portſmouth, Thomas Windham had her away from thence, by whom he loſt eighty pounds. Next year, 1552, Windham performed a ſecond voyage to Zafin and Santa Cruz, without the Streights, where he had been the year before. This gave great offence to the Portugueſe, who threatened to treat the Engliſh as enemies, if they met with them in thoſe parts.—Notwithſtanding theſe menaces, the year following, the ſame Windham, and Antonio

To Barbary.

* Queen Catharine of Portugal, hearing the relation of his victory and triumph, ſaid "Don Juan had overcome like a Chriſtian, and triumphed like a heathen."

1552 Anes Pinteado a Portugueſe, the promoter of this attempt, undertook a voyage to Guinea, in three ſhips, with 140 men, and traded for gold along the coaſt; after which they ſailed for Benin, to load pepper: but both the commanders, and moſt of the men dying of ſickneſs, occaſioned by the climate; the reſt, being but forty, returned to Plymouth, with only one ſhip (having burnt the others for want of hands to work them) and no great riches.——In 1554, Mr. John Lock, made a voyage with three ſhips, and trading along that coaſt, brought away a conſiderable quantity of gold and ivory, but proceeded no farther. Theſe voyages were ſucceeded by others almoſt every year. At length, upon application to queen Elizabeth by certain merchants, two patents were granted, one in 1585, for the Barbary or Morocco trade; the other, in 1588, for the Guinea trade, between the rivers Senaga, and Gambra, or Gambia; and in 1592, a third was obtained by others, taking in the coaſt from the river Nonnia, to the ſouth of Sierra Leona, the ſpace of 100 leagues, which patents gave riſe to the African company.

Summary account of voyages.

The views of the Engliſh extending with their ſucceſs, and finding the diſcovery of the N. E. and N. W. paſſages, had been long attempted in vain, they reſolved to puſh their voyage round Africa, by the Portugueſe courſe. In 1591, three large ſhips undertook that voyage for the firſt time, under the command of captain Raymond: and in 1596, another fleet of three ſhips, commanded by captain Wood, ſet out on the ſame deſign; but with ill ſucceſs. Mean time, ſeveral navigators were employed to diſcover this way to the Eaſt Indies, and the Portugueſe poſſeſſions there. At length, in 1600, a body of gentlemen, merchants, and others, (to the number of 216) with George Earl of Cumberland at the head of them, obtained a charter from queen Elizabeth, for carrying on a trade to the Eaſt Indies, under the denomination of The Company of Merchants Adventurers. From this time forward, ſhips were ſent regularly every two or three years, to thoſe parts of the world. And thus was laid the foundation of the Eaſt India Commerce, which ſubſiſts at preſent.

The voyage to Barbary, in 1552, by Captain Thomas Windham, was projected by Sir John York, Sir William Gerrard, Sir Thomas Worth, Meſſrs. Francis Lambert, Cole, and ſeveral other merchants. The ſhips that went on this voyage were three. Firſt, the Lion, of London, the admiral's ſhip, about 150 tons, Thomas Windham, captain, and part owner, a Norfolk gentleman, who lived at Marſhfield Park, Somerſetſhire: ſecond, the Buttolſe, about 80 tons: and the third, a caraval, bought of ſome Portugueſe, at Newport in Wales, and freighted for this voyage, of 60 tons: the number of men in the fleet were one hundred and twenty: the maſter of the Lion was one John Kerry, of Somerſetſhire; and his mate was David Landman.—This fleet departed out of King-road, near Briſtol, on Monday morning, the beginning of May, 1552, and Monday fortnight, in the evening, came to anchor in the road of Zafia, on the coaſt of Barbary, in 32 degrees of latitude, which was the firſt port they were bound to, and there landed part of their merchandize, to be conveyed to the city of Morocco.—After this, having refreſhed themſelves with victuals and water, they went to the ſecond port, called Santa Cruz, where they diſcharged the reſt of their goods, being linen and woollen cloth, coral, amber, jet, and divers other things, eſteemed by the Moors; here they found a French ſhip, which not knowing whether war or peace ſubſiſted between England and France, drew as near the town as ſhe could, craving its protection, if need were; inſomuch, that obſerving the Engliſh ſtill to advance, a piece was ſhot from the walls, which flew between the main and foremaſt of the Admiral; whereupon, caſting anchor, there preſently came a pinnace aboard to know what they were, who underſtanding that they had been there before, and came with conſent of their king, were fully ſatisfied, and gave them leave to land their goods. They had not been long here before the viceroy, whoſe name was Sibill Manache, came to viſit them with great civility: but by one delay or other, they ſpent very near three months before they could get in their lading, which was ſugar, dates, almonds, and molaſſes.——Yet although they were here in the heat of the ſummer, none of the company died by ſickneſs. When the ſhips were laden, they put to ſea, expecting a weſterly wind; but as they were ſetting forward for England, the Lion ſprung a leak, ſo that they were driven to Lancerote, on the ſide towards Forteventura, where they landed out of her 70 cheſts of ſugar, with 12 or ſixteen of the company. The inhabitants ſuppoſed the caraval had been ſeized by them, ſuddenly came with force, and took them priſoners, and ſpoiled the ſugars. This being perceived from the ſhips, they manned three boats to reſcue them, and put the Spaniards to flight, of whom they ſlew 18, and took the governor of the iſland priſoner, who was about 70 years of age, but chacing the enemy too far, and being in want of powder and arrows, the Spaniards perceiving this, returned and ſlew ſix of them in their retreat. After this, coming to a parley, it was agreed that the Engliſh ſhould be exchanged for their old governor, and that a certificate ſhould be given under his and their hands of what damages they had received, which damages were made good by the Spaniſh merchants, upon their return into England. Having found out and ſtopped the leak, they ſet ſail; and as they left one end of the iſland, the Cacafuego, and other ſhips of the king of Portugal's armada, entered at the other, and came to anchor in the road from whence the Engliſh departed, ſhooting off their ordnance in their hearing. The Portugueſe were much offended with this new trade into Barbary; and both in this and their former voyage, gave out in England, by their merchants, with great menaces, that if they took the Engliſh in thoſe parts, they would uſe them as their mortal enemies. They were ſeven or eight weeks before they could reach the coaſt of England, putting firſt into Plymouth; ſoon after they arrived at London, where they landed their merchandiſe about the end of October, 1552.

Santa Cruz.

A VOYAGE TO GUINEA AND BENIN, BY THOMAS WINDHAM, AND ANTONIO ANES PINTEADO, CAPTAINS.

ON the 12th of Auguſt there ſailed from Portſmouth two fine ſhips, the Primroſe and Lion, with a pinnace called the Moon, furniſhed with 140 able-bodied men, ordnance and victuals. They were commanded by two captains; the one a Portugueſe, called Antonio Anes Pinteado, the ſon of Juan Anes, born in a town named, The Port of Portugal, a wiſe, diſcreet and ſober man. He was an expert pilot as well

well as a prudent captain; and for his ſkill in navigation had been in great favour with the king of Portugal, who committed to his care the coaſts of Braſil and Guinea, againſt the inſults of the French, to whom he was a terror in thoſe ſeas. He was likewiſe a gentleman of the king's houſehold: but falling afterwards into diſgrace, through the malicious inſinuations of ſome who envied his good fortune, was forced by his majeſty to come to England. The other captain's name was Windham, a perſon of very different qualities, and endowed with little virtue.——He began to ſhew his evil diſpoſition at Portſmouth, by turning out of his ſhip a kinſman of one of the principal merchants concerned in the voyages; although it proved very happy for the young man, and others wiſhed he had ſerved their ſons in the ſame manner.

"Setting out on their voyage, they came to the iſland of Madeira, where they took in wines for the uſe of their ſhips. At theſe iſlands they met with a great galleon of the king of Portugal's, full of men and ordnance, ſent out on purpoſe to prevent ſhips of other nations from trading in thoſe ſeas, and particularly to fruſtrate this voyage of the Engliſh, although they could not have done it in caſe they had attempted it. It ſeems the king of Portugal had been ſecretly informed that our ſhips were deſigned againſt his caſtle of Mina, although nothing leſs was intended. Hitherto Windham behaved in a ſeemingly very good natured friendly manner to Pinteado; but after they had left Madeira, he began to change his carriage: he took upon him the ſole command, ſetting nought by Captain Pinteado, and the factor; and proceeding even to vile language and menaces. He took from him the ſervice of the boys, and certain marines, that were aſſigned him by the orders and directions of the merchants, and left him as a common ſeaman: this was a ſenſible mortification to that worthy commander, becauſe nothing can afflict a Portugueſe or a Spaniard more, than to be deprived of their honours. Sailing forward, and paſſing by the Canaries, they came to the iſland of St. Nicholas, where they victualled with the fleſh of wild goats, which is very plentiful there, though ſcarce any thing elſe is to be met with. From hence they purſued their courſe; yet, to avoid arriving too ſoon at Guinea, on account of the heats, they ſtaid by the way at the Deſert Iſles, but being under an arbitrary direction, from whence no good can proceed, tarried too long. At length they fell in with the great river of Seſtos, on the coaſt of Guinea, where they might have laden their ſhips with the fruit of that country; which is very hot, and much like a fig, as it grows on the tree, being full of grains, which are looſe within the cod, having a hole through the middle. This kind of ſpice is very much uſed in cold countries, and may be ſold to great advantage, in exchange for other wares: but the men, by the perſuaſion, or rather compulſion, of this tragical captain, ſetting light by that commodity, in compariſon of the fine gold they thirſted after, ſailed 100 leagues further, till they came to the Golden Lands, where, without attempting to approach the king of Portugal's caſtle, ſituate on the river Mina, they ſold their wares on this ſide, and beyond it, for the gold of that country, to the quantity of 150 pounds weight; and might have had gold in exchange for their whole cargo, if Pinteado's advice could have taken place. But Windham, though there was gold enough where he was, would needs go farther, and commanded Pinteado (for ſo he took upon him) to carry the ſhips to Benin, 150 leagues beyond, under the line, where he propoſed to have them laden with pepper; Pinteado conſidering the late time of the year, adviſed him not to go elſewhere, but to ſtay and diſpoſe of the remainder of the goods for gold; but Windham refuſed.* Pinteado's view was to preſerve the men, well knowing their lives would be in great danger; either if they got thither too late, or too ſoon, they were to meet with the Roſia, which is their winter, not for cold, but for ſmothering heat, with cloſe and cloudy air, and ſtormy weather, of ſuch putrifying quality, that it rotted the very clothes on their backs. If they arrived too ſoon, then they were to fear the ſcorching heat of the ſun, which was the reaſon of their lingering by the way. Thus was he forced againſt his will, to bring the ſhip to the river of Benin. Here caſting anchor, they ſent their pinnace up the river fifty or ſixty leagues; where Captain Pinteado, Franciſco, a Portugueſe, Nicholas Lambert, a gentleman, and other merchants landing, they were conducted to the court ten leagues from thence. Being arrived, they were brought amidſt a crowd of people, to the king's preſence. He was a black Moor, (although not ſo black as the reſt) and ſat on a great hill, long and wide: the walls were made of earth, without windows; but in the roof, which was of thin boards, were ſeveral openings, like funnels, to let in the air. —The king is ſerved with great ſtate; his noblemen never look him in the face, but ſit covered with their elbows upon their knees, and their hands before their faces, nor dare lift up their eyes, until his majeſty commands them. When they approach him, as ſoon as they come in view, they aſſume the ſame poſture, and when they retire, go creeping backwards with like reverence, it being a crime to turn their backs upon him.

"The king at firſt cauſed them to ſtand up, and then in Portugueſe, (which he had learned from his infancy) he demanded the cauſe of their coming. They anſwered by Pinteado, that they were merchants, and came to exchange the commodities of their own country for thoſe of his. The king then deſired him to look at 30 or 40 quintals of pepper, which had lain a long time in his ſtorehouſes, and to bring a ſample of their merchandiſes; thereupon he ſent ſome of his people to conduct the captain and merchants to the water-ſide; and others to fetch the wares from the pinnace to the court. When they were returned, and the wares ſeen, the king agreed with the merchants to provide in 30 days the lading of all their ſhips with pepper; and, in caſe their goods ſhould fall ſhort of the value, he offered to give them credit till their next return. He forthwith ſent the country round to gather pepper, ſo that in thirty days no leſs than 80 tons were brought to the court. In the mean time, the Engliſh having no command of themſelves, eat of the fruits, and drank the palm-wines to exceſs; neither could they be kept from running continually into the water to cool their bodies, melting with the heat of the climate; ſo that not being uſed before to ſuch ſudden and violent alterations, it brought on ſwellings and agues, towards the latter end of the year, whereby three or four, and ſometimes five, died in a day. Windham finding his men drop off ſo faſt, as ſoon as the 30 days were expired, ſent to Captain Pinteado and the reſt, to come away forthwith; they let him know by letter, what a quantity of pepper they had procured, and that they daily expected as much more, deſiring him not to hurry them, conſidering what reputation they ſhould gain, in caſe they ſhould make a proſperous voyage, and how ſhameful it would be to return without full lading. But Windham, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, and the mortality continuing amongſt the men, ſent them word that if they did not come away inſtantly, he would leave them behind. Hereupon Pinteado, thinking to perſuade him by reaſon, returned to the ſhips, being conducted thither by the king's order. Mean time, Windham, in a rage, broke up Pintea-

St. Nicholas.

River Seſtos. Guinea pepper.

River Benin.

The king's ſtate.

1553

* He fell into a rage, and reviled him, calling him Jew, and other opprobrious names, ſaying, "This whoreſon Jew hath promiſed to bring us to ſuch places as are not to be found, or he cannot bring us to: but if he do not, I will cut off his ears, and nail them to the maſt."

1553. do's cabin and chefts, ſpoiled ſuch cold diſtilled waters and other things as he had provided for his health, and left him nothing either of inſtruments to ſail by, or apparel. Then falling ſick himſelf died alſo: for all this, Pinteado, when he came on board, lamented his death as much as if he had been his beſt friend. Yet ſeveral, both of the mariners and officers, ſpit in his face, ſome calling him Jew, ſaying, he had brought them thither to deſtroy them, and others drawing their ſwords on him, offered to kill him. They inſiſted to leave the coaſt, he deſired them only to ſtay till thoſe who were at court ſhould return from thence; but they would not grant this requeſt. Then he intreated them to let him have the ſhip-boat, with a piece of an old ſail, promiſing therewith to bring the reſt into England."—Finding all he ſaid was in vain, he wrote to acquaint the merchants with what had happened; aſſuring them, in caſe he lived to return, forthwith to fetch them. As for Pinteado himſelf, after being kept on board againſt his will, he was thruſt among the cabin-boys, and worſe uſed than any of them, being glad to find favour at the cook's hand.* Having ſunk one of their ſhips for want of hands, they departed, and ſix or ſeven days after, Pinteado died, heart-broken with his hard uſage; and of 140 men, ſcarce forty returned to Plymouth, of whom alſo many died.

Windham's death.

Pinteado dies of grief.

VOYAGE TO GUINEA, IN 1554, BY CAPTAIN JOHN LOCK.

THE adventurers in this voyage, were Sir George Barne, Sir John York, Thomas Lock, Anthony Hickman, and Edward Caſtlelin.

The fleet ſets out.

On the 11th of October, 1754, they left the Thames with three good ſhips, the Trinity 140 tons; the Bartholomew, 90; and the John the Evangeliſt, 140. There were likewiſe two pinnaces, (whereof one was loſt on the coaſt of England). Having ſtaid at Dover fourteen days, and at Rye, three or four; they laſt of all touched at Dartmouth, and thence proceeding, the firſt of November, at nine at night they ſet off, the Start, bearing ſouth-weſt, and by the third, about noon ran ſixty leagues.

"On the 17th, in the morning, they had ſight of Madeira, which in the north north-eaſt part, appears very high; and to the ſouth ſouth-eaſt, is a low long land, and a long point, with a ſaddle through the middle of it, ſtanding in thirty-two degrees in the weſt part, they ſaw many ſprings of water, deſcending from the mountain: alſo ſeveral white fields, like corn fields, and ſome white houſes to the ſouth-eaſt. The top of the mountain ſeemed very ragged; and in the north-eaſt part they ſaw a bay, reſembling a harbour: alſo a rock at a little diſtance from the ſhore; and over the ſaid bay was a great gap upon the mountain.—On the 19th, at noon, they had ſight of the Iſle of Palms, Teneriffe, and the Canaries. The firſt, (which lies in twenty-eight degrees) riſes round, and extends ſouth-eaſt and north-weſt; the north-weſt part is loweſt. In the ſouth is a round hill over the headland; and another round hill in the land. Between the ſouth-eaſt part of Madeira, and the north-weſt part of Palm iſle, are fifty-ſeven leagues; their courſe ſouth and ſouth by weſt, ſo that they had ſight of Teneriffe, and the Canaries; the ſouth part of the Iſle of Palms is diſtant from the north north-eaſt of Teneriffe, twenty leagues north-weſt. Teneriffe and the great Canarie, called Gran Canaria, and the weſt part of Forteventura, ſtand twenty-ſeven degrees and a half. Gomera is a fair iſland, but very ragged, and lieth weſt ſouth-weſt of Teneriffe; and the courſe in ſailing between them ſouth by eaſt. In the ſouth part of Gomera is a town, and good road for ſhips; it ſtands in twenty-ſeven degrees and forty-five minutes. Teneriffe is high land, with a great high peak like a ſugar-loaf, whoſe top is covered with ſnow throughout the year: by this mark it may be known above all other iſlands. Here they were becalmed on the 20th of November, from ſix in the morning till four in the afternoon.—On the 22d, under the Tropick of Cancer, the ſun ſets weſt by ſouth, upon the coaſt of Barbary, twenty-five leagues north of Cape Blake, three leagues from ſhore, there are fifteen fathoms, no ſtreams, and good ſhelly ground mixed with ſand; alſo ſmall iſlands in twenty-two degrees twenty minutes.——From Gomera, they ſailed ſouth by eaſt 100 leagues, to Cape de los Barbas, in twenty-two degrees and a half. All that coaſt is very flat, with ſixteen or ſeventeen fathom water; and from that cape, till within ſeven or eight leagues of the river del Oro; is frequented by Spaniards and Portugueſe, who trade for fiſh during the month of November.

"From thence they ſteered ſouth ſouth-weſt, and ſouth-weſt by ſouth, till they came into twenty degrees and a half, reckoning themſelves ſeven leagues off ſhore, and there were the coaſt ſhoals of Cape Blake. Then they went ſouth till they got into thirteen degrees, and by eſtimation, twenty-five leagues off. They diſcovered the Croſiers when they were in fifteen degrees, and might have done it ſooner, if they had looked for them. Thoſe conſtellations are not right a-croſs in November, by reaſon that the nights are ſhort there; nevertheleſs they had ſight of them the 29th of the ſame month.—On the 1ſt of December, being in thirteen degrees, they proceeded ſouth by eaſt, till the fourth at noon, when they were in nine degrees twenty minutes, and by eſtimation thirty leagues weſt-ſouth-weſt of the ſhoals of the Rio Grande, which are thirty leagues long. On the 4th, being in ſix degrees thirty minutes, they began to ſet their courſe ſouth-eaſt. The 9th, they directed it eaſt-ſouth-eaſt; and the 14th, eaſt, being then in five degrees thirty minutes, and by computation thirty-ſix leagues from the coaſt of Guinea. On the 19th, they ſailed eaſt by north, ſeventeen leagues diſtant from Cape Menſurado, which bore eaſt-north-eaſt, and the river Seſto eaſt.—On the 21ſt, they fell in with Cape Menſurado, to the ſouth-eaſt, about two leagues off, which riſing like the head of a porpoiſe; may be eaſily known; it ſtands nearly in ſix degrees. Alſo to the ſouth-eaſt there are three trees, the eaſternmoſt is the higheſt, the middlemoſt

Cape Menſurado.

* It appears that after this gentleman had been long impriſoned by the king, he was releaſed on the repreſentation of that prince's confeſſor, a grey friar, who made known his innocence; that it was poverty, and not any crime, which obliged him to leave his country; that the king, repenting of his ſeverity towards him, by letters patent, dated the 30th of September, 1551, in conſideration of his good ſervice, made him a Knight of his houſhold, with a penſion of 700 rees (or ten ſhillings) a month, and an alcayre (or half buſhel) of barley as long as he kept a horſe.

This patent is to be found in Hakluyt's Collection. Notwithſtanding thoſe friendly overtures, however, Pinteado durſt not venture home, nor ſo much as to converſe with his countrymen, unleſs in company with others; becauſe he had private intimation given him, that they intended to murder him, if they could but find a proper opportunity.

middlemoſt like a hay-ſtack, and the ſouthermoſt reſembles a gibbet: upon the main are four or five very high hills riſing one after another like round hillocks, and to the ſouth-eaſt of the three trees, the whole coaſt is a white ſand.—On the 22d, they
River Seſto. came to the river Seſto, and remained there till the 29th. From hence they ſent before them the pinnace to the Rio Dolce, that they might have the beginning of the market, before the coming of John the Evangeliſt.—In the river of Seſto, they had a ton of grains. From whence to Rio Dolce, in five deg. thirty minutes, are twenty-five leagues. The river of
Rio Dolce. Seſto is eaſy to be known by a ledge of rocks on the ſouth-eaſt part of the road. And at the entrance of the haven, there are ſix trees that bear no leaves. This is good harbour, but very narrow at the mouth, where there is a rock juſt as you enter. All the coaſt between Cape De Monte, and Cape De las Palmas, lies ſouth-eaſt by eaſt, and north-weſt by weſt, being three leagues off the ſhore; and you ſhall have in ſome places, rocks two leagues off, and that between the river of Seſto and De las Palmas.——From the river of Seſto to the river Dolce, are twenty-five leagues, and the high land between, which begins eight leagues from the former, is called Cakeado; to the ſouth-eaſt, whereof is a place called Shawgro, and another Shyawe, where you may get freſh water.
Shawgro. Off Shyawe lies a ledge of rocks, and to the ſouth-eaſt a head-land, called Croke, between which and Cakeado, are nine or ten leagues. To the ſouth-eaſt hereof, is a harbour called St. Vincent, right over
Port St. Vincent. againſt which, there is a ſunk rock, two leagues and a half from ſhore. To the ſouth-eaſt of that rock, there appears an iſland about three or four leagues diſtant, and not above one from the coaſt eaſt-ſouth-eaſt of the iſland, is a rock, that riſes above the water, and the entrance of the river Dolce, which thereby may be known. The north-weſt ſide of the haven is flat ſand; the ſouth-eaſt ſide reſembles an iſland, and is a bare plot without any trees, ſuch as is not any where elſe. Ships ride in fourteen or fifteen fathoms, good ooze and land; being the marks of the road to bring the iſland and the north-eaſt land together. Here they anchored the laſt of December.—On the third of January, they ſailed from the river Dolce.*

"On the 12th of January, they came to a town
Samma town. called Samma, eight leagues eaſt-north-eaſt from Cape Tres Puntas. In the way, is a great ledge of rocks far out at ſea. They continued four days at that town, the captain whereof would needs have a pledge: accordingly one was ſent (being Sir John York's nephew) whom, when they had received they detained, and would traffic no more, but ſhot at them with their ordinance, whereof they have only two or three pieces.—On the 16th, they came to a
Cape Corea. place called Cape Corea, where Captain Don John dwelleth, whoſe men entertained them friendly. This cape is four leagues eaſtward of the caſtle of
Mina caſtle. Mina, where they arrived the 18th, and made ſale of all their cloth, ſaving two or three packs.—On the 26th, they ſailed forward to the Trinity, which was about ſeven leagues eaſtward of them, where ſhe ſold her wares; and adviſed them to go eaſtward of that eight or nine leagues, in order to ſell more in two other places. The firſt called Perekow, the
Perekow Grande. fartheſt Perekow Grande. This laſt may be known by a great round hill, named Mont Rodondo, lying near it on the weſt, and by the water ſide are many high palm trees.—From hence they ſet forth homeward the 13th of February, and plied up along till they came within ſeven or eight leagues of Cape Tres Puntas.— 1554

"On the fifteenth, about eight at night, they caſt about to ſeaward.—In returning from the coaſt of Mina, be ſure make your way good weſt, as far as Cape da las Palmas; where the current ſets weſtward, and within twenty leagues eaſtward of that cape, you may have freſh water, and ballaſt enough, with plenty of ivory, or elephants teeth, at the river De los Patos, which is in four degrees, and almoſt two thirds, and when you reckon yourſelf River de los Patos. as far ſhot as the cape, being in a degree, or a degree and a half of latitude, you may go weſt, and weſt by north till you come into three degrees, and then you may go weſt north weſt, and north weſt by weſt, till you come in five degrees; after which proceed north-weſt. In ſix degrees they meet with northerly winds, and great ruffling tides, the currents tending, as they judged, to the north north-weſt, moreover, between Cape de Monte and Cape Verde, there run great currents, which deceive many.—The 22d of April, they were in eight degrees; and ſo they ran to the north weſt, having the wind at north eaſt, and eaſt north eaſt, and ſometimes at eaſt, till May day, that they came into eighteen degrees twenty minutes and ſo from eighteen degrees forty minutes, they had the wind at eaſt, and eaſt north-eaſt, and ſometimes at eaſt ſouth-eaſt; and they reckoned the iſlands of Cape Verde to lie to the eaſt ſouth-eaſt, forty-eight leagues off. In twenty and twenty-one degrees, they had the wind more eaſterly to the ſouthward than before; and ſo they ran to the north-weſt, and north north-weſt, and ſometimes north by weſt and north, till they came into thirty-one degrees north, where they reckon themſelves 180 leagues ſouth-weſt by ſouth, off the iſland of De los Flores; and there meeting with the wind at ſouth ſouth-eaſt, ſet their courſe north-eaſt.

In twenty-three degrees, they had the wind at ſouth and ſouth-weſt, and then they ſteered north north-eaſt, till they came into forty degrees, after this they bore north-eaſt, the wind being at the ſouth-weſt, and the iſland Flores ſeventeen leagues eaſt of them. Iſland Flores. In forty-one degrees, they met with the wind at north-eaſt, and ran north-weſtward. Then it blew weſt-north-weſt, and at the weſt within ſix leagues, they running towards the north-weſt, preſently they caſt about and lay at north-eaſt, till they came into forty-two degrees, where they ſet their courſe eaſt north-eaſt, judging the iſle of Corvo to be thirty-ſix leagues diſtant, ſouth by weſt.—The 21ſt of May, they conſulted with John Raſe, and he thought it beſt to go north-eaſt, and judging himſelf to be twenty-five leagues eaſtward of the Iſle de Flores, in thirty-nine degrees and a half.——On the fourth of September, under nine degrees, they loſt ſight of the north ſtar: and in forty-five degrees, the compaſs varied eight degrees to the weſt. In forty degrees it varied fifteen degrees in the whole: and in thirty degrees and a half, five degrees to the weſt.——Two or three days before they came to Cape Tres Puntas, the pinnace went along the ſhore, thinking to ſell ſome wares; ſo their ſhip caſt anchor three or four leagues weſt by ſouth of the cape, where they left the Trinity, and their pinnace came aboard for more

* Cape de las Palmas, is a fair high land, but on the eaſt ſide there are ſome low places by the ſhore, which look like red cliffs, with white ſtreaks, reſembling high ways, each the length of a cable. This cape is the ſouthernmoſt land in all the coaſt of Guinea, and ſtandeth in four degrees one third. The coaſt from Cape de las Palmas to Cape de tres Puntas, is fair and clear, without rocks or other danger, and twenty-five leagues from the former cape. The land is higher than any other place, till you come to the latter, about ten leagues ſhort of which it riſes gradually all the way thither; likewiſe five leagues before you come to it to the north-weſt, there is certain broken ground, and two great rocks; within which in the bite of a bay, is a caſtle called Arra, belonging to the king of Portugal, eaſily known by the rocks that lie off it, there being none ſuch from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Tres Puntas. This coaſt lies eaſt by north, and weſt by ſouth, from Cape de las Palmas to Arra, are ninty-five leagues; and the coaſt from that caſtle to the weſtermoſt point of Tres Puntas, lies ſouth-eaſt by ſouth, and north-weſt by north. This weſternmoſt point is a low land, running out half a mile into the ſea; alſo upon the innermoſt neck, to the landward, is a tuft of trees; and there they arrived on the 11th of January.

1541 more goods. They told him, they would go to a place rich in gold, where the Primroſe had taken in a conſiderable quantity in the firſt voyage. He fearing a brigantine, that was then upon the coaſt, followed them, leaving the Trinity about four leagues behind. They rode before that town four days; ſo that Martin, by his own deſire, and conſent of ſome of the commiſſioners that were in the pinnace, went on ſhore: and John Bern went to trade at the town of Samma, already mentioned.

The ſhips brought home this time 400 pound weight and odd of gold, of 22 carrats and one grain in fineneſs; alſo thirty-five buts of grains (Guinea pepper) and about 250 elephants teeth of different ſizes. They meaſured ſome of nine ſpans in length, as they were bent; others were as thick as a man's thigh, and weighed about 84lb. weight a-piece.

The Nigritiæ (or Negros) poſſeſs a great part of Africa, extending weſtward to the ocean, and ſouthward to the river Nigritis (or Niger) which increaſes and diminiſhes at the ſame time with the Nile; and produces the ſame kind of animals, as crocodiles; for which reaſon, Eden takes it for that called by the Portugueſe Senega. Thoſe who made the voyage confirmed what is here reported of this laſt river, viz. That on one ſide the inhabitants are tall and black, and on the other ſide low of ſtature and tawny.

As to the manners and nature of the people on the Guinea coaſts, their princes and noblemen pounce and raiſe their ſkins in different figures, like flowered damaſk; and although they go in a manner all naked, yet many of them, eſpecially their women, are, as it were, laden with collars, bracelets, hooks and chains, either of gold, copper or ivory. I myſelf, (ſays my author) ſaw one of their ivory bracelets, weighing 38 ounces: it was made of one whole piece of the thickeſt part of the tooth, turned and ſomewhat carved, with a hole in the midſt, to let the hand through. Some wear one on each arm and leg, wherewith they are often ſo gauled, as to become in a manner lame; yet they will by no means leave them off. Some wear alſo on their legs, great ſhackles of bright copper, which they think to be no leſs comely. They likewiſe make uſe of collars, bracelets, garlands and girdles of certain blue ſtones like beads. Some of their women wear on their bear arms, certain foreſleeves, made of plates of beaten gold, and on their fingers rings of gold wire, with a knot or wreath, like that which children make in ruſh-rings.

Among other things of gold which the Engliſh had in exchange, were certain chains and colars for dogs. They were very wary in bargaining, and would not loſe the leaſt ſpark of gold. They have weights and meaſures, and are very circumſpect in them. Whoever would deal with them muſt behave civilly; for they will not traffic if they are ill uſed. In the firſt voyage it happened, that one of the Engliſh ſailors ſtole, or took away by force, a Muſk or Civet cat from the place they firſt touched at, never imagining that a fraud committed in one place would hinder their trading in another. But although they made what haſte they could to the port they next deſigned for, yet the news of the injury got there before them, which ſo offended the inhabitants, that they would bring down no wares to the ſea-ſide, till ſuch time as the aggreſſors had either reſtored the cat, or payed for her at their own price.—Their houſes are made of four poſts or trees, and covered with boughs. Their common food is roots, and fiſh, whereof they have great plenty. Among the reſt is the flying fiſh, like thoſe in the Weſt Indian ſeas. The Engliſh intended to lay in proviſion of their fiſh, but found they would not take ſalt; ſome ſay they muſt be eaten forthwith; yet others affirm, that being ſalted immediately after they are taken, they will keep ten or twelve days.—But what is more ſtrange, we are told part of the fleſh they carried out of England, which putrified there, became ſweet again at their return into the temperate climate. Their bread is made and baked in this manner: they grind with their hands between two ſtones, as much corn as they think may ſuffice the family; and having thus brought it to flour, make thereof very thin dough, which they ſtick upon ſome poſt of their houſes, where it is baked by the heat of the ſun, and lies till they take it down to eat. They have very good wheat, the ear whereof is two handfuls in length, and as large as a great bulruſh, being almoſt four inches about, where thickeſt. The ſtem or ſtraw ſeems near as thick as a man's little finger; the wheat itſelf is round like peaſe, and very white, ſhining like pearls, that have loſt their luſtrue. Almoſt the whole ſubſtance turns into flour, making little or no bran. Here were counted in one ear 260 grains. The ear is incloſed in three blades, each larger than itſelf, and two inches broad: and by this fertility, the ſun ſeems in part to make amends for all the great inconveniences the natives incur from its intenſe heat. Their drink is either water, or the juice which drops from the cut branches of the barren date trees, called Palmatos; to receive which, they hang either great gourds on the ſaid branches every evening, or elſe ſet them underneath the trees, that the drops may fall therein till morning. They ſay this liquor taſtes like whey, but ſomething more ſweet and pleaſant. They cut the branches in the evening, becauſe they are cloſed by the heat in the day. They have alſo great beams as big as cheſnuts, and very hard, with a ſhell inſtead of a huſk.—When the Engliſh came home, they found the keels of their ſhips quite covered with certain ſhells, more than two inches in length, and wide enough to put one's thumb in. The author ſaw the Primroſe in the dock covered with them, which, in his opinion, muſt have hindered her ſailing. They affirm, that in theſe there grows certain ſlimy ſubſtances, which at length, ſlipping out into the ſea, become thoſe fowls which we call Barnacles. The like ſhells have been ſeen on ſhips returning from Ireland, but not more than half an inch in length. Their ſhips were alſo in ſeveral parts eaten with worms, which creep between the planks, and eat through in many places.

This was one of the earlieſt voyages of our countrymen to thoſe parts.

VOYAGE TO THE COAST OF GUINEA

BY WILLIAM TOWNSON.

ON Monday, the 13th of September, they left Newport Haven, in the Iſle of Wight, with two good ſhips, the Hart and Hind, both of London. The maſters were John Ralph and William Carter, being bound to the River de Seſtos in Guinea, and other ports thereabouts. The wind was ſo various, that it was the 14th of October, before they could reach the road of Dartmouth, where having continued ſix days, the 20th they warped out, and ſet ſail, directing their courſe ſouth-weſt, and next morning they had run, by eſtimation, thirty leagues. On the firſt of November they found themſelves in 31

 degrees

degrees of latitude, by the reckoning of their maſter, and ran this day about 40 leagues. On the 3d they had ſight of Porto Santo, which is a ſmall iſland in 38 deg. ſouth lat. about three leagues long, and one and an half broad, poſſeſſed by the Portugueſe. It appeared to them, coming from the north north-weſt, like two ſmall hills near together. The eaſt land is a high land, like a ſaddle, cauſed by a valley. The weſt end is lower, with certain ſmall round hillocks. The ſame day at eleven, they ſaw the iſland of Madeira, 12 leagues from Porto Santo. Towards the ſouth-weſt the land is fair and fruitful; it is inhabited by Portugueſe. It appears at a conſiderable diſtance like great whole land, and high. By three o'clock in the afternoon, they were oppoſite Porto Santo, and bore ſouth-weſt to leave Madeira to the eaſt. About three in the morning they were within three leagues of the weſt end of Madeira, and, by means of the high hills there, were becalmed; having ran by computation, 30 leagues in the whole. The 6th in the morning, they raiſed the iſle of Teneriffe, otherwiſe called the Pike, becauſe it is a very high iſland, with a pike (or peak) on the top, like a ſugar-loaf. The ſame night they ſaw Iſle of Palma, which is high alſo, and to the weſt of Teneriffe.——The 7th they perceived the iſland of Gomera, which lies between Teneriffe and Palma, about 12 leagues eaſtward of the latter, and eight leagues to the weſtward of the former; but for fear of being becalmed by this, they left both iſles to the eaſt, and paſſed betwixt Palma and Gomera; having ran this day and night, 30 leagues.*

This day alſo they had ſight of Ferro, which is 13 leagues to the ſouthward of the other iſlands, and is poſſeſſed by the Spaniards. All this day and night, by reaſon of the wind, they could not double the point of Ferro, except they had gone to the weſtward of it, which would have been much out of their way; wherefore they tacked about, and ran back five hours, eaſt north-eaſt, to the end they might double it upon the next board, the wind continuing ſouth-eaſt, a thing that ſeldom happens upon that coaſt; for the wind blows there for the moſt part, north-eaſt, and eaſt north-eaſt; ſo upon the other board, by next morning, they were in with the iſland, and had room enough to double the ſame. The 12th they ſaw a ſail under their lee, which they took for a fiſherman, and meant to have ſpoken with him; but an hour after there roſe ſuch a fog, that they could neither ſee the ſhip, nor yet one another; they ſhot off divers pieces to the Hind, but ſhe heard them not. In the afternoon, they ſhot off a piece which the Hart heard, and anſwered with another. Half an hour after, the fog broke up; and they found themſelves within four leagues of the Barbary ſhore, in 14 fathoms water: the bark alſo came and anchored with them, by reaſon of the contrary wind. When they fell in with the land, they could not juſtly tell what part it was, becauſe of that coaſt being low land, one has nothing to judge by, but the ſhore itſelf, which is white like chalk or ſand, and very deep to the ſtrand. By the pilot's reckoning, they were 16 leagues to the eaſt of the river del Oro. Here they immediately began to fiſh, and found great ſtore of what the Portugueſe commonly fiſh for upon that coaſt, which they called Pergoſſes, and the French Saders; but the Engliſh, Salt-water Breams. During the fog, the ſhip which they followed ſteered ſuch a courſe, that they could ſee her no more, by reaſon of the ſhooting off to find the Hind again. The 13th, in the afternoon, the Hart ſaw a ſail making towards them, which they judged to be the ſail they ſaw the day before. The captain ordered the Hind to weigh anchor, and ſail up to her, and manned out the ſkiff, either to lay her aboard, or to diſcern what ſhe was. The Hart alſo weighed in half an hour, but the veſſel perceiving them, tacked about, and ſhortly after there fell ſuch another fog, which continuing all night, they were conſtrained to leave the chace. This afternoon the wind came about, and they bore ſouth-weſt, to get clear of the coaſt. They ran that night ſixteen leagues. The 14th in the morning was very foggy; but about 12 o'clock, they eſpied a caraval of 60 tons, fiſhing, and ſent their ſkiffs to her with five men. The caraval, for haſte, let ſlip her anchor, and ſet ſail, which they ſeeing, purſued her, though without any weapons; and in the end, overtaking, made a prize of her, and brought her away, although there were 14 or fifteen men on board, all with arms, but they had not courage to reſiſt. Being come to anchor near the Hart, the captain cauſed the ſkiff to come for him, and went on board to ſee that no harm ſhould be done them, nor any thing taken but what they were willing to ſpare for money; ſo the Engliſh had of them three tapnets of figs, two ſmall pots of oil, two pipes of water, four hogſheads of ſalt-fiſh, which they had taken upon the coaſt, and certain freſh fiſh which they did not eſteem, becauſe there is ſuch plenty upon that coaſt, that in an hour, and ſometimes leſs, a man may take as much as will ſerve 20 for a day. For theſe things, and ſome wine, which was drank on board, and three or four great cans, which they had ſent to the ſhips, the captain paid them 27 piſtoles, which was twice as much as they would willingly have taken; and helped them to get up their anchor and cable which they had let ſlip. After this, they ſet ſail, but the wind cauſed them to anchor again, about 12 leagues off the river del Oro. There were five caravals more in this place; but on ſight of the fleet they all made off. 1555

On the 12th of December they had ſight of the coaſt of Guinea, which as ſoon as they ſaw, they hauled into the land, north-eaſt, and about twelve o'clock at night, came within leſs than two leagues of the ſhore, then tacked about, and found eighteen fathoms water. Afterwards they ſaw a light towards the ſhore, which they took for a ſhip, and thereby judging it to be the river de Seſtos, forthwith caſt anchor, armed their tops, and made all things ready to fight, not knowing but it might be ſome Portugueſe or Frenchmen; but in the morning, ſeeing no veſſel, they judged the light came from ſhore. About two Engliſh miles from them, they ſpied four rocks, one great, and three ſmall. Then they proceeded eaſt ſouth-eaſt along the ſhore, becauſe the maſter did not know well the place, though they were not ſo far eaſt as the river of Seſtos. All this land is low, and full of very high trees along the ſhore; ſo that it is not poſſible to know whereabouts one is, except by the latitude. In theſe 24 hours, they ran 16 leagues; for all the night they had a great gale, with much thunder and lightning. The 13th, for the moſt part, they ran eaſt ſouth-eaſt, two leagues from the coaſt, and found the land full of woods, and great rocks cloſe to the ſhore, againſt which the ſea beat violently, the waves breaking as white as ſnow, and mounting ſo high, that they might eaſily be diſcerned four leagues off, in ſuch a manner, that no boat could land there. At noon they took the altitude of the ſun, and judged themſelves to be 24 leagues to the eaſt of the river de Seſtos; therefore they ſtood towards land, and anchored within two miles of ſhore, in 15 fathoms water, where the ſea was ſo ſmooth that they might have rid by a hawſer. That afternoon they trimmed the boat, that they might go along by the ſhore to ſeek ſome place to water in, for they could not turn back again to the river de Seſtos, becauſe both wind and current is always contrary, the latter running continually eaſtward. The 14th, they went back again along the coaſt, and about noon, the boats found a watering-place. Being far out at ſea, they met with divers boats of the country, ſmall, long, and narrow, with only one man in each, to whom they gave bread, which they were very glad of. About four o'clock, their boats came to them with freſh water, and this night they anchored againſt a river. The 15th, they weighed, and ſet ſail to go near the ſhore. They ſounded all the way, and found

* Theſe iſlands are ſixty leagues from Madeira.

1555 ſometimes rocks, ſometimes fair ground; and never leſs than ſeven fathom water. Within a mile of ſhore, they met with ſeven fathoms and a half; and there anchored in a manner before the mouth of the river: it is called St. Vincent in the charts; and about a mile up it the boats found very good water. This river lies in four degrees and a half, and is by eſtimation, eight leagues beyond the Seſtos: but it is ſo hard to find, that a boat ſhall not diſcern it at half a mile diſtance, becauſe the entrance is quite hidden by a ledge of rocks; which being much broader than the river, a boat muſt run in a good day betwixt the rocks and the ſhore, before it comes at the mouth. But the river itſelf is very large, and divers others fall into it; however the entrance is ſomewhat inconvenient, becauſe the ſea runs pretty high; but being once within, it is calm as the Thames. This ſhore is inhabited near the ſea, by a very large kind of people, who go all naked; except a clout to cover their nakedneſs, about a quarter of a yard long, made of the bark of trees, which will ſpin ſmall, after the manner of linen; ſome wear the like upon their heads, painted with various colours; but for the moſt part they go bare headed, their hair being clipped, and ſhaved in various manners, moſt of them have their ſkin raiſed with divers works, in manner of a leather jerkin; both ſexes go alike, ſo that the women cannot be known from the men, but by the breaſts, which are generally very ugly and long.

The ſame morning they went into the river with the ſkiff, and carried baſons, manillos, &c. and took that day, one hogſhead, and one hundred weight of grains, and two elephant's teeth, at a reaſonable rate. They were fond of baſons, for each of which, they had about thirty pounds weight of grains; and for an elephant's tooth of thirty pounds weight, they gave the negroes, ſix baſons.

In the morning of the 16th, they carried ſome of every ſort of merchandiſe; but the natives made light of them, as well as of the wares they were ſo fond of the day before; offering for baſons what could not be taken; ſo that this day they bought not above one hundred pound weight of grains, by means of the negro's captain, who would ſuffer none to ſell any thing but through his hands, at his price. He was ſo ſubtil; that for a baſon he would not give fifteen pounds weight of grains, and ſometimes would offer ſmall diſh-fulls, whereas before they had baſket's full. When he found the Engliſh would not take ſuch quantities, he departed with all the boats; thinking that they would have followed them and complied with their terms: but perceiving their drift, they weighed, and went away.

Afterwards, going to land to ſee the country, threeſcore of them came about the Engliſh, of whom at firſt they were afraid; but at length, finding no harm was done them, grew familiar, and would come and take them by the hand. On the other ſide thoſe who landed, went into their towns; which conſiſted of about twenty ſmall hovels covered with green leaves and baggage, the ſides all open, and a ſcaffold underneath the houſe, about a yard high, where they lie and work many pretty things out of the barks of trees; they alſo forge handſome darts, and various inſtruments of iron to make their boats, beſides other utenſils; the women labouring as well as the men. Many of the women to divert their viſitants, danced and ſung after their manner, which was not very agreeable to the ear. Their ſong was ſakere, ſakere, ho, ho, ſakere, ſakere, ho, ho; leaping and clapping their hands all the while. They ſaw no cattle or other animals among them; except two goats, ſome little dogs, and ſmall hens. After gratifying their curioſity, they returned on board: when the captain of the firſt boat, with a baſket of grains, by ſigns invited them to come again when they had ſlept, into the river, promiſing plenty of the commodity, a ſample of which, they ſhewed the Engliſh. On the 17th, in the morning,

Manner of traffic.

Mr. Towerſon ſent the maſter on ſhore with the reſt of the merchants. When they got into the river, the captain, with others came and brought grains. Not ſeeing Towerſon there, he made ſigns to know where he was, and being anſwered, that he was on ſhip-board, he aſked who was the diago or captain, for ſo they call theirs, and they pointed to the maſter of the ſhip. Then he began to ſhew his grains, but held them ſo dear, and at the ſame time had ſo ſmall a quantity, that they took but fifty pound weight of them, and came away. Then going aſhore at the little town, where they were the day before, one of the company plucked a gourd; which ſo offended the negroes, that many of them came with their darts and great targets, and made ſigns to them to depart; which they did, having but one bow, and two or three ſwords. As ſoon as they got on board, the ſhips ſet ſail; but as the wind hung off the ſea, they could not get clear of certain rocks, and therefore caſt anchor again.

This country, as far as they could perceive, was quite covered with trees, different from thoſe of Europe, and of many ſorts, with many leaves like the dock, taller than any man is able to reach.—There are certain peaſe by the ſea-ſide, having very great and tall ſtalks; one of which the captain meaſured, and found twenty-ſeven paces long; they grew upon the ſand like trees, and ſo near the ſea, that ſometimes it flows into the woods, as they might perceive by the water-marks: in this place the trees and all other vegetables are continually green; likewiſe the wind blows all day off the ſea, and all night off the land, which the maſter wondered at; but it varied ſometimes.—This night, at nine o'clock, the wind ſpringing up at eaſt, (which ordinarily about that time blew north-north-weſt from the ſhore) they weighed, and hauled off; but the next morning hauled in again to land, and each ſhip took in ſix tons of water.——Mr. Towerſon could not perceive that there was gold here, or any thing elſe of value; the people being ſo wild and idle, that they minded nothing. They might gather plenty of grains if they would take pains; but he could not perceive two towns in the whole place. There were ſome fowls in the country, but the people would not be at the trouble to catch them.

On the 18th, towards night, as they were ſailing along the coaſt, they met with certain boats, which informed them, that in a river oppoſite to them, there were grains to be ſold: but they would not go thither, leſt the Hind ſhould get before them. This river has lying before it, three great and five ſmall rocks; and on its bank, ſtand a great and little tree. They hauled this night, along the coaſt ten leagues.—On the 20th, the Hind having anchored by them among the rocks, and in foul ground, loſt a ſmall anchor. At noon, as they paſſed along, there came a negro, making ſigns, that if they would go aſhore they ſhould have grains. Where they anchored at night, there came others with grains, which they ſhewed them, and made ſigns that they ſhould ſtay. In the night alſo, they lighted a fire upon land, to direct them where to put aſhore; the like was done in divers other places upon the coaſt, where the natives ſaw them anchor.—On the 22d, they ran all day and night to double the point Des Palmas, in the whole, ſixteen leagues. On the 23d, about three o'clock, they were thwart of the point; and, before they paſſed the weſtermoſt part of it, ſaw a great ledge of rocks, which lie about three leagues weſt of it, and one or more from land. Soon after they had ſight of the eaſtermoſt part of the Cape, which lies four leagues from the weſtermoſt part; and upon the very corner whereof lie two green plats like paſtures; likewiſe to the weſt of the cape, the land parts from it, as it were a bay, whereby it may be eaſily known; four leagues beyond there appears a head-land; and about two leagues farther, the coaſt forms a great bay, like the mouth of a river; before which they caſt anchor, and ſtaid all night for fear they ſhould over-

Cape Des Palmas.

over-run a river where the laſt year they had all their elephants teeth.

Being under ſail on the 24th, about eight o'clock, there came certain boats, bringing ſmall eggs, which were ſoft without ſhells; and they made them ſigns, that within land there was freſh water, and goats. The maſter thinking it was the river which they ſought, caſt anchor, and ſent the boat aſhore, with one that knew the river, finding it was not the ſame, the boat came back, and with oars and ſail, went along ſhore. The Hart weighing; did the like, and being thirteen leagues beyond the Cape, the maſter thought he ſaw the river, when indeed they were two miles paſt it; yet the boat came from ſhore, and thoſe in her ſaid there was no river. Notwithſtanding, they caſt anchor, and the maſter going into the boat with the captain and five men, went upon the ſearch, and when they came near the ſhore, he perceived it was the river they ſought for. They found the entrance very difficult, the ſea running high. But as ſoon as they had entered, ſeveral boats came and ſhewed that they had elephants teeth, whereof they bought one of about eight pounds weight, and a little one of one pound. Then the negroes brought more teeth to the river-ſide; making ſigns, that if they would come next day, they might have more. They gave two of their captains a manillo each, and returning aboard, ſent the Hind's boat to another place, where certain boats that came from ſhore made ſigns that there was freſh water, when they got to land, they found a town but no river; yet the people brought them freſh water, and ſhewed them an elephant's tooth, making them ſigns, that the next day they would ſell them teeth enough.

In this place, and three or four leagues to the weſtward, there grows palm-trees along the ſhore, from which they make their palm wine. Theſe trees may be eaſily diſcovered almoſt two leagues off, being very high, white and ſtrait; the biggeſt ſtanding in the middle. They have no boughs, but only a round buſh at top, where they bore a hole, and hang a bottle to receive the juice which runs out of the hole, and that is their wine.——The language of this place, as far as Mr. Towerſon could perceive, differs not much from the language of that where they watered before; but the people were more civilized and comely. As to the building and apparel of one and the other, there was no difference. Here they were fondeſt of manillos and margarites; having no eſteem for the reſt of the things. About nine o'clock, there came boats from both places with elephants teeth; and after they had made Mr. Towerſon ſwear by the water of the ſea, that he would not hurt them, three or four ventured into the ſhip. Such victuals as were on board being ſet before them, they eat and drank very heartily: afterwards the Engliſh bought all their teeth, which were fourteen, ten of which were ſmall. At their going away, they made ſigns for them to come to the town next day.—As the towns lay three miles aſunder, on the 26th, to avoid loſing time, Mr. Towerſon diſpatched the maſter and two merchants, to one of them, and went himſelf, with a merchant to the other; carrying ſome of every ſort of goods, and bought twenty ſmall teeth, at both places. In their abſence, the maſter of the Hind had twelve elephants teeth on board, in exchange for manillos; and this was all their ſtock, except a ſmall goat at one place, and five little hens at the other, which they bought alſo; and then returning on board, by one o'clock ſet ſail, and went eighteen leagues, ſtill within ſight of land.——On the 28th, the wind varying, they ſtood out to ſea; then changing again, they returned towards land, which appeared like a red cliff, round, but not very high, and eaſt of that a ſmaller, behind which was a round hummock, and green, which they took to be trees. They ran not above four leagues in twenty-four hours.——On the 29th, drawing near ſhore, they perceived a large grove of trees on the top of the great red cliff; and cliffs of the ſame colour to the weſt of it, as far as they could ſee, which, as well as the ſhore, were covered with trees. They could ſee no cliffs to the eaſt, except one near it, and a mile off a river. This day and night's run was twelve leagues. 1555

Trade for teeth.

Thus proceeding, on the third of January in the morning, they fell in with Cape Tres Puntas, and in the night (as the pilots ſaid) paſſed by one of the Portugueſe caſtles, eight leagues to the weſt. The Cape when firſt ſeen appeared very high land, grown over with trees. Coming near it, they perceived two head-lands, with two bays between, directly facing the weſt of the three capes. The middle Cape is not above one league diſtant from the weſtern, although the charts make it three leagues. Right before the middle Cape lies a ſmall rock, ſo near that it cannot be diſtinguiſhed from it, unleſs one lie near the ſhore. This cape has a great heap of trees upon it, and being viewed from the eaſtward, there riſes near by it, a round green hummock. The third Cape about a league beyond the middlemoſt is a high land, like to the other two, and betwixt them comes out a little point of land, with ſeveral rocks cloſe to the ſhore. This day they anchored for fear of overſhooting a town called St. John's, and ran not above eight leagues. In the afternoon there came a boat from ſhore, with five men in her; and went along by them, as they thought, to obſerve the flags: but they would not come near them, and after a while went back.—On the 4th, in the morning, they ſaw a ledge of rocks by the ſhore; and to the weſt, two great green hills joining together, with a hollow between, like a ſaddle. The maſter judged that the afore-named town ſtood within thoſe rocks; but having ſent the boats with goods, they found none.—About two leagues eaſt of the two hills, a ledge of rocks lie out in the ſea, almoſt two miles, and beyond that a great bay, which runs in north-north-eaſt, as the coaſt doth; but the fartheſt point of land they could ſee, bore north-eaſt-by-eaſt. Beyond the uttermoſt head-land they ſaw a great red cliff, which the maſter taking for St. John's town, went thither with the boat, and found a town on the top of the hill; from whence the people waved a cloth for him to come in, there being a fine bay to the eaſt of the cliff; after waiting ſome time, they ſent a boat, with a piece of gold to ſhew, about half a crown weight; and required to know the meaſure and weight the Engliſh uſed, that they might inform their captain. Having given them a meaſure of two ells, and a weight of two angels, they went away, and preſently came with a meaſure of two ells one quarter and a half, and one cruſado weight of gold; making ſigns that ſo much they would give for the like meaſure, and leſs they would not have. Finding after an hours waiting, that they could do otherwiſe, and underſtanding withal, that the beſt places were before them; they departed and ran along the ſhore, the boat going a-head, and having ſailed about a league, paſſed a point with a ledge of rocks before it; beyond which the maſter ſpied a place, which he ſaid poſitively was the town of Don John, and ſo it proved. Night coming on they anchored as near it as they could. Next morning they perceived it to be the ſame town, and manned the boats and went thither, letting fall their grapnel a little way from ſhore. Here they waited two hours, and no boats came near them; for it ſeems the year before, the Portugueſe took a man from them, and then drove them from the place, with their guns demoliſhing one half of their town. The Hind's boat went into the bay, which lieth to the eaſt of it, and found a fine river. After this, the people waved to them to come in; which done, the negros came down, and made them ſigns that they had gold. But none would venture on board the boats, probably becauſe they had none of their own, which the Portugueſe might have ſpoiled. For the Engliſh being well armed thruſt the boats heads aſhore; and then the captain, who was a grave man, came with his dart

in

1555 in his hand, followed by six tall men with darts and targets: the darts were all of iron, handsome and well pointed. After them came another carrying the captain's stool. The English having saluted him, by taking off their caps, and bowing, he, like one who thought much of himself, did not move his cap, and hardly his body, but sat him down very solemnly upon his stool. As to his attendants, they put off their caps and bowed. He was cloathed, from his waist downwards, with a cloth of that country's manufacture wrapped about him, and made fast with a girdle. His cap was also of that country's cloth: he went bare-legged and barefooted, as well as naked upwards. Some of his servants were dressed like himself, others had nothing but a cloth between their legs, made fast behind and before to their girdles, with caps of skins, some like a basket, and some like a wide purse.

The chief.

His state and habit.

Their cloth, cords, and fishing lines, are made of the bark of certain trees, which they manufacture very neatly. They likewise work gold very well, and make curious implements of iron, as darts, fish, and other hooks, with iron heads, and large two-edged daggers, some of them as long as a wood knife, exceeding sharp, and bent, after the manner of Turky blades, which most of them have hanging at their left sides. Their targets are also made of bark, and very close wrought; they are besides very large, and as to form, square, somewhat longer than broad; so that kneeling down, they cover their whole body.—— Their bows are short, and pretty strong, it being as much as a man can do to draw them tight;—— the string is of bark, and flat, and about a quarter of an inch broad.

Mr. Towerson sent the captain two ells of cloth, and two basons, as a present. He sent back for a weight answering the same measure, but would not take a weight of two angels, nor suffer the town to buy any thing but the brass basons, not liking the other wares; so that they sold that morning 74 basons for about half an angel weight, one with another, and nine white basons for a quarter of an angel each.—About two o'clock the captain came again, and presented Mr. Towerson with a hen, and two great roots; letting him know, by signs, that the country people would come to his town that night, and bring plenty of gold. Accordingly, at four o'clock there came about 100 men, under three captains, well appointed with their darts and bows. When they drew near, they stuck their darts in the ground by the shore, and the captains having sat down on stools brought them, they sent a young man on board, who brought a measure with him of an ell, one quarter and one sixteenth part, insisting on having four times that quantity for a weight of an angel and twelve grains. Mr. Towerson offered him two ells for two angels weight, and at last, when it grew late, he came down to four; but falling no lower, they departed. This day they took for basons, six ounces and a half, and one eighth part. The sixth in the morning, they manned the boat and the skiff well, for fear of the Portuguese, who, the last year, had taken a man from the other ships, and went on shore, because the negros had no boats to meet the English. They were presently accosted by the same young man, who seemed to have dealt before with the Portuguese, for he could speak that language a little, and was perfect in weights and measures. He offered, as he had done before, one angel and 12 grains for four ells, making signs; that if they would not take that, they might depart; which they did, offering him three ells of rotten cloth for that weight, which he refused. The ships being a league off, they sent back again for sand and ballast.

The captain perceiving that the boats brought no merchandise, and that their intention was to sail away in earnest, made signs again to know if they would not give the four ells; and when they saw the boats ready to depart, they came and gave the weight of the angel and 12 grains, which was required before; and made signs, that if the boats would come again, they would take three ells. For quicker dispatch, Mr. Towerson, and John Savill, went on shore in one boat, and the master, (John Makeworth) and Richard Curligin in the other; the first took 52 ounces, and the other boat eight ounces and a quarter. Next day Mr. Towerson went on shore again, and took three pounds 19 ounces by noon, when they had sold most of the cloth they carried, and many of the people were departed. Those who remained, having made signs to fetch them some earthen basons, Savill and Makeworth went again, and took 18 ounces of gold, and then came away, seeing the people departed at a certain cry that was made. While they were on shore, there came on board a young fellow, who could speak a little Portuguese, with three more, to whom Mr. Towerson sold 39 basons, and two small white saucers for three ounces, &c. which was the most they made by basons. And in the afternoon, the master sold five basons to the same fellow for half an ounce of gold. This fellow seemed to have been taken by the Portuguese, and escaped from the castle; for he said they were bad men, and made them slaves if they could take them, putting irons on their legs. He told them also, that they would hang all the French and English they could take, (which names he pronounced very well;) that there were 60 men in the castle, and that every year a great ship, and a small caraval arrived thither, and that Don John was at war with the Portuguese. This encouraged Mr. Towerson the more to go to his town, which lies but four leagues from the castle, whence their men were beaten the last year. This Negro came on board the ship without fear, and demanded, why they had not brought back the five men who were taken the year before? He answered, that they were in England, well used, and kept only till they could speak the language; after which, they should be brought again to assist the English in their affairs here. He then spoke no more of the matter.——The boats being come on board, they set sail, and a little after, observed a great fire on land, by the light whereof, they might discern something white, which they took for the castle. And for fear of passing beyond the town of Don John, they anchored two leagues off shore; for it is hard to reach a town here if a ship once overshoots it. This day they took seven pounds and five ounces of gold. The town lieth in a great and very deep bay. The people here desired most to have basons and cloth; some, however, would buy trifles, such as knives, horns; and some of the men going on shore, sold a cap, a dagger, a hat, &c.

They shewed Mr. Towerson a certain coarse cloth, which seemed to be made in France;—the wool was coarse, and the thread small as worsted, and striped with green, white and yellow. Several of the people wore large glass beads about their necks.

In the morning of the 8th, the English saw the castle, but not till they were at Don John's town, on account of a mist which obscured their view. Hauling in shore, they anchored here in seven fathoms. In some places the land appeared low, in others high, and covered with verdure. The town was but small, consisting of about 20 houses, mostly incompassed with a wall about six feet high, made of reeds or sedges. After waiting for some time, they sent their boat on shore, and was informed that Don John, who was gone up the country, would return at sun-set. The person who gave this information, received an ell of cloth for his reward.

A traffic was now began with the natives, though Don John did not return at the expected time. Going on shore again there came out a boat, with a quantity of gold, and after long chaffering, the measure of cloth to be sold was fixed at three ells wanting a nail, and their weight at an angel and 20 grains; after which he took a pound and a quarter of an ounce of gold, in the space of a quarter of an hour.

The natives having made signs that he should stay till they had parted their cloth, when they would return; but receiving a message from the town while they

they were thus employed, they waved their hands to the Engliſh, ſignifying, that they wiſhed them to land at the ſame time that they fled to the woods with their merchandiſe. This conduct naturally creating ſome ſuſpicion, the crew went on board the Hind again, ſome Portugueſe having ſhewn themſelves upon an adjacent hill. 1555

In the mean time, Mr. Towerſon being curious to know what the Hart done, went towards her in the Hind's boat; and when he was near her, two pieces of cannon were fired, and he ſoon ſaw the boat and ſkiff hurrying from the ſhore. Being come on board, he was told what had happened, and that the goods had been delivered to Don John and his ſons; while they waited for his anſwer, the Portugueſe had ruſhed upon them from the hill, which was the occaſion of firing their ordnance. This circumſtance obliged them to ſail along the coaſt, after having exchanged ſome ſhot with the enemy.

On the night of the 11th, twenty-two boats were perceived running along ſhore; on which account they ſet ſail on the 12th, and ſaw ſeveral towns, many people from which came out, to take a view of them; but no boats appeared. About four miles from the eaſtermoſt of theſe, ſome negros came out upon the rocks, waving a white flag, but the Engliſh would not ſtay, conceiving themſelves to be near the principal place where (having weathered a point of land) they anchored in five fathoms water, about half a mile from the ſhore.

They ſent out their boat about ten in the forenoon; but none of the natives would come near them, a circumſtance which they judged to be occaſioned by four men having been forcibly carried off from that part of the coaſt the year before. Towards night, however, a great number of people came to the water-ſide, waving a white flag, and their captain came and ſat down under a tree, in ſight of the ſhip. It was not, however, without ſome difficulty that any of them were prevailed on to come on board, by offering them a preſent for the chief, whom they called their Grand Captain.

The Engliſh went on ſhore on the 13th, but having ſtaid till ten o'clock without being met by any body, they made preparations for returning; but the negros obſerving their motions, came down in haſte with a flag, to induce their gueſts to ſtay, making ſigns that their captain would come preſently. During this time a ſmall veſſel paſſed by, which was little noticed by the Engliſh, the natives ſtill ſignifying that their chief would come, and that a free traffic ſhould be eſtabliſhed. And ſoon after, a man clothed like their captain, appeared, ſaluted the adventurers in a friendly manner. Then one of the chief among them went and ſeated himſelf under a tree. But a number of theſe people were preſently diſcovered in a hollow way, and behind them the Portugueſe had planted a gun which was ſuddenly fired at them, but over-ſhot the mark.

Having met with the Hind on the 14th in the morning, both veſſels turned eaſtward, and went where the Trinity had been the year before. The maſter took the Hind, while Mr. Towerſon remained to try what could be done farther.

As ſoon as the negros ſaw one ſhip depart, they expected the other would follow; in order to prevent which, a boat was ſent with four people, who deſired the Engliſh would deliver one man into their hands, offering two pledges for his ſecurity. Accordingly a ſervant went, and two of the natives were ſent on board in his room. Notwithſtanding this friendly intercourſe, three guns were fired at the Engliſh, which, as it appeared, were diſcharged by a Portugueſe brigantine.

The captain came down the next morning with 100 men; and he and ſeveral others brought their wives down to the ſhore. Here the Engliſh continued trafficking for gold; and on the 23d ſome other negros made ſigns that they would deal with them. To theſe they ſold bells, ſheets and thimbles, and received above two pounds of gold in exchange. The 25th they diſpoſed of ſeven dozen of ſmall bells, and other things; after which there being no more gold to be had, they departed to leeward, to ſeek the Hind. About five o'clock they had ſight of her, and coming up, underſtood ſhe had made ſome ſales. Next day they received out of the Hind, 48 pounds three ounces of gold, which ſhe had taken in their abſence; and at the requeſt of a negro, who came from the captain, they went to ſhore with their merchandiſe, and took ſeven pounds and one ounce. At this place the negros required no gages, but in the evening ſent a boat on board which continued all night, to let the merchants know, that they would alſo come the next day. The 27th they took in both ſhips eight pounds one ounce, three quarters and an half of gold. The 28th the ſale was made for the company, and one pound and half an ounce of gold was taken. The next morning, two guns were heard from ſhore, which they judged to be ſhot off either by the Portugueſe, or their negros, they manned out their boat armed, and went to land; but they were gone. The 13th they made more ſales for the company, and the maſter next day ſent the boats to take in baliaſt, they met with the negros who had dealt with the ſhips the day before: they were fiſhing, and having no gold, exchanged fiſh for handkerchiefs, helping the men to load the ſand into the bargain.—On the firſt of February, removing to another place, they took one pound nine ounces, and three quarters of gold. The 2d they made more ſales; but finding moſt of their fare was very indifferent, they reſolved to ſtay no longer on that coaſt. The 3d and 4th they made ſome ſales, though not great, and finding the wind to come off ſhore, ran along it weſtwards. Upon this coaſt they found, that ordinarily, about two o'clock in the morning, the wind comes off the ſhore, at north north-eaſt, and continues till eight in the morning, and all the reſt of the day, and at night it blows from the ſouth-weſt. As for the tide or current, upon this ſhore, it goes continually with the wind. On the 5th they continued ſailing, and thought to have met with ſome Engliſh ſhips, but did not. Next day they ſteered ſouth-weſt, to form under the land, and ran 24 leagues. The 13th they thought themſelves, by their reckoning, to be clear of Cape das Palmas, and ran 12 leagues. Continuing their courſe, the 20th they found themſelves in 22 degrees. This day William King, one of the Hart's men, who had been long ſick, died in his ſleep. His cloaths were diſtributed to thoſe that wanted them, and his money kept to be delivered to his friends in England. On the 30th they were under the tropic; and next day made eighteen leagues, ſailing on till the 20th of April, they then found themſelves in the latitude of the Azores. The 7th of May, they fell in with the ſouthern part of Ireland; and going on ſhore, had freſh drink, and two ſheep of the country people, who were wild Kernes, with ſuch other victuals as they judged would ſerve them till they arrived in England, for which they gave them gold. On the 14th, with the afternoon's tide, they caſt anchor in the port of Briſtol called King-road.

1556

THE SECOND VOYAGE OF MR. TOWERSON TO THE COAST OF GUINEA.

THE ſhips employed in this voyage, were, the Tyger of London, Admiral, of 120 tons, Mr. Towerſon commander; the Hart, of London, 60 tons, John Skire, captain; and a Pinnace of 16 tons, John Davis, captain. They carried back with them the negros which had been brought by force from Guinea two years before, as mentioned in the former voyage. On the 14th of September, 1556, the Tyger departed from Harwich for the Iſle of Scilly, to meet the Hart and pinnace, which were rigged and victualled at Briſtol; ſhe arrived there the 28th, but they were not come; and after waiting for them ſeveral days, returned to Plymouth the 12th of October. At length they joined her, and the 15th of November all departed together from Plymouth at one o'clock in the afternoon. On the 28th, they had ſight of the iſle of Porto Santo; and next day, in the morning, of Madeira. On the 3d of December, they fell in with the Iſle of Palma, and the 9th were thwart of Cape Blanco, and found there certain caravals employed in fiſhing. On the 19th, they found themſelves in the height of Sierra Leona, and all this day ran thwart of certain currents, which ſet weſt-ſouth-weſt, ſo ſwift as if it had been the overfall of a ſand; making a great noiſe like a ſtream or flood-gate, when the water is ſhoal; yet they could find no ground with 150 fathoms. On the 30th, they fell in with the Coaſt of Guinea, which they diſcovered about four leagues off. The view conſiſted of three hills, which lay north-eaſt-by-eaſt from them; and betwixt the two northermoſt, were two great trees: and a little more to the north-weſt certain hummocks.—Having ſailed ſomewhat into ſhore, they judged they were ſhot a little beyond the river De Seſtos, and looked about to fetch it. A little after they ſaw three ſail of ſhips, and two pinnaces in the weather of them, and made ready to meet them, hauling off the ſhips to gain the wind as near as they could. "Having ſailed about an hour or two, they alſo tacked about, and went the ſame courſe to make themſelves ready; then the Engliſh chacing them, they made off: but when they had put themſelves in order, they tacked about again, and came up very finely appointed with their ſtreamers, pendants, enſigns, and the noiſe of trumpets, very bravely.—When both fleets met, they had the weather of ours, which being determined to fight, waved them to come under their lee. This they ſtoutly refuſing, the Engliſh demanded of them whence they were? they ſaid of France; and being told our ſhips were of London, they aſked what Portugueſe ſhips we had ſeen? The anſwer was none but fiſhermen. They ſaid, there were certain Portugueſe ſhips gone to the Mina to defend it, and that they met with another at the river Seſtos, of 200 tons, which they had burned, having ſaved none but the maſter, two or three negros, and a few others, grievouſly burned, whom they left on ſhore there. The names of the ſhips were, the Eſpoier, of Hableneff, Admiral, Denis Blundell, Captain; the Louriere, of Roan, Vice Admiral, Jerome Baudet, Maſter; the third was of Honfleur; the Maſter called John de Orleans. The captain of the admiral, and ſeveral others, came on board our ſhips in a friendly manner; deſiring we would keep them company, becauſe of the Portugueſe, and to go to the Mina with them. The Engliſh told them, they had not watered, and were juſt fallen with the coaſt. They made it appear, that they were fifty leagues beyond the river De Seſtos; yet ſaid, there was water enough to be had, and promiſed to help them to it with their own boats, becauſe they were deſirous to have their company. They declared farther, that they had been ſix weeks upon the coaſt, and had gotten but three tons of grains among them all. The Engliſh weighed this propoſal: they conſidered that if the Mina coaſt was clear, the French would ſpoil their market, in caſe they went there before them; and that, if it was not clear, and the Portugueſe ſhould take them, they would underſtand that they were behind, and ſo lie in wait for them. They farther conſidered that in caſe they went with them, they ſhould fare as their own companions, if the coaſt was clear; and that if it were not clear, they would be ſure to be ſtronger than the Portugueſe. Upon theſe conſiderations, the Engliſh told them, that the next day they would confer more largely of the matter. Whereupon they deſired Mr. Towerſon to come next day to dinner with them, and to bring with him the maſters of the ſhips and ſuch merchants as he ſhould think fit; offering to give them water out of their own ſhips."

On the 31ſt, in the morning, the admiral having ſent his boats on board the Tyger, Mr. Towerſon took the maſters with ſome of the merchants, and went to him. He had provided a good banquet, and treated them very friendly. He renewed his requeſt to keep him company, promiſing them half of the victuals, or whatever elſe they fancied on board his ſhips throughout the voyage; and offering even to furl his flags, and be at their command in every thing. In the end, they agreed to come to an anchor with one of his pinnaces, and an almaide, which they had brought out of France to ſeek water. As for their own pinnace, ſhe anchored out at ſea, and would not come near them.

The boats returned on the firſt of January, without finding any river. On which they ſet ſail, and came at length to a river; going into which next day, they bargained and took five ſmall elephants teeth. On the 3d, they took five more. On the 4th, the French admiral and they, took fifteen ſmall teeth. This day they went to ſeek elephants, with thirty men well-armed, with harquebuſſes, pikes, long-bows, croſs-bows, partizans, long ſwords, and bucklers. —— They found two, which they hit ſeveral times with harquebuſſes and long-bows, but they went away, and hurt one of the men. On the 5th, they ſet ſail, and ran along the coaſt. The 6th, they fell in with the River de San Andre; to the weſt of which there is a high land, and a fair bay. Next day they went in and found no village, but wild negroes, not accuſtomed to trade. It is a very great river, and is ſeven fathoms deep in ſome places at the entrance; having taken in water, they ſet ſail. On the 8th, they proceeded along ſhore, and came to the red cliffs, and went forward next day alſo. On the 10th, they conferred with Captain Blundell, admiral of the French ſhips; Jerome Baudet, his vice-admiral; John de Orleans, maſter of a ſhip of ſeventy tons; and their merchants. It was agreed, that to whatever place they came, they ſhould be of one mind, and not hurt each others market; to which end, ſome of their boats ſhould ſettle the price for all, and then one boat make ſail for each ſhip. This night their boats going to ſhore, met with certain negros, who ſaid that they had gold, and therefore they would caſt anchor.—On the 11th, they took but one half angel weight of four grains, all the day, which they dealt for by hand; for the people of this place, called Allow, had no weights.

Allow.

On the 12th, running along the coaſt, they found only one town; but no boats would come out of it, and therefore they went on. On the 13th, Mr. Towerſon went along the coaſt in his boat, and paſſing by ſeveral ſmall towns, was waved to land at three places; but the ſea beat ſo high upon the ſhore, that it was not poſſible, neither could the negros have come to him, if they had had boats, for he could ſee none but at one place. There a boat ventured out, but was over-ſet by the violence of the ſurf, and one of the men drowned; for which misfortune the people made ſuch loud lamentations, that the Engliſh could eaſily hear them. They got his body out of the ſea, and carried it to their town. On the 14th, they came within gun-ſhot of the caſtle, from whence an almaide was immediately ſent out to obſerve them; and perceiving they were not Portugueſe, ran back to the town again; for there is a great town by the caſtle, called by the negros Dondou. Without this there lies two great rocks like iſlands, and the caſtle ſtands upon a point, which appears almoſt like an iſland. Five or ſix leagues, before they came to the caſtle, the land was high; and low for about ſeven leagues before they came to it, and then they found the land high again. This caſtle ſtands above five leagues to the eaſt of Cape Tres Puntas. Here Mr. Towerſon went in the boat with his negros, and ran along the ſhore, as far as the cape, and found two ſmall towns, but no boat at them, nor any traffic to be had. Here his negroes underſtood the people well; one of them called George went aſhore at all the places, and was well received. Next day he went along the ſhore, and about three leagues beyond the eaſtermoſt part of the cape, ran into a good bay, and found a ſmall town and ſome boats belonging to it; but the natives for a long time would not come out. At laſt, by the perſuaſion of his negros, one boat came, with which he ſent George aſhore; and after he had talked to them, they approached the boats without fear. He gave their captain a baſon, and two ſtrings of margarets; and they ſhewed him about five ducats weight of gold, but required ſo much for it, that he would not take it: becauſe the French and Engliſh had agreed to ſettle the price of goods all in one boat; after which, every man was to ſell in his own boat. This place is called Bulle: and here the inhabitants were very glad to ſee the negros that came with him; and ſhewed them all the friendſhip they could, when they found they were the men, who had been taken away, and were now brought back again. Here the boats were informed, that a month before two ſhips attacked one, and put it to flight, and that a little before one French ſhip, being met by four Portugueſe made them ſhear off. This they took to be the Rowbarge; for the French, who were in company, judged her to have been there about that time, with her pinnace. They ſaid alſo, that after her, went firſt a ſhip of 240 tons, called the Shaudit; and then another of eighty, both bound for the Mina; and that they had loſt one at Cape Verde, called the Louriere of Diepoe, and another at the River de Seſtos.—On the 16th, Mr. Towerſon went along the ſhore, with two of the French pinnaces, and found a bay and river; after which they went to the town called Hanta, twelve leagues beyond the Cape. Here his negros were well known, the people weeping for joy when they ſaw them, and aſked where Antony and Binne were: the others told them they were at London in England, and ſhould be brought home the next voyage. After this, the native negros came aboard with them, and brought a weight which was ſo ſmall, that they could not give them half their demands. They informed the boats, that there were five ſhips at the caſtle, and one pinnace; that the Portugueſe did much harm to their country, and that they lived in fear of them: but were very glad when the Engliſh told them, that they would defend them from thoſe diſturbers. On the 17th, they went on ſhore along with the French, but did no great good, the negros were ſo unreaſonable. Then departing, they came to Shamma, (two leagues beyond) and went into the river with five boats well appointed with men and ordnance, under ſound of trumpets and drums; for they thought here to have found ſome Portugueſe, but did not. After ſending their negros on ſhore, ſeveral of them followed, and were very well received: the natives were overjoyed to ſee their country-men again, eſpecially a brother's wife of one, and an aunt of another. In ſhort, all the people ſhewed as much fondneſs for them as if they had been their own brethren. The Engliſh comforted the captain, and told him, they need not fear the Portugueſe, for they would defend him from them; hereupon they ordered their boats to ſhoot off their baſes and harquebuſſes. They likewiſe cauſed their men to land with their long bows, and ſhoot before the captain and his people; who were much ſurpriſed, eſpecially to ſee them ſhoot ſo far as they did, and tried to draw their bow, but could not. When it grew late, they departed to their ſhips, for they looked every hour for the Portugueſe. Here the negros gave them to underſtand, that there was an Engliſh ſhip at the Mina, which had brought one of the negros again, whom Robert Gainſh took away. On the 18th, they went into the river with no leſs ſtrength than before; and concluded with the negros to give them for every ſuffe, two yards and three nails of cloth, and to take for it one angel and a ducat; they took in all ſeventy ducats, of which the French had forty, and the Engliſh thirty. On the 19th, they went aſhore, every man for himſelf, and took a good quantity of gold; Mr. Towerſon for his own part, took four pound two ounces and a half of gold; and the Hart's boat twenty-one ounces. At night the negros gave them to underſtand, that the next day the Portugueſe would be with them by land or ſea; and when the boats were ready to depart, they heard harquebuſſes ſhoot off in the woods, which they knew to be the Portugueſe, who did it to frighten them, and make them give over their traffic, but durſt not venture nearer themſelves. On the 20th, the Engliſh manned their five boats, and a great boat of the French, with their and the admiral's men. Twelve of them had on their corſlets, and the reſt were all well armed; there were alſo four trumpets, a drum, and a fife, and the boats were adorned with ſilk ſtreamers and pendants. In this order they went into the river and trafficked; their men of war lying off and on in the river to waft them; but they heard no more of the Portugueſe. This day the negros told them that ſome ſhips were arrived at Hanta.

On the 21ſt the Engliſh manned their boats, and went to a place a league to the weſtward, and there found many negros with another captain, and ſold at the ſame rate they had dealt with the others. The 22d they went on ſhore again, and trafficked quietly; Mr. Towerſon taking four pounds ſix ounces of gold. On the 23d, about night, the negros, with their captain, came and told them, that the king of Portugal's ſhips had ſailed from the caſtle, with a deſign the next day to ply up to the windward, and come to them, warning them to be on their guard. They told them, that they were very glad of their coming, and would be ready at at all times to meet them. To let them ſee they were ſerious, they ſounded their trumpets, and ſhot off ſome guns, at which the negros rejoiced, and intreated them to fall on the Portugueſe without mercy, if they offered to hinder their traffic, promiſing, if they came by land to give them notice. On the 24th they went on ſhore with their trumpets and drums, and trafficked; the captain of the town that day dining with Mr. Towerſon. The next day, while their boats were on ſhore, the ſhip deſeried five ſail of the Portugueſe; and having ſhot of their ordnance to call them away, they threw every man his caſk on ſhore for water, and returned: but by that time they had weighed and given out orders, it was dark. They ſet ſail, and lay cloſe all night to

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Caſtle del Mina, and Dondou.

Trade for gold

Hanta town.

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1556 get the wind if they could, and make themſelves ready for the fight. The Tyger coming near ſome of them, one ſhot off a gun, which they judged to be the Portugueſe admiral, for the reſt of his fleet to come up and ſpeak with him. The 26th, the Engliſh ſhips coming in with the ſhore, had fight of the Portugueſe, where they rid at anchor, and bore with them. They gave all their men white ſcarfs, that the French might diſtinguiſh one from the other, if it came to boarding; however, night coming on they could not fetch them; but they continued within a demi culverin ſhot of them. "The 27th they weighed, as did the Portugueſe, and about ſeven o'clock, (ſays our author) got the wind of them, which, when the enemy perceived, they tacked about to ſhore again, and our ſhips after them. When they were ſo near the ſhore, that they could not well run any farther that way, they tacked about again, and lay to the leeward. Our ſhips tacked at the ſame time, being a-head of them, took in their topſails, and waited for them. The firſt that came up was a ſmall bark, which carried good ordnance, and ſailed ſo well, that ſhe valued nobody. She ſhot at the Tyger, but overſhot her, and then let fly at the admiral of the French, and ſhot him through in two or three places. After this, ſhe went a-head of the Engliſh, becauſe they were in their fighting ſails. Then came up another caraval, under the Tyger's lee, and ſhot both at her and the Frenchman; ſhe hurt two of his men, and ſhot him through the mainmaſt. Next came up their admiral under the lee of the Tyger alſo; but he was not able to do them ſo much harm as the ſmall ſhips, becauſe he carried his ordnance higher: neither was the Tyger able to make a good ſhot at any of them, becauſe ſhe was ſo weak in the ſide, that ſhe laid all her guns under water. Mr. Towerſon therefore reſolved to lay the great ſhip a-board: but as ſoon as the French admiral went room with him, he fell a-ſtern, and could not fetch him. After that he fell behind two caravals more, and in ſhort could fetch none of them, but fell to leeward of them all; and tacking about to the ſhore, left the Engliſh to ſhift for themſelves. The other two Frenchmen kept the wind alſo, and would not advance. The Hart was a-ſtern, ſo that ſhe could not come up to them. For all this the Tyger hoiſted her top-ſails, and gave the enemy chace; and after ſhe had followed them two hours to ſeaward, they tacked about again towards ſhore, thinking to hit her as they went by, and to get the wind of the French admiral; ſhe tacked about with them, and kept ſtill the wind; but continued to the Engliſh ſhips, as well as the French, run to ſeaward, and left her in the lurch. She paſſed ſtill along, and kept the wind of them to ſuccour the French admiral, who was under all of their lees. Being come up with him, every one gave him a broad-ſide: after which they tacked about again, and durſt not board him, becauſe they ſaw the Tyger in the weather of them; otherwiſe, without doubt, they would have taken or ſunk him: for the three ſmalleſt went ſo faſt, that it was not poſſible for a ſhip to board them; and carried ſuch ordnance, that if they had had the weather-gage, they would have gauled three of the beſt ſhips in the confederate fleet. As for their admiral and vice-admiral, they were both well appointed. When the Frenchmen were clear of them, he lay as near the wind as he could; and ſeeing the Tyger ſtill follow them towards the ſhore, ran to ſea after the reſt, and left her all alone. The Portugueſe perceiving this, turned about with her, and ſhe with them, to keep the wind, running ſtill within baſe-ſhot of them; but they ſhot not at her, becauſe ſhe had the weather of them, and ſaw that they could do her no hurt. Thus they followed one another till night, and then ſhe ſhot them: as for all the reſt of the ſhips, they crowded all the ſails they could, and ran to ſea, praying for the Tyger, as they confeſſed, which was all the help they deſigned her.

"On the 28th ſhe met with the vice-admiral, the pinnace, and two of the Frenchmen; the third, which was the Roan ſhip of 80 tons, was fled clear off: Mr. Towerſon went in the ſkiff, to know why they left him in ſuch a manner. Skires's excuſe was, that his ſhip would not ſteer; and as for the pinnace, Davis ſaid ſhe would do nothing, and that he could carry her no farther, for her rudder was ſo ſhattered, that the Hart was forced to tow her. Then he went to the French admiral, whom he found to be a man of courage, but one-half of his men were ſick and dead: the ſmaller Frenchman ſaid, he was in the ſame condition, and that his ſhip would bear no ſail: ſo that he was not able to do any thing. After this, the French durſt not anchor, for fear of the Portugueſe. The 29th the maſter of the pinnace came to tell him, that they were not able to keep her any longer, her rudder, with all the iron work, being broken, both aloft and below. It was therefore agreed to break her up, and put the men into the Hart. Having taken out of her four baſes, one anchor, and certain fire-wood, they ſet her on fire, and afterwards ran along the coaſt.—The 30th, they ran in ſhore, and ſpoke with certain negroes, who told them, that ſome French ſhips had been there; but there was no dealing with them, they were ſo unreaſonable. Next day Mr. Towerſon went aſhore, but did not traffick. The 1ſt of February, ſeeing they could not bring the negroes to any reaſon, they weighed, and came to another place ſtanding on a hill. The 3d day he went to a town four leagues from them, and ſhooting off two pieces, the captain came; who being known to Thomas Rippon, he was ſent to ſhore. As ſoon as he landed, he was remembered by the captain, and divers of the negroes, who aſked for Mr. Towerſon; and being told that he was in the boat, the chief immediately cauſed two boats to put to ſea, and ſeeing Mr. Towerſon at a diſtance, called out to him, and ſeemed to be very happy on the occaſion, ſo did all the company who knew him. He made him a preſent, according to the cuſtom of the country, and cauſed the Frenchman to do the ſame, promiſing to treat with him the next day. That night, becauſe it was late, he would not talk of any price, but left a pledge, and took another of Mr. Towerſon. The 4th, going on ſhore, he found that the ſhips of France, which had been there, had done much hurt to the markets: yet took five ounces and a half of gold. The 5th he took eight ounces, and 1-8th part of gold; but obſerving, that the negroes perceived the difference betwixt the Engliſh and the French cloth, which was better and broader, he told Capt. Blundel, that he would go to leeward, becauſe he found he could do no good where his cloth was ſold, at which Blundel was concerned. On the 6th, there came an Almade and negros aboard, requeſting him to go to their town, where they ſaid there was much gold, and many merchants. He went, and found their old captain gone, and another in his place; but the merchants not being come down, they did nothing that night but give pledges. On the 7th, George the negro came to him, having followed them at leaſt 30 leagues in a ſmall boat. When he came, the negros and the Engliſh ſoon concluded about the price; and Mr. Towerſon took this day five pounds one ounce and three quarters of gold. This Negro, who had been left at Shamma at the time of the fight, ſaid, that he ſaw the action from ſhore; that when our ſhips went away, the Portugueſe came to their river, and told them the Engliſh had ſlain two of their men with a cannon; (this ſhot from the Tyger) and that they required harbour there; but the captain of the Shamma would not ſuffer them; and now they took many pounds of gold. On the 11th came Jerom Baudet, vice-admiral of the French, and his pinnace, ſaying, that where they left them, there was no good to be done, and therefore he would go to the eaſtward; but they told him he ſhould not, and commanded him to go to his company, which he was appointed to be with. This he refuſed to do, till three or four ſhot were made at the pinnace; and when the ſhip ſaw that, they both tacked about, and ran to ſea. The Engliſh took this day, one pound five ounces. The

12th,

12th, there came one of the French pinnaces laden with cloth, and would have made a ſale, but Mr. Towerſon would not ſuffer him, and ſending him on board the ſhip, cauſed him to ride there all day. They took five pound ſix ounces and a half of gold; and next day four ounces more of ſome negros. On the 6th, they came to another town; and next day Mr. Towerſon going on ſhore, underſtood that three of the Portugueſe ſhips were at the caſtle, and the other two at Shamma. The captain, who was gone to ſpeak with the king, on his return brought a weight and a meaſure to the merchants; and Mr. Towerſon ſent a man to the king, and to the principal town.

The natives now began to trade with their gueſts, who acquainted the king by meſſage, that they wanted proviſions. The meſſengers were very well received by that prince, whoſe name was Abaan, and he ſent word that he had but little gold, but if they would ſtay he would ſend for ſome up the country; he added, that they might then find vent for their wares in general; but as to cloth, the French had overſtocked the market.

Our voyager thus deſcribes this town.—"It ſtands about four leagues within land, and appeared as big as London, (in the year 1556) but the buildings were no better than in other places. There was abundance of that country corn in the neighbourhood. On one ſide of the town were computed about 1000 ricks of wheat, and another ſort of corn called mill, (millet). Strict watch was kept there every night, and they had cords with bells to them, ſtretched acroſs the way that led into the town; ſo that if any one touched the cords, the bells rang, and then the watchmen run to ſee whom they were. If they were enemies and paſſed the cords, they took them by letting fall nets hung for that purpoſe over the roads, which they were obliged to paſs, and there was no getting otherwiſe to the town, by reaſon of the thickets and buſhes which were about it; it was alſo walled round with long cords, bound together with ſedge and bark of trees."

[This town ſeems to have been a place called Guaffe, which however was by no means ſo big as London in 1556. The nets and walls of cords, if the natives really uſed ſuch muſt have been but a poor defence indeed; but we have given the paſſage as it ſtood, as it is not certain what place is meant in the original.]

At this town the Engliſh arrived about five in the morning, travelling by night, in order to avoid the heat. The king ſent for them three times, and would not receive their preſent, till the laſt time of their attendance.

"After this, ſays our author, he cauſed a pot of palm wine to be brought, and made them drink. Throughout the country, before they drink, they uſe certain ceremonies; firſt they make a hole in the ground, and put ſome of the liquor into it; then they caſt the earth upon it which they dug out before. This done, they ſet the pot on it, and with a little cup made like a gourd, take out ſome of the drink, and lay it on the ground in ſeveral places. In many parts they have certain branches of palm ſet in the earth before them; and there they put in ſome drink, doing great reverence every where to theſe trees. The ceremony being over, the king took a cup of gold, into which wine being poured he drank, the people at the ſame time ſaying, *Abaan, Abaan!* with certain other words, juſt as they do in Flanders on twelfth night. When the king had drank, they gave liquor to each; after which he diſmiſſed them. In quitting the king's preſence, it is the cuſtom for every one to bow three times towards him, at the ſame time waving both hands together. The king has commonly eight or ten men with grey beards ſitting by him." 1556

From this time, till the 28th, the Engliſh continued trafficking for gold, of which they took about 15 pounds weight, and departed, when it appeared that there was no more gold to be had in exchange for their commodities.

As they proceeded, paſſing by the caſtle del Mina, they there ſaw the five ſhips at anchor; and at night they reached Shamma.

A tall ſhip of about 200 tons burden was ſeen on the 3d to the windward of them, at the diſtance of about two leagues; and ſoon after a ſhip and a pinnace were diſcovered aſtern of her. Finding theſe to be a new fleet, lately come from Portugal, they weighed and got to ſea, when the Hart fell to leeward. At laſt, obſerving the admiral to be a-ſtern of his company, the Tyger reſolved to face them again; but her conſort was too far to leeward, and by the manner in which theſe on board behaved on coming up with them, it ſeemed as if they had done it on purpoſe.—On the 18th, Mr. Towerſon loſt ſight of her after paſſing Cape Menſurado, and concluded that it was the maſter's determined reſolution to part company. They came in ſight of two ſmall iſlands, which they judged to lie about ſix leagues from Sierra Leona, from whence by their reckoning, they ſhould have been 40 leagues diſtant. This could only be attributed to a ſtrong current ſetting to the north-weſt.

On the 15th of April they met with two large Portugueſe ſhips, which they ſuppoſed were bound to Calicut; and on the 23d of the ſame month were met and engaged by a French veſſel, which they obliged to ſheer off, with conſiderable damage.

After conſulting together on the 28th, they agreed to go into the Severn, and to proceed from thence to Briſtol; but the ſame night they came to the Lizard, and the wind not favouring their deſign, they put into Plymouth;—and thus ended their voyage.

Mr. TOWERSON's THIRD VOYAGE TO THE COAST OF GUINEA.

THEY departed again from Plymouth Sound on the 30th of January, with three ſhips. The admiral was the Minion; the Chriſtopher was the vice-admiral; the third ſhip was the Tyger, and they had with them a pinnace called the Union.

Theſe were all bound for the Canaries, and the day after they ſet out, met with two Danzickers, whom they examined, and finding French property on board, made prizes of them. And now a diſpute aroſe whether the ſhips ſo taken ſhould be brought into Spain or England; but Mr. Towerſon being ſtrictly enjoined not to prolong the time, obſerved that it would be the height of imprudence to attempt bringing them into any port. And it was at laſt determined that each of the ſhip's crews ſhould take what was moſt proper and neceſſary out of the prizes.—This was agreed to; but the Engliſh ſailors ſo effectually ſtripped the Danzickers, that Mr. Towerſon pitying their condition, thought proper, after having ſecured the lawful prize goods, and had taken an acknowledge-

1556 ment under their hands, that they were laden partly on the French account, to reſtore part of what had been taken from them before he diſmiſſed them by the general conſent.

On the 10th, by their reckoning, they were 25 leagues from the Grand Canaries. At this time the pinnace broke her rudder, and was towed at the ſtern of the Minion, which ſtill kept company with the reſt of the veſſels.

After they came to the iſland, they found it was Teneriffe, and then ſaw the Grand Canary, which was twelve leagues to the eaſtward, to which they directed their courſe, and came into the road on the 12th.

After they had ſaluted the town and caſtle, the governor ſent to deſire that they would come on ſhore, and received them in a very friendly manner, offering them their horſes to ride to the town, to which they went with two Engliſh merchants, who ſtaid there that day. They went on board the next day, in order to get their pinnace mended, and to deliver their merchandiſe.

The Spaniſh fleet of the emperor Charles V. bound to the Indies, came into the road on the 14th, and ſome civilities paſſed between them and the Engliſh; but a diſpute aroſe about paying honour to the Imperial flag, which Mr. Towerſon refuſed, and the Spaniſh admiral did not think fit to inſiſt upon it, and told the Engliſhman he had puniſhed ſome of his men who fired at the Minion on that account.

They found themſelves to be in 20 deg. 30 min. weſt, and four days afterwards ſaw the land in the bay to the northward of Cape Verde.—Mr. Towerſon went in the pinnace on the 26th, with Franciſco and Francis Caſtelin, on board the Tyger, which was neareſt the ſhore, and running about four leagues beyond the Cape found an agreeable iſland, with two or three others, which were high rocks, and full of pidgeons and other land fowls. As they were told the French had a great trade here, they came to an anchor in the bay, being deſirous of learning all they could, relative to that nation: but the maſter of the Chriſtopher declared he would not ſtay there, as he was not bound thither. However, Edward Selman from the Tyger, and John Makeworth from the Chriſtopher, came to Mr. Towerſon, and agreed to go with the pinnace along ſhore. They did ſo, and ſaw negroes on the coaſt, who making ſigns to them, they caſt anchor with the pinnace, and went on ſhore in the cock-boat to ſee where the trade was. It appeared that they had elephants teeth, muſk, and hides, and offered to fetch down their captain if the Engliſh would ſend a man with them, for whom they propoſed to leave a pledge, but the maſter of the Chriſtopher would not ſtay.

The voyagers fell in with the coaſt of Guinea on the tenth of March, five leagues off Cape de Monte, near the river das Palmas.

The next day they went on ſhore, and found a man that could ſpeak a little Portugueſe, who informed them that three French ſhips had paſſed by, one two months, and the other about one month before. Nineteen elephants teeth, and two ounces and half a quarter of gold were here received by Mr. Towerſon. Sailing from hence on the 12th, for the river de Seſtos, and fell in with it on the night of the 13th.

The next day the Minion ſent out her boats for water, and delivered to the Chriſtopher and Tyger the commodities which were moſt wanted in thoſe veſſels. Meeting on the 15th, they agreed to ſend the Tyger to another river to take in her water, and to buy pepper, if any was to be had. They went afterwards into the river with goods, where they found a negro that was born at Liſbon, and had been left there by a Portugueſe veſſel, which was burnt the year before in an encounter with three Frenchmen. He likewiſe made mention of ſome veſſels belonging to the former nation that were gone towards the caſtle of Mina.

From hence proceeding along the coaſt, they came to the river Potes, and afterwards to Hanta, continuing to trade for ſome pepper and elephants teeth, for bracelets and other wares.

Having obſerved five ſail of Portugueſe on the firſt of April, they put to ſea, and both parties endeavoured to gain the wind of each other, but the Portugueſe ſucceeding in this, got within gun-ſhot of the Engliſh at laſt, and after exchanging a few ſhot without receiving any material damage, the latter having at laſt got to windward, the Minion, Tyger, and pinnace ſtood off to ſea, leaving the Chriſtopher, which, as ſoon as they met with her, informed them that they had been alſo attacked by the Portugueſe, who had ſhot through their ſails and rigging, but had done them no other damage. On this it was reſolved to go in purſuit of the enemy, which they did, but in vain; afterwards, however, they fell in with a fleet of French ſhips, that retired before them, however they took one of them on the 6th, which proved a good prize, and had fifty pounds and five ounces of gold on board.

On the 12th of this month they came to the farther part of the Mina, called Egrand, where they began taking the goods out of the prize, and afterwards divided all the priſoners among the ſhips except four, who being ſick were unable to help themſelves. Theſe, both the Chriſtopher and the Tyger refuſing to take, were left in their ſhip alone in the night, but about midnight Mr. Towerſon fetched them on board his veſſel.

The voyage to Benin was propoſed on the 15th of April, but this being refuſed by the company, it was reſolved to ſpend as much time as they had to ſpare upon the coaſt, and having done what they could where they were, they ſet ſail for Don John's town, which they reached on the 21ſt. They went on ſhore with their boats twice, but could not enter into any ſort of traffic with the negroes, who on the contrary made ſigns that they wiſhed their new gueſts would depart.

Mr. Towerſon, after experiencing ſome repulſes of this ſort, went on ſhore with a white flag at Don John's town on the 24th, but they concluded the Portugueſe were there, as none of the negroes approached them. The boat arrived afterwards well manned, and a man was ſent to the town. However, he no ſooner arrived, than the negroes retired without ever ſpeaking to him; and though another was ſent into the woods after them, they would not come to any terms. On this the Engliſh took 12 goats and ſome hens, and did no farther damage. From hence they ſailed to Macoa, and afterwards to Cormantin and took ſome gold. From hence they ſteered their courſe for Shamma, and on the 7th they ſaw five Portugueſe ſhips, and Mr. Towerſon went in the pinnace to view them on the tenth, and ſome of the people would have attacked the Portugueſe fleet, which conſiſted of one ſhip and four caravals (on account of proviſions being ſcarce); but the maſter and company of the Minion would not agree to ſuch a proceeding for fear of being puniſhed on their return to England; in conſequence of which the others deſiſted from the attempt. Mr. Towerſon went to Shamma on the 20th, where the Tyger had arrived the day before. By this time they had ſent away the Frenchmen on board their pinnaces, as they perceived their proviſions would hardly hold out for their own company.

At Shamma they were told that there was no gold to be got, and not ſo much as a ſingle hen to be bought, which was on account of the agreement between the natives and the Portugueſe, and ſending to Hanta, they met with no better ſucceſs. On which account they burned Shamma, and departed on the 25th for England. After meeting with contrary currents, they ſaw the iſland of St. Thomas on the 7th of July, and though they meant to hold on their courſe, were driven cloſe in ſhore the next day; but a breeze ſpringing up cleared them of the iſland. The Chriſtopher and the Tyger tacking about, on the 10th, thoſe that were in the Minion, thought they were going in queſt of the ſhips in the road, and were not inclined to go after them, for

fear of running in with the land again, and putting themſelves in the ſame danger they were in the night before; but they diſcharged a piece, and put out two lights, which were anſwered with lights again. On this, they kept their courſe, thinking the others had followed them: but not ſeeing them in the morning, they perceived they had dropped them by deſign, and reſolved to go after them no longer. However on the 11th, they altered their minds; and tacking about again for the iſland, to ſeek the ſhips, about four in the afternoon met with them. On the 13th, they fell in again with the iſland of St. Thomas; and the ſame night they found themſelves directly under the line.

This iſland is very high, and being on the weſt ſide of it, there appears a very high pike, which is very ſmall and ſtrait, like the ſteeple of a church, lying directly under the line; and about a mile weſt of the ſame ſouth end of the iſland, there lies a ſmall iſland.

On the 3d of Auguſt, departing from the iſland of St. Thomas, they met the wind at ſouth-weſt.—The 23d, in the morning, the ſkiff being ſent on ſhore, found no houſes, or any men but four, who kept at a diſtance. As for cattle they ſaw none, except goats, which were very numerous, but ſo wild, that they could not catch above three or four. To make amends, they have good ſtore of fiſh; and in a ſmall iſle near the ſame, they met with ſea-birds.

On the 24th, the maſter of the Tyger came to acquaint thoſe on board the Minion, that his men were ſo weak, and the ſhip ſo leaky, that he was not able to keep her above water; and therefore requeſted them to go back again to the iſland, in order to take out the goods, and give her up. They intreated him to perſevere a while, and put a French carpenter into her, to ſee if he could find the leak. This day they took a view of all their men, and found there were not above thirty ſound in the three ſhips. On the 25th, they had ſight of the iſle of St. Nicholas; and the day following, of Lucia, St. Vincent, and St. Anthony; which four bear in reſpect to each other, north-weſt-by-weſt, ſouth-eaſt-by-eaſt. On the 26th, they came again with the iſland of St. Anthony, and could not double the Cape. This day Philip Jones, maſter of the Chriſtopher, came on board the Minion, and told them that thoſe of the Tyger were not able to keep her, ſhe was ſo leaky, and the maſter ſo very weak. Farther, that he had agreed with the maſter and company, that in caſe they could double the iſland the next day, they ſhould run to the leeward of it, and there unload her: but if they could not double it, then to put in betwixt that and St. Vincent, with the ſame view. On the 3d of September, Mr. Towerſon went on board the Tyger, with the maſter and merchants, and found the ſhip very leaky, and only ſix labouring men in her, whereof one was the maſter gunner: whereupon they agreed to take in the men, and ſuch of the goods as they could ſave, and ſet the ſhip a drift. Next day they went about it, and having taken out the artillery, goods, victuals and gold; on the 8th, they gave her up in the latitude of twenty-five degrees. On the 6th of October, the Chriſtopher came to deſire thoſe of the Minion, to put in with Cape Finiſterre, her men being ſo weak, that they were not able to keep the ſea: as they were weak alſo, they agreed to go for Vigo, a place frequented by the Engliſhmen. On the 10th, the Chriſtopher went towards the Cape: but the Minion, having a briſk wind for England, and fearing the danger of enemies, who ordinarily ply thereabouts; having warned the Chriſtopher, ſhe not being able to keep up with them, they held on their courſe for England, where they arrived in ſafety on the 16th, after having experienced many inconveniencies. 1562.

A VOYAGE TO GUINEA IN 1562.

THIS voyage was at firſt deſigned to be undertaken by Mr. Lock, but he having declined it, the undertakers were Sir William Cheſter, Meſſrs. Thomas Lodge, Anthony Hickman, and Edward Caſtelin; the ſhips were the Minion and the Primroſe, which left Dartmouth on the 25th of February, 1562.

On the 20th of March, they arrived at Cape Verd, where they made no ſtay, but ſailed along the coaſt to their firſt appointed port, River de Seſtos, which they reached the 3d of April, in the morning. Here they found a Frenchman, who, as ſoon as ſhe perceived them, ſet ſail, and made to the ſea; mean while they came to an anchor in the road; and after ſhe had diſcovered by their flag, that they were Engliſhmen, ſhe bore with the ſhore, and hailed their ſhips with her ordnance. At this time Rutter, and the other merchants of both ſhips, were in the river trafficking, and having underſtood by the negros, that ſhe had been there three days before them, they reſolved, in caſe ſhe ſent her pinnace to trade, not to ſuffer it, till they had ſettled matters with their captain and merchants. In the afternoon the pinnace coming into the river, they ſpoke to the men not to proceed, till they had talked with their captain, deſiring that he might come in the evening on board the admiral; which was done. At the time appointed, M. Burton, and John Munt, went on board the Minion, where the Frenchmen were, and there concluded, that they ſhould lie by eight days, and let the Engliſh traffic by themſelves; wherewith they were not well pleaſed. Hereupon, next morning, the French ſhip left them, ſailing along the coaſt eaſtward, towards the River de Potis: wherefore the merchants of both ſhips, in conſideration that no veſſels were upon the coaſt, concluded to ſend the Primroſe before, that their traffic might not be obſtructed by the French. They went, and overtook them trading to the weſt of Potis, where paſſing them, they arrived the 12th of April. They trafficked there till the 15th, and then departed for the River Sant Andre, where they came the 17th. Here by agreement, they were to wait for the Minion, and the ſame day ſhe found them.

At Cape des Palmas ſhe met a great ſhip and caraval of the king of Portugal, bound to Mina, which gave her chace, and ſhot briſkly at her, as ſhe did at them; but received no hurt. Hereupon they haſtened towards Cape Tres Puntas, with deſign, if they could, to put them (the ſhip and caraval) from the caſtle. At the Cape they lay a-hull one night and two days; and judging they had gone paſt, the Minion went near the ſhore, and ſent her merchants to Hanta. Next morning very early, being the 21ſt of the month, they again had ſight of the ſhip and the caraval a good way to ſea-board. They preſently ſet ſail, and bore with the foremoſt of them, hoping to have got between the caſtle and them, but came ſhort of their deſign, which was a great diſappointment. When the enemy was under the protection of the caſtle, they ſhot ſmartly at the Engliſh, and they at them; but to little purpoſe. In the afternoon, they ſet ſail, and came to the town of Don John, where,

1563 where, on the 22d, in the morning, they went on ſhore to traffic, but the negros would do nothing till they heard from Don Luis; for at that time Don John was dead. On the 23d, Antonio, (the ſon of Don Luis) and Pacheco, arrived, with intent to traffic with them. At the ſame time, two galleys came rowing from the caſtle, to interrupt them. On the 24th, the Engliſh ſet ſail, and chaced the galleys to the caſtle again. The negros pleaſed at it, required them to go to the Mowre, about three leagues behind, promiſing to come thither; for that they ſtood in fear of the Portugueſe. There they waited for the merchants out of the country, who were come with their gold; but Don Luis's ſon, and Pacheco, were on board the Minion.

On the 25th in the morning came the two galleys from the caſtle again: the weather being very calm, they ſhot at, and hit the Primroſe three times. And ſhortly after, the wind blowing from the ſhore, ſhe deſcried the ſhip and caraval coming towards her. Then ſhe ſet ſail, and bore as near unto them as ſhe could; but it being dark before ſhe came up with them, ſhe loſt them in the night. On the 27th the Engliſh plied to the ſhore, and at night agreed to go to Cormantin: but next morning they found themſelves near the great ſhip, and the two galleys having no wind at all, and the caraval cloſe to the ſhore. Preſently the two galleys come rowing to the ſtern of the Minion, and fought with her moſt part of the forenoon. During the fight, a barrel of powder happening to take fire in the ſteward's room, hurt the maſter-gunner, the ſteward, and moſt of the gunners, which the galleys perceiving, they began to be more fierce upon her, and with a ſhot cut her fore-maſt in two, that, without preſent remedy, ſhe was not able to bear ſail. Immediately upon this, the great ſhip ſent her boat to the galleys, which ſuddenly departed. As ſoon as they were gone, thoſe of the Primroſe went on board the Minion to conſult what was beſt to be done. They found her company grievouſly dejected; therefore perceiving that the negros neither would nor durſt traffic ſo long as the galleys were upon the coaſt, it was agreed to depart for Rio de Seſtos.—The 14th of May in the morning, they ſell in again with the land, and ſending their boats to ſee what place it was, found it to be Rio de Barbos, to the eaſt of Sant Andre, and there ſtayed to take in water, till the 21ſt. The day before, the Primroſe loſt five of her men, by the black pinnace overſetting. The 22d, the ſhips departed for Rio de Seſtos, where they put in the 2d of June; and the 4th, leaving that river to return home, arrived the 6th of Auguſt within ſight of the Start, in the weſt part of England, the men being very ſick and weak. Beſides 21 who died, many were ſorely hurt. In ſhort, there were not above 20 men that were ſound and able to labour. Mr. Burton, who had been ſick for ſix weeks, was then ſo weak, that his life was deſpaired of.

There were brought home this voyage, 166 elephants teeth, weighing 1758 pounds, and two buts of Guinea pepper, dearly enough purchaſed by the voyagers loſſes and misfortunes.

A VOYAGE TO GUINEA BY MR. BAKER, IN 1563.

MR. Baker, who has written an account of this voyage in verſe, after the unlucky diſaſter that befel him in Guinea the year before, had made a fort of vow never to go near that country any more: but being returned to England and recovered of his complaint, he ſoon forgot the ſorrows that were paſt, and being invited to undertake the voyage the next year, in quality of a factor, conſented. After they had been at ſea two days and a night, the man from the mainmaſt diſcovered a ſail or two. They preſently made up to the largeſt of them, which they judged to be the beſt, and Mr. Baker hailed her to know whence ſhe was: ſhe anſwered, from France; whereupon the Engliſh waved them, and ſhe, nothing diſmayed, waved them again. Mr. Baker immediately ordered men with arms to the main and fore-tops, alſo powder to be laid on the poop, to blow up the enemy, if they ſhould enter the ſhip that way. Then, at the ſound of trumpet, they began the fight, diſcharging both chain and croſs-bow ſhot from their brazen artillery; while the French, from the main-yard, flouriſhing their ſwords, called out to the Engliſh to board their ſhip. The Engliſh, on their ſide, willing to accept of the invitation, plied them hotly with their cannon, poured in their arrows, and their harquebuſſes from the loop holes; attempting, at the ſame time, to burn their ſails with arrows and pikes carrying wild fire. Baker, wiſhing to encourage his men, made the ſpiced wine go briſkly round among them, propoſed boarding the enemy, which they did with their lime-pots, breaking their nettings with ſtones, while the men from above entered the enemy's tops, after killing thoſe who defended them; then cutting the ropes, brought down the yard by the board. Thoſe who entered by the ſide of the ſhip, played their parts ſo well with their ſwords, that at length the remainder of the Frenchmen fled beneath deck, and ſurrendered themſelves. Having thus taken the ſhip, they ſailed to the Groine, in Spain, and there ſold the lading. After this they proceeded on their voyage for Guinea; where being arrived, Mr. Baker, one day about noon, with eight more, went on ſhore in a boat to traffic; intending to diſpatch his buſineſs, that he might be back again by night; but juſt when they had got near land, a furious wind aroſe, accompanied with rain and thunder, which forced their ſhips from their anchors, and drove them out to ſea. In the mean time, thoſe in the boat, in order to provide for their ſafety, ran along the coaſt, ſeeking ſome place to put into; yet meeting with none, were forced to lie on board all night, by the ſhore, expoſed to thunder, rain, and wind, which continued without intermiſſion. Next day the ſhips turned back again, thinking the boat ſtaid behind; and the boat rowed forward along the coaſt, ſuppoſing the ſhips were before them, ſtill looking out to ſea; but the miſt that morning occaſioned by the jarring of the elements the night before, was ſo great, that they could not ſee each other. Thus they continued beating the ſea two or three days together; after which thoſe in the ſhips concluded the boat was caſt away in the ſtorm, made the beſt of their way towards England. Mr. Baker and his companions in diſtreſs, having been three days without any food. At length they landed, and having exchanged ſome wares for roots, and ſuch other proviſions as they had, put to ſea again in purſuit of their ſhips, which they ſtill ſuppoſed to be before them. Thus they continued 12 days ranging the ſhore; where they ſaw nothing but thick woods and deſerts, full of wild beaſts, which often appeared, and, at ſun-ſet, came in herds to the ſea-ſide, where they lay down or played upon the ſand, and ſometimes, to cool themſelves, plunged into the water.

They often ſaw a man or two on the ſhore, who, as ſoon as they perceived the boat, came to it with their Almaide. Then caſting anchor, they offered the negros their wares in exchange for fiſh and freſh water, or any victuals of their own cooking. Theſe

people would bring to them great roots and berries, which grow on the palm-trees, being ſuch eatables as were moſt agreeable to themſelves; likewiſe ſome of their wines, the colour of which is like the juice that runs out of the tree. Sometimes they brought them wild honey in the combs. With theſe, and ſuch other things as came, they relieved their hunger; but nothing could repair the ſtrength they loſt by grief, fatigue, and the want of reſt, which reduced them to a very weak condition. They were ſo oppreſſed with affliction, to think of the dreadful circumſtances they were in, that their hearts were ready to break. They had now been ſo long ſeeking the ſhips in vain, that they were reſolved to give over their purſuit, concluding that they were loſt or returned home, but what courſe to take was difficult to determine: as for returning home in ſuch a boat as that, in want of every thing, they ſaw was an utter impoſſibility; and conſidering they were in a ſtrange country, inhabited by a people, whoſe manners and cuſtoms were ſo oppoſite to theirs, they knew not what to reſolve on. By this time they found they had paſſed beyond the Melegete (or Grain) Coaſt, and were advanced as far as that of Mina; for their negros ſpeaking Portugueſe, came on board them with their ſcales and weights, propoſing to traffic, and aſking where their ſhips were? They, in hopes to be better uſed, anſwered, there were two at ſea, and that they would be with them in a day or two. However, much diſmayed at a queſtion which only renewed their grief, they turned off from the natives to conſult how they ſhould diſpoſe of themſelves. They conſidered, that if they continued at ſea in their boat, expoſed to the burning heat of the day, which ſenſibly conſumed them by ſweating, and the frequent hurricanes accompanied with lightnings, thunder, and rain, which deprived them of reſt all night, that they could not poſſibly long hold out. They were often three days without eating; and having ſat continually for 20 days together, the boat affording no ſpace to walk in, they were in danger of loſing the uſe of their legs, for want of exerciſe; and their joints were ſo much ſwelled with the ſcurvy, that they could ſcarce ſtand.

On this Mr. Baker told them, that as it was not poſſible for them, in the condition they were, to keep their boat much longer, it was time to come to ſome reſolution, and make choice of one of the three courſes they had to take. The firſt was, to repair to the caſtle of Mina, which was not far off, and put themſelves into the hands of the Portugueſe, who were Chriſtians, if they durſt truſt them, or could expect the more humanity from them on that account. However, he told them, the worſt that could happen to them, was to be hanged out of their miſery. That poſſibly they might have ſome mercy on them for their own ſakes, ſeeing nine ſuch young men would be ſerviceable in their galleys, that although they ſhould be made ſlaves for life, yet they ſhould be ſure of having victuals enough, in order to enable them to tug at the oar; whereas there they rowed and ſtarved. The next courſe was, to throw themſelves upon the courteſy of the negros. As to this expedient, Mr. Baker told them, it was a very diſcouraging one: for that he could not ſee what favour was to be hoped for from a beaſtly ſavage people, whoſe condition was worſe than that of any ſlave; that poſſibly they might be canibals, and then they were ſure to be deſtroyed at once, without any ceremony: that in caſe they ſhould not, their cuſtoms were ſo oppoſite to the Europeans, that they could not poſſibly comply with them: That it was not to be imagined, that they who had always been fed upon the fleſh of animals, could live upon roots and herbs (as the negros did) which was the food of wild beaſt; that being accuſtomed to wear cloaths, they could not for ſhame go naked, and expoſe thoſe parts of their bodies to view, which, from their infancy, had been covered; that in caſe they could get the better of modeſty in this point, yet, for want of that defence againſt the ſun-beams, which they had always been uſed to, their bodies would be grievouſly tormented, as well as emaciated, and their ſpirits exhauſted by the ſcorching heats. The laſt courſe they had to take, was to ſtay in the boat, and die miſerably there. But as they ſeemed determined to run any riſque at land, rather than to continue pent up in ſuch a narrow compaſs, ſubject to all the inclemencies of the weather, day and night, as well as liable to be famiſhed for want of victuals, Mr. Baker, in concluſion, gave it as his opinion, with regard to the other two methods, that more truſt and confidence was to be put in the Portugueſe, who were baptiſed, than in the negros, who lived in a brutiſh manner. Mr. Baker ended his diſcourſe, and they all determined to throw themſelves on the mercy of the Portugueſe, and hoiſted ſail, immediately ſetting forward for the caſtle, which was not above 20 leagues diſtant. They went on without ſtopping all day, and till late in the night, when they perceived a light on the ſhore. The boatſwain concluding from thence that it was a place of trade, propoſed to caſt anchor, and try in the morning if they could get ſome food in exchange for their wares. This was agreed upon, and the next morning, going towards ſhore, they perceived a watch-houſe upon a rock, in the place from whence the light proceeded the night before, with a large black croſs of wood ſtanding near it. Here they began to doubt what place this was, and looking forward, beheld a caſtle, which perplexed them ſtill more; but their doubts were quickly ſolved, by the appearance of a Portugueſe or two, one of them holding a white flag in his hand, made a ſignal to them to come aſhore. Although they went in queſt of the Portugueſe, yet at ſight of them, their hearts began to fail them, and they tacked about to make off. This being obſerved from the caſtle, immediately a gun was fired at them by a negro, the ſhot falling within a yard of the boat. If they had been provided with a ſtout ſhip or two, they would not have valued their bullets, but being unable to make any reſiſtance, they complied with neceſſity, and rowed as faſt as they could to land, to yield themſelves and know their doom. This they thought would pleaſe thoſe in the caſtle; but, to their great ſurpriſe, the nearer they drew to the ſhore, the more the Portugueſe ſhot at them. The bullets fell thick about the boat, yet they ſtill advanced, till at laſt they got ſo near the caſtle wall, as to be out of danger from the cannon. They now reſolved to land, in order to try the courteſy of the Portugueſe; but preſently there came ſhowers of ſtones from the caſtle wall; and ſoon after they ſaw the negros marching down with their bows and targets. The aſſault was ſo furious, that having much to fear if they ſtaid any longer, from the heavy ſtones that fell into the boat, and with their weight threatened to break thro' the bottom of it, as from the ſhowers of arrows which hiſſed about their ears, and wounded ſome of them; they, like deſperate men, who did not value what became of their lives, put off from ſhore, to return to ſea, ſetting four of their company to row: yet being unwilling to depart from the coaſts, without repaying the inhabitants ſome part of their civility, they began to handle their bows and fire-arms, which they firſt employed againſt the negros, of whom ſeveral preſently dropped, and then againſt the Portugueſe, who ſtood on the walls of the fort in long white ſhirts (or gowns) many of which were ſoon dyed red by means of the Engliſh arms. They thus maintained their ground a long time, and fought at their leiſure; never regarding the enemy's menaces, ſince they ſaw there were no galleys in the place to ſend to take them. When they had ſufficiently revenged their want of hoſpitality, they rowed off; and although they knew they were to paſs through another ſtorm of bullets from the caſtle; yet they puſhed on, and like men, commonly who fear no danger, eſcaped without receiving any damage. By the time they had reached the ſea, they perceived three negros, who came rowing after them to know what country they were of, ſpeaking very good Portugueſe. They told them they

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1564 Engliſhmen, and had brought wares to traffic with them, if they had not uſed them ſo ill. The negros were farther inquiſitive to know where their ſhips were. They anſwered they had two at ſea, well appointed, which would ſoon take their way along the coaſt, to trade for gold, and only waited for their return. The negros pretending a concern for what had happened, intreated them to ſtay for that day, promiſing to bring them whatever they ſtood in need of. But the Engliſh putting no confidence in their words, only aſked them what place that was; and being anſwered that it was the Portugueſe caſtle, at the weſtern point of Cape Tres Puntas, without exchanging any more words, hoiſted ſail, and put to ſea, to ſeek out a more friendly place.

The Portugueſe kindneſs being thus experienced ſufficiently, they were reſolved to have recourſe to them no more, but try the negros. Therefore ſailing back again about thirty leagues, they caſt anchor, and the natives coming immediately to the boat, the Engliſh gave every one ſome preſent or other, whereby they won their hearts. The news of the arrival of ſuch generous ſtrangers, brought the king's ſon on board. As ſoon as he came, Mr. Baker began movingly to explain the caſe to him; making great lamentation, and giving him to underſtand by ſigns, that they were quite undone, had loſt their ſhips, and were almoſt famiſhed for want of food: at the ſame time offering all the goods they had in the boat, provided he would take them under his protection, and relieve them in ſuch great diſtreſs. The negro chief, moved by the tears which fell plentifully from the eyes of all, refuſed the preſent, and bade them be comforted. He went on ſhore, to know his father's pleaſure, and preſently returning, invited them to land. This was a joyful hearing to them. He had no ſooner ſpoke the word than they fell to the oar in haſte, to get to ſhore, where, 500 negros waited to receive them: but coming near the coaſt, the ſea ran ſo high, that the boat overſet. The negros immediately plunged into the water, to ſave them, and brought them all ſafe to ſhore. They alſo preſerved the boat and whatever was in her, ſome ſwimming after the oars, others diving for goods that were ſunk; after which they hauled it to land, and brought every individual thing that belonged to the Engliſh; not daring to detain the leaſt trifle for fear of the king's ſon, who according to Mr. Baker's account, was a perſon of courage, and endowed with all natural perfections. The next kind office that they did, was to bring them victuals, ſuch as they uſed themſelves; of which they ate heartily, being, as may be preſumed, very hungry; the negros ſtaring at them all the while, with aſtoniſhment. For all this appearance of humanity, the Engliſh were under no ſmall apprehenſions conſidering they were quite in the power of the negros; every one of whom went armed with his dart. They lay upon the ground all that night with them, but never once cloſed their eyes, through fear that they ſhould be killed in their ſleep. However, they received no hurt from them; and for two days fared very well. But theſe people finding no ſhips came as they expected, to fetch them away; the Engliſh diſtributed a large quantity of wares among them, in return for their hoſpitality. The negros ſoon grew weary of their new gueſts; and after leſſening their allowance every day, at length left them to ſhift for themſelves. In this diſtreſs they were conſtrained to range about the woods, in ſearch of berries and roots, which they dug up with their fingers, for want of other inſtruments. Hunger had quite worn off the delicacy of their palates. They made no diſtinction any longer in victuals; any thing that was eatable, now was a dainty to them. Neceſſity likewiſe, ſoon reconciled them to going naked: for their cloaths, grown rotten with the ſweat, fell off their backs by degrees; ſo that at length, each of them had ſcarcely a rag left to cover him before. They were not only forced to ſeek for their food, but to provide wood and utenſils to dreſs it. They made a pot of clay baked in the ſun, in which they boiled their roots; the berries they roaſted; and on theſe varieties they fed every evening. At night they went to reſt on the bare ground, making a great fire round them, to keep off wild beaſts. Thus they became, in every reſpect, the reverſe of what they were before; in ſhort, with this intire change of their way of living, joined to the heat and unhealthineſs of the climate, they began to fall ſick apace, and for want of proper nouriſhment, died ſo faſt, that in a ſhort time the nine were reduced to three. This, to the deceaſed, was a releaſe from their miſery: but what was an eaſe to them, rendered the ſtate of thoſe few who ſurvived, more forlorn and helpleſs than before. At length, when they had given over all hopes of relief, a French ſhip arriving on the coaſt, took them in, and carried them back to France, which being then at war with England, they were detained priſoners, and from thence Mr. Baker wrote an account of the voyage in verſe.

A VOYAGE TO GUINEA IN 1564, BY CAPTAIN DAVID CARLET.

THE ſhips employed in this voyage, were the Minion, one of the queen's ſhips, David Carlet, captain; the John Baptiſt, of London; and the Merlin, belonging to Mr. Gonſon.—The chief adventurers were Sir William Gerard, Sir William Cheſter, Sir Thomas Lodge, Anthony Hickman, and Edward Caſtelin. Theſe all met on the 11th of July, 1564, at Sir William Gerard's, to conſult meaſures for ſetting forward the voyage. At this meeting they came to ſeveral reſolutions; as firſt, That Francis Aſhbie ſhould be ſent to Deptford, to Mr. Gonſon for his letters to Peter Pet, to ſet about rigging the Minion, at the charges of the queen, after which he was to repair to Gillingham, with money to defray the adventurers charges there. Secondly, That each of the five partners ſhould call upon their partners to advance towards new rigging and victualling, twenty-nine pounds, ten ſhillings and ſix-pence, out of every hundred. Thirdly, That each of the five partners ſhould immediately depoſit fifty-pounds towards the ſaid occaſions. Fourthly, In caſe Mr. Gonſon gave his conſent, that the Merlin ſhould be brought round from Briſtol to Southampton, that a letter ſhould be obtained under his hand, before order was given for the ſame.

Mr. Hawkins, with the Jeſus of Lubeck, and three other ſhips, left Plymouth on the 18th of October, 1564, and that ſame day, being ten leagues from the port, met with the Minion, of which David Carlet was captain, and her conſort, the John Baptiſt; having ſaluted each other with their guns, according to cuſtom, the Minion went in queſt of the Merlin, which lagged behind; and left the John Baptiſt to keep the Jeſus company; but in a ſtorm, which happened the 21ſt, ſhe was ſeparated. On the 25th, Mr. Hawkins put into Ferrol, in Galicia, thither, on the 26th, the Minion arrived alſo, whoſe crew were much dejected, on account of the diſaſter which had happened to the Merlin; for, two days after they met with her, through the careleſſneſs of

of the gunner, the powder took fire and blew up the poop, with three men in it; preſently after which, ſhe ſunk, and the crew muſt have been loſt, but that the brigantine having been luckily at the ſtern, took them in; many of them being greviouſly wounded by the exploſion. On the 30th, both fleets departed in company. On the 6th of November, coming in ſight of Teneriffe, the Minion being three or four leagues a-head of the Jeſus, went on to that iſland, and ſo parted company with Mr. Hawkins; who ſhaping his courſe by Cape Verde and Sierra Leona, afterwards ſtruck off for the Weſt Indies, and arrived at the town of Burboroata, on the coaſt of Tierra Firma. Here he heard news of the ill ſucceſs of this Guinea voyage; for on the 29th of April, there came 1566. into the road, a French ſhip, called the Green Dragon of New Haven, one Bon Temps, captain, who informed him, that he had met with the Minion on the coaſt of Guinea, and that both had been driven off by the Portugueſe galleys; that at the Minion's firſt arrival, Captain Carlet, and a merchant, with a dozen mariners, were betrayed by the negros to the Portugueſe, with whom they remained priſoners; and that the ſhips had loſt ſo many men, through want of freſh water, and other accidents, that it was a great doubt whether thoſe laſt would be able to bring them home.

A VOYAGE TO THE ISLANDS OF CAPE VERD BY CAPTAIN GEORGE FENNER, IN 1566.

THREE ſhips were employed in this voyage, the Caſtle of Comfort, George Fenner, general, and William Bats, maſter; the May-flower, Captain Edward Fenner, vice-admiral, and William Curtis, maſter; and the George, a ſmall bark, John Heiwood, captain, and John Smith of Southampton, maſter; beſides a pinnace. On the 10th of December, 1566, they left Plymouth; on the 12th, they were thwart of Uſhant; and on the 15th, in the morning, had ſight of Cape Finiſterre. The ſame night, they loſt company of their admiral; therefore they ſailed along the coaſt of Portugal, hoping that he had been before them. On the 18th, they met with a French ſhip, who bringing no tidings of their admiral, they followed their courſe to the Canary iſlands. On the 25th, in the morning, they fell in with Porto Santo; and within three hours had ſight of Madeira, ſix leagues diſtant. The ſame day, they hoiſted out the boat, and brought on board them Mr. Edward Fenner, captain of the May-flower, (who was then with the maſter, Robert Curtis, and others, in the George) and feaſted them with ſuch as they had. On the 28th, they fell in with the iſland Teneriffe, twenty-ſeven leagues from the former; and caſt anchor on the eaſt ſide, in forty fathom water, a baſe ſhot from ſhore, within a little bay, where there were three or four ſmall houſes, about a league diſtant from the little town called Santa Cruz. From their ſhips they could ſee the Grand Canary, ſix or ſeven leagues diſtant. On the 29th, the May-flower, not being able to get into the road for the wind, bore in with Santa Cruz, thinking to caſt anchor in the road againſt the town; but before ſhe came within reach of their ordnance, they ſhot at her four pieces, which cauſing her to retire, ſhe came at laſt to anchor near the George, about one in the afternoon. The captain wrote a letter directed to the head officer of Santa Cruz, to know the reaſon of his being ſhot at. The letter was given to Curtis, and Walker Wren, who, with ſix men in the boat, rowed as near the ſhore as they durſt, the ſea there running extremely high. The people ſtanding by the water-ſide, about thirty in number, with ſuch armour as they had, Wren called to them in Spaniſh, to let them know that they had a letter for Santa Cruz, and wanted to have it conveyed thither. One of the Spaniards deſired them to land, ſaying they ſhould be welcome: but doubting the worſt, Wren anſwered, that they would ſtay till they had an anſwer to their letter. On this, one of the Spaniards ſtripping, leapt into the water, and ſwam to the boat: he was received in, and after ſaluting them, demanded what their requeſt was? they made anſwer, that by misfortune they had loſt the company of their admiral, and being bound to this iſland to traffic for wines and other things, were deſirous to ſtay there till he arrived. The Spaniard promiſed to carry the letter without delay; and Wren having ſewed it up in a bladder, delivered it him, giving four rials of Spaniſh money for his trouble. After he had returned to ſhore, and talked to the people, ſome of them threw up their hats, and others pulled them off, ſaluting the Engliſh, ſtill inviting them to land: but having returned their courteſy, they rowed back again to the ſhip. On the 30th, the governor's brother of Santa Cruz, came on board the May-flower, with ſix or ſeven Spaniards; who concluded with the captain, that the Engliſh might land and traffic. They were all well entertained; and at their departure, the captain ordered four pieces of ordnance to be ſhot off, and beſtowed upon them two cheeſes, with other things. The Spaniard promiſed the captain, that he ſhould have ſufficient pledges next day; which not being performed, they grew ſuſpicious and moſt of them went not on ſhore.

The captain however, ſent Nicholas Day and John Sumpter, on ſhore, on the 21ſt of January, who were well entertained, with as many of the company as went. "In Teneriffe, ſays our author, is a marvellous high hill, called the Peak, which a-far off is more like a cloud than any thing elſe, it is round, and ſomething ſmall at top. It has not been known, that ever any man was at the top: and and although it ſtands in twenty-eight degrees, where it was as hot in January, as it is in England at Midſummer, yet is the ſummit ſeldom without ſnow, both winter and ſummer. About two leagues from the ſaid Santa Cruz, is a city called Anagona." On the 3d, they removed towards the weſtern parts of the iſland, twelve or fourteen leagues from Santa Cruz, and on the 5th, caſt anchor in a bay, over-againſt the houſe of one Petro de Souſes; where being informed, that the admiral had been there ſeven days before, and was gone to Gomera, they ſet ſail ſoon after to ſeek him. On the 6th, they found the admiral at anchor in the road before the town of Gomera, there alſo they met with Edward Cook, in a large ſhip; and a ſhip of the copper-ſmiths of London; which the Portugueſe had treacherouſly ſurpriſed in the bay of Santa Cruz, on the coaſt of Barbary, and was all ſpoiled. The general and merchants, bought in this town, for their proviſions, fourteen pipes of wine, at the rate of fifteen ducats a pipe; which had been offered them in Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe, for eight, nine, and ten ducats. On the 9th, they departed from this road to another bay, about

1566 about three leagues off, and there took in freſh water. The 10th they ſet ſail towards Cape Blake, on the coaſt of Guinea. On the 12th, they fell into a bay to the eaſt of Cape Pargos, 35 leagues from the other; but having no knowledge of that coaſt, they went for Cape Blake; and at the fall of the land they ſounded, and had 16 fathoms water two leagues from the ſhore. The land is very low, and a white ſand upon the fall of the coaſt.——On the 17th, ſhaping their courſe ſouth by eaſt, and ſouth from Cape Blake, they fell into a bay about 16 leagues to the eaſt of Cape Verde, and ſix from ſhore; the land being full of hummocks with high trees on them, ſeemed like a great number of ſhips under ſail: they ſtood towards the land, till they were within three leagues of the ſhore; and then ſounding, found 28 fathoms water black ooze. This day, they ſaw many ſhoals of fiſh, ſwimming even with the ſurface of the water. Paſſing along the coaſt, they obſerved two ſmall round hills, (yet the higheſt they ſaw all day) ſeeming to be a league from the other, which is the cape; and between them abundance of trees.

On the 29th they came to anchor at the cape, half a mile from land, in a road cloſe by the ſide of two hills, in 10 fathoms water, where ſhips may ride in five or ſix; for the ground clean, and the wind was always off ſhore. As ſoon as they were all at anchor, the general and captains, with the maſters, went on board the George, and having dined, concluded to land; and by the advice of Mr. Bats, both captain and merchants, and many of the company; went without arms, though againſt their wills; for he ſaid that although the people were black, and naked, yet they were civil. There went on ſhore the admiral's ſkiff, and the May-flower's boat, and in them about 20 perſons, as the general, his brother Thomas Valentine, John Worme, and Francis Leigh, merchants, John Howard, Thomas Bats, Nicholas Day, John Thompſon, and others. At their landing, there were above 100 negros, without their bows and arrows, walking to and fro, as could be perceived from the ſhips. The captains and merchants talked with them; and according to the cuſtom of the country, they demanded pledges of each other. The negros were content to deliver three of their men for five Engliſhmen, who were John Howard, William Bats, Nicholas Day, John Thompſon, and John Curtis. Theſe were delivered them. They then began to talk of buſineſs. The Engliſh gave them to underſtand, that they had brought woollen cloth, linen cloth, iron, cheeſe, and other things. The negros, in their turn, let them know, that they had civet, muſk, gold and pepper, which pleaſed the captain and merchants very well; who at the negros requeſt, directly ſent on board one of the boats for part of their merchandiſe to ſhew them. In the mean time the five pledges walked on the ſhore with the negros, and the commander with the reſt, ſtaid in the other boat by the ſea-ſide, having the three negros with them. The boat being returned, brought iron, and other merchandiſe, with bread, wine, and cheeſe, which they gave the negros. Then two of the pledges feigning themſelves ſick, deſired to go on ſhore, promiſing to ſend two others in their ſtead, Captain Howard perceiving his men had let the negros come on ſhore, aſked what they meant, and doubting the worſt, began to draw towards the boat; two or three of the negros followed him; and when he came to the boat, would have ſtopped him. He made ſigns that he would fetch them more drink and bread; notwithſtanding which, one of them caught him by the breeches, to pull him back; but he ſpringing from him, leaped into the boat. As ſoon as he was in, one of the negros on ſhore, began to blow a pipe; whereupon the third negro pledge, who was ſitting on the boat's ſide, and Mr. Worme's ſword by him, ſuddenly drew it out of the ſcabbard, and leaping into the ſea, ſwam to ſhore. Soon after this, the negros laid hands on the Engliſh that were on ſhore, and violently tore the cloaths off the backs of Day, Bats, and Thompſon, leaving them naked; they alſo ſhot ſo thick into the boat, that they could hardly ſet hand to the oars to row from the ſhore. Many of them were hurt with their poiſoned arrows. The perſon is incurable, if the arrow enters the ſkin, and draws blood, unleſs it is immediately ſucked out, or the wounded part be cut away; for otherwiſe he dies in four days. Within three hours after the hurt, whereſoever it be, it ſtrikes to the heart, taking away the appetite, and cauſing violent vomitings, the party loathing both meat and drink. The negros, after they had uſed the pledges ſo roughly, led them away to a town, about a mile from the water-ſide. Next day the ſkiff was ſent on ſhore with eight perſons, one of whom was the aforeſaid John Thompſon, and the interpreter, a Frenchman, (for one of the negros ſpoke good French:) they carried with them two harquebuſſes, and two targets.——The cauſe of ſending them was, to learn what ranſom they demanded for Bats and Day, whom they detained. The negro being made acquainted with what they came about, 40 or 50 of them went and fetched them from among the trees. Being come within a ſtone's throw of the ſea-ſide, William Bats broke from them, (for they were not bound) and ran as faſt as he could into the ſea towards the boat; but happened to fall juſt as he had entered the water, either by being out of breath, or his foot ſlipping in the ſand, which was ſoft, the negros came up before he could recover himſelf, and ſeizing him, hauled him ſo, that the reſt thought they would have torn him in pieces. Having torn the cloaths off his back again, ſome of them hurried him and his brother in affliction away to their town: the reſt ſhot at thoſe who came to ranſom them with their poiſoned arrows, and hurt one Andrews in the ſmall of his leg, whoſe life the ſurgeon had much ado to ſave. Notwithſtanding all this, the admiral ſent once more to them, offering any thing they deſired for the ranſom of the Engliſhmen, but they would not deliver them; returning this anſwer, That three weeks before their arrival, an Engliſh ſhip came into that road, and carried off three negros; ſo that till ſuch time as they were brought again, they would not reſtore their men, even though they ſhould give their three ſhips to releaſe them.——On the 21ſt, a French ſhip of 80 tons arrived in the road, to traffic at the cape; the Engliſh told them of their detaining their two men, and perceiving they were in great favour with the negros, intreated them to negociate their ranſom, the admiral promiſing to pay him 100l. in caſe he procured their releaſe, and brought them off; and having thus committed the matter to his care, departed. Of the men who were hurt by the negros arrows, four died; and one to ſave his life, had his arm cut off; Andrews continued lame, not able to help himſelf; and only two recovered of their wounds.

They left Cape Verde on the 26th, and on the 28th fell in with Bona Viſta, 86 leagues diſtant; the ſame day they came to an anchor about a league with the weſtermoſt point, and found in the ſounding, fair ſand in 10 fathoms water; but ſhips may approach the ſhore, till within five or ſix fathoms; for the ground is clean. As ſoon as they were at anchor, the general ſent his pinnace to land, and found five or ſix ſmall houſes, but the people were fled to the mountains. Next day he ſent again, and met with two Portugueſe, who willingly went on board with his men. He made them welcome, although they were but poor; and having given each a pair of ſhoes, ordered them to be ſet aſhore again. The 30th, they came to a bay in a ſmall iſland, about a league diſtant, lying in 16 degrees, and took plenty of divers ſorts of fiſh.

The next day the admiral, with ſome of his men, went on ſhore to the houſes, where he found 12 Portugueſe. In all the iſland there were not above 30 perſons, who were baniſhed men, ſome for more years, ſome for leſs; and amongſt them, there was one ſimple man, who was their captain. They live upon

goats fleſh, cocks, hens, and freſh water: other victuals they had none, excepting fiſh, which they eſteemed not; neither have they any boats to catch them. They reported that this iſland was given by the king of Portugal to one of his gentlemen, who had let it out to rent at 100 ducats a year, which ſum was raiſed out of ſkins only; for if they may be credited, 40,000 of theſe ſkins have been ſent from hence to Portugal in one year. Theſe people made the Engliſh very welcome, and entertained them to the beſt of their power. They gave them the fleſh of as many goats as they would have, taking much pains to catch and bring them from the mountains on their aſſes.

On the 3d of February they departed, and the ſame day fell in with the iſland of Mayo, which is fourteen leagues from the former. In the middle between both there is a rock to be ſeen. They anchored on the north-weſt ſide of the iſle in a fine bay, where there was eight fathoms water, and white ſand: but on the 4th departed, and came to St. Jago, about five leagues diſtant, eaſt and by ſouth. Being arrived within the weſtermoſt point, they ſaw a fine road, and a ſmall town by the water-ſide, with a fort, or plat-form by it. There they propoſed to come to anchor, and the merchants to ſell ſome goods: but before they came within ſhot, two cannons were diſcharged at them, on which they turned off; and ſailing along the ſhore two or three leagues, caſt anchor in a ſmall bay, in 14 fathoms, and good ground. On the ſhore, there were two or three little houſes. Within an hour after they obſerved a number of horſe and foot on the land, right againſt them, riding and running to and fro.

A great company of both ſexes appearing the next day on the ſhore, the admiral ſent to know if they were willing to traffic with them. They ſent word that they would be glad to ſpeak to him, promiſing, that if he came to trade as a merchant, he ſhould be welcome, and be ſupplied with whatever he ſhould in reaſon demand.——With this anſwer he and and the whole company being very well pleaſed, he therefore ordered his boats to be made ready; but for fear of treachery, cauſed them to be armed, putting a double baſe in the head of his pinnace, and two ſingle baſes in the head of the ſkiff. The boats of the Mayflower, and the George, were put in the ſame poſture of defence.

Thus the commander went in his ſkiff towards the ſhore, where there were 60 horſemen or more, and 200 foot, all armed, ready to receive them. But being alarmed at their number, he ſent one with a flag of truce, to know their pleaſure. They ſent back word, with many fair promiſes and oaths, that their intentions were ſincere, and that they meant like gentlemen and merchants to traffic with him; adding, that their captain was coming to ſpeak with him, and therefore deſired that the Engliſh would land. On the return of the meſſenger with this anſwer, the general cauſed his pinnace to row forward; and as he drew near the ſhore, the Portugueſe came in a great company in the moſt ſoothing manner, ſtretching out their arms, and bowing themſelves with their bonnets off, earneſtly deſiring the admiral and merchants to land; which yet he would not conſent to, without ſufficient pledges. At length, they agreed to ſend two ſuch as he ſhould approve of, promiſing at the ſame time, to let them have freſh water, victuals, money, or negros for wares, if they were ſuch as they liked; deſiring that a bill of parcels might be ſent them, with the names and quantities of the ſeveral commodities. The admiral promiſed it ſhould be done; and being gone a little from the ſhore, cauſed his baſes, and harquerbuſſes, to be ſhot off; the ſhips, in like manner, diſcharged five or ſix pieces of great ordnance. Moſt of the Portugueſe departed, expecting ſuch as were to watch and receive the note, which was ſent about four in the afternoon.

Three leagues to the weſtward, behind a point, was a town cloſe to the ſea-ſide, where, with all ſpeed, they made ready four caravals, and two brigantines, which were like galleys, furniſhing them both with men and ordnance, as many as they could carry; and as ſoon as it was night, came rowing cloſe under the ſhore towards the ſhips, ſo that the land being high, and the weather ſomething hazy, the Engliſh could not ſee them till they were juſt againſt the Mayflower. By this time it was one or two in the morning, and the Mayflower riding nearer them than the other two, by a baſe ſhot, they made a ſure account either to have taken or burnt her. In the mean time, thoſe on the watch, (little ſuſpecting any treachery, after ſo many fair promiſes) made ſuch a noiſe, ſinging and playing, that there being but a ſmall gale of wind, they might be heard from the ſhore; they were ſo taken up with their mirth, that they did not obſerve the motions of their pretended friends; neither had they one piece of cannon primed, or any one thing in readineſs. They were within gun-ſhot of the Engliſh before they were perceived, when one of the men happened to ſee a light, looked out, and eſpied the four ſhips: he ſuddenly cried out, Galleys! galleys! at which cry they were all amazed. At the ſame time the Portugueſe ſhot off their ordnance, their harquebuſſes, and then lighting their cartridges of wild-fire, came on with great ſhouts, anſwered by thoſe on the ſhore, ſtill approaching nearer and nearer to the Mayflower, which getting ready one gun, ſhot at, and put them to the ſtand. Soon after the enemy charged again, and gave them another broad ſide, during which the Engliſh had got 3 pieces ready, and let them off a ſecond time. Notwithſtanding this, the Portugueſe advanced, and at length approached ſo near, as to be within arrow's ſhot. Whereupon they having a gale of wind from ſhore, hoiſted their foreſail, and cutting their cable at the hawſe, went towards the admiral; yet the Portugueſe continued following and ſhooting at them, and ſometimes at the admiral: but the admiral ſent them one ſhot, which made them retire, and at length they went away. Although the Portugueſe came on them by ſurpriſe, and poured in all their bullets at once, neither man nor boy was hurt; but what damage was done to the enemy, the Engliſh could not tell. 1566

They now thought it beſt to ſtay there no longer, but immediately ſet ſail towards Fuego, 12 leagues from thence, and came to anchor on the 11th againſt a white chapel, within a league of the moſt weſtern end of the iſland, and half a league off a little town. In this iſland was a very high hill, which burnt continually, and the inhabitants reported, that about three years before, the whole country had like to have been burnt, with the abundance of fire that iſſued out. About a league to the weſt of the chapel, was a good ſpring of freſh water, with which they were ſupplied. They have no wheat here; but there grows a ſeed they call Mill (or Millet) which makes good bread, and peaſe like thoſe of Guinea. They have likewiſe plenty of moſt kinds of beaſts, and goats. Their merchandiſe is cotton, which grows there. The inhabitants are Portugueſe, who are forbidden to traffic with the Engliſh or French, for victuals or any other thing, except they are compelled to it. There lies off this iſland another called Brava, which is not more than two leagues over. Here is ſtore of goats, and many trees, but not above three or four perſons dwelling in it. Shaping their courſe on the 25th of February, towards the iſlands of Azores, on the 23d of March, they had ſight of Flores, and Corvo, about two leagues to the north-weſt of it, where they came to anchor on the 27th, oppoſite a village of about 12 indifferent houſes; but in the night being diſturbed by a gale of wind, which cauſed them to drag their anchors, they hoiſted ſail, and went to Flores, where they ſaw ſurpriſing ſtreams of water deſcending from the high cliffs, occaſioned by the great and ſudden fall of rain.

On the 29th, they came again to Corvo, and caſt anchor; but a ſtorm (which continued ſeven or eight hours together) obliged them to ſlip a cable and anchor, thinking to have recovered them again,

1566 when the wind was allayed; but the Portugueſe had either taken or ſpoiled them. Both together were worth above forty pounds. On the 18th of April, they took in water at Flores: here their cable being fretted with a rock, broke, and with it they loſt another anchor. Then they ſet ſail to Fayal, about which lies three other iſlands, called Pico, Saint George, and Gracioſa, which they had ſight of on the 28th. And on the 29th, they caſt anchor on the ſouth-weſt ſide of Fayal, in a fine bay, with twenty two fathoms water, againſt a little town, where they had both freſh water and victuals. In this iſland there grows green wood; which, according to the inhabitants, is far better than the wood either of St. Michael or Tercera.

They came to Tercera on the 8th of May, where they met with a Portugueſe ſhip, and being deſtitute of a cable and anchor, the general cauſed them to keep her company, to ſee if ſhe could conveniently ſpare them any. The next morning, they perceived bearing with them a great ſhip and two caravals, all well appointed, which as they judged, were of the king of Portugal's fleet; on which the Engliſh prepared themſelves for their defence. The ſhip was one of the king's, having about 400 tons burden, with 300 men, being well appointed with braſs cannon, ſome of them ſo big, that their ſhot was as large as a man's head. As ſoon as they were within ſhot of the admiral, they brandiſhed their ſwords, and ſhot at her; and while the men prepared for their defence, the great ſhip diſcharged a whole broad-ſide at her, and the four largeſt guns that lay in her ſtern; whereby ſome of the crew were hurt; the reſt requiting them as well as they could with their ſhot. After this, two other caravals, and two pinnaces full of men, came from ſhore, and delivered them on board the great ſhip; with which, and the caraval, the admiral fought three times the firſt day. When it grew dark, they left off ſhooting; yet ſtill kept up with her all night; during which interval, the ſailors were employed to mend the ropes, and ſtrengthen their bulwarks, reſolving rather to die than be taken by them. On the 10th, in the morning, there were come to aid the Portugueſe, four great caravals more, (which made ſeven in all) three of them were, at leaſt, of 100 tons burden each, well appointed, and full of men. They all bore down upon the admiral, and one of the great caravals came to lay her aboard, having prepared their nettings, and every thing elſe for that purpoſe, advancing on her larboard, and the caraval on her ſtarboard. The captain and maſter perceiving their deſign, ordered the gunners to charge the guns with croſs-bars, chain and hail-ſhot. As ſoon as the ſhip and caraval were right in her ſides; they poured in their ſhot as faſt as they could, thinking to have laid her ſoon aboard; whereon ſhe gave them ſuch a welcome with both her ſides at once, that they were glad to fall a-ſtern, and pauſe upon it the ſpace of two or three hours, the wind being very ſmall. Then came up the other five, and having all ſhot at her, fell a-ſtern likewiſe, and went to conſult with the reſt. In the mean time, the ſmall bark, George, coming up, conferred a good while with the admiral; then perceiving the Portugueſe veſſels advance, dropped aſtern of her, intending to come up again; but falling to leeward, it was ſo long before ſhe could fill her ſails again, for want of wind, that both the ſhip and caravals were come up to the admiral. However, the bark falling in among them, played her part very well, and though five of the caravals followed her, ſhe defended herſelf againſt them all, while the great ſhip and other caravals, attacked the admiral, and fought her all that day with their ordnance. That night the May-flower coming up, (which ſhe could not do before for want of wind) the captain told them what damage had been done him; and deſired, if they could ſpare half a dozen freſh men, to hoiſt out their boat, and ſend them to him; but they ſaid they could not, and ſo bore away again. Next morning, when the enemy ſaw the Engliſh ſhips ſtill departed, they came up to the admiral once more, and began a furious fight, with much ſhouting and noiſe, thinking either to board or ſink her; the Engliſh ſailors, (although their number was but ſmall) that the enemy ſhould not think them afraid, made as much ſhouting as they could, and waved to them to come and board them if they durſt. That they would not venture to do, ſeeing them ſo courageous, and having fought the admiral's ſhip all that day, were at laſt obliged to quit her. The May-flower came the next morning, and brought ſix men to the admiral, taking back ſome that were wounded in return.

Proceeding now for England, they came in ſight of the Lizard on the 2d of June; and on the 3d, they ſaw a Portugueſe veſſel, which they ordered to ſend a boat on board them; and demanded what was their lading? To which, they anſwered, ſugar and cotton. Then the Engliſh captain ſhewing them five negros, aſked whether they would buy them, which they appearing very deſirous to do, agreed to give forty ſmall cheſts for them. Five of theſe had been delivered, when the Engliſhman perceived a large ſhip and a ſmall one bearing down upon him, deſired them to take their ſugar back, that he might prepare for his defence. But the trading veſſel earneſtly intreating the admiral not to leave her, the latter agreed, and lowered her topſails to wait for her. At length however, the ſuppoſed enemy ſheered off; and the Engliſhmen, purſuing their courſe, ſaw the Start Point on the 5th of June, and came to anchor under the Iſle of Wight, from whence they afterwards proceeded to Southampton, and thus completed their voyage without farther moleſtation.

VOYAGES TO BENIN BEYOND GUINEA, IN 1588, AND 1590, BY JAMES WELSH.

THESE voyages were ſet forth by Meſſrs. Bird and Newton, merchants of London, with a ſhip called the Richard of Arundel, burthen 100 tons, and a pinnace. On the 12th of October, weighing anchor from Ratcliff, they went to Blackwall, and next day ſailed from thence: but by reaſon of contrary winds and bad weather, it was the 25th, before they reached Plymouth; where they were unluckily weather-bound till the 14th of December, when putting to ſea, about midnight they were athwart of the Lizard.

On the 2d of January, they had ſight of the land near Rio del Oro; and there had twenty-two degrees forty-ſeven minutes latitude. On the 3d, they had ſight of Cape De las Barbas, bearing ſouth-eaſt, five leagues off; on the 4th, in the morning, Croſiers; and on the 7th, off Cape Verd; where Welſh found the latitude, fourteen degrees and forty-three minutes, being four leagues from the ſhore. On the 17th, Cape de Mont, bore from them north-north-eaſt, they ſounded, and had fifty fathoms black ooze; and

at two o'clock, it lay north-north-weſt, eight leagues off. Cape Menſurado bore off them eaſt by ſouth, and went north-eaſt with the coaſt. Here the current ſets eaſt-ſouth-eaſt along the ſhore. At midnight they ſounded, and had twenty-ſix fathoms black ooze. On the 18th, in the morning, they were near a land much like Cape Verd, nine leagues (as the author judged) from Cape Menſurado. It is a hill ſaddle-backed; and there are four or five one after another; ſeven leagues more to the ſouthward, they ſaw a row of ſaddle-backed hills, and from Menſurado run many mountains.

They were in the height of Rio del Seſtos, on the 19th, and next day, Cape des Baizas was north and by weſt, they being four leagues off ſhore. In the afternoon, there came a boat with three negros, from a place as (as they ſaid) called Tabanoo; and towards evening, they were oppoſite an iſland, with a great many ſmall iſlands or rocks, to the ſouthward. The current came from the ſouth; they ſounded, and had thirty-five fathoms. On the 21ſt, they ſaw a flat hill, bearing north-north-eaſt, being four leagues from ſhore; and at two o'clock in the afternoon, ſpoke with a Frenchman, riding by a place called Crua. This Frenchman carried a letter from them to Mr. Newton, (one of the adventurers). And as they lay at hull, while the letter was writing, the current ſet them to the ſouthward, a good ſpace along the ſhore, ſouth-ſouth-eaſt. On the 25th, they were in the height of the bay, that is to the weſt of Cape Tres Puntas; the current ſetting eaſt-north-eaſt. On the 28th, they lay ſix glaſſes a hull, ſtaying for the pinnace. The laſt of January, at ſeven in the morning, they were up with the middle part of the Cape, three leagues diſtant. At eight, the pinnace came to anchor, and they found the current ſet to the eaſtward. At ſix at night, the uttermoſt land bore eaſt by ſouth, five leagues, they ſhaping their courſe ſouth-weſt, and ſouth-weſt-by-ſouth. On the 1ſt of February, they were oppoſite a very round foreland, which they took for the eaſtermoſt part of the Cape; within the fore-land was a great bay, and in that an iſland. On the 2d, they were up with the caſtle of Mina, and when the third glaſs of their look-out was ſpent, ſpied under their larboard quarter, a boat with certain negros, and one Portugueſe in it. The maſter would have had him come on board, but he would not. Upon the high rocks over the caſtle, they perceived two watch-houſes, (ſo they ſeemed to them) which appeared very white; they ſteered eaſt-north-eaſt. On the 4th, in the morning, they were oppoſite a great high hill, (and up in the land, there were more high, ragged hills) but little ſhort, as they reckoned, of Monte Rodondo, and twenty leagues ſouth-eaſtward from the Mina. At eleven, the maſter ſaw two hills within land, ſeven leagues from the former; and to the ſeaward a bay, at the eaſt end whereof, was another hill; the land from the hills lying very low. Their courſe was eaſt-north-eaſt, and eaſt by north, twenty-two leagues; and then eaſt along the ſhore. On the 6th, they were ſhort of Villa Longa, and met with a Portugueſe caraval. Next day, which was fair and temperate, they rode before Villa Longa. On the 8th, at noon, they ſet ſail again, and ten leagues from thence anchored, ſtaying all that night in ten fathoms water. On the 9th, they proceeded along the ſhore, which was bordered with very thick woods; and in the afternoon, were near a river, to the eaſtward of which, a little way off was a great high tree, ſeemingly without leaves; at night they anchored, the weather being fair and temperate. The 10th, they went eaſt, and eaſt-by-ſouth, fourteen leagues along the ſhore; which was covered with very thick woods. Towards night, they anchored in ſeven fathoms; the weather fair. On the 11th, they 1566
ſailed eaſt by ſouth, and three leagues from ſhore, had but five fathoms water. All the wood upon the land was as even as if it had been cut with gardener's ſheers. Running two leagues, they diſcovered a high tuft of trees upon the brow of a land, which ſhewed like a porpoiſe's head; and when they came at it, found it was but part of the land. A league farther, they ſaw a very low head-land full of trees; and great way from the ſhore, meeting with very ſhallow water, they went more to ſea to avoid the ſands, and then they anchored in the mouth of the River Java, in five fathoms water. On the 12th, they ſent the pinnace and the boat to land with the merchants, who returned not till next morning. The ſhalloweſt part of this river, is towards the weſt where there is but four fathoms and a half; and it is very broad. Here the current ſetting weſtward; and the eaſtermoſt land is higher than the weſtermoſt. On the 13th, they ſet ſail, and by ſouth-ſouth-eaſt along the ſhore, where the trees are wonderfully even. Having run eighteen leagues, they had ſight of a great river, and anchored in three fathoms and a half, the current running weſtward. This was the river of Benin, and two leagues from ſhore it is very ſhallow. On the 15th, they ſent the boat and pinnace into the river with the merchants; and becauſe they rode in ſhallow water, went ſouth-ſouth-eaſt till they came into five fathoms. By this time the boat returned from the harbour, and went on board the pinnace. The land to the weſtward was high browed, while that to the eaſtward was lower, and had on it three tufts of trees, like ſtacks of corn. Here they rode from the 14th of February, till the 14th of April, with the wind at ſouth-weſt. On the 16th of February, the boat and pinnace came to them again out of the river, and told them, that there was but ten feet water upon the bar. All that night was hazy, and yet reſonably temperate. On the 17th, at cloſe of day, the wind at ſouth-weſt ſtill, the merchants put their goods on board the pinnace. There came a great current out of the river, and ſet to the weſtward. Next day they went with their goods into the river. The weather was cloſe and hazy, with thunder, rain, and lightning. The 24th, in the morning, cloſe and temperate; in the afternoon, the boat came out of the river from the merchants. On the 4th of March, a cloſe ſultry hot morning, the current went to the weſtward, and much troubled water came out of the river. On the 16th, the pinnace came on board with Anthony Ingram in her, and brought ninety-four bags of pepper, and twenty-eight elephants teeth; but the maſter of her, and all the company were ſick. This was a temperate day, and the wind at South-weſt, and continued ſo for three days. On the 19th, the pinnace went into the river again, and carried the purſer and ſurgeon. On the 25th, they ſent the boat into the river. On the 30th, the pinnace came from Benin, and brought 159 cerons or ſacks of pepper, and elephants teeth, with the ſorrowful news, that Thomas Heinſted was dead, and their captain alſo. They ſet ſail homewards on the 13th of April, in the morning, with the wind at ſouth-weſt, and ſtood weſt-and-by-north.—But it proved calm all that night; and the current ran ſouth-eaſt. On the 14th, being ſeven leagues from ſhore, the river of Benin was north-eaſt. There was little wind all day; and towards night it was calm. *

The 17th was a fair temperate day, the wind variable; and they found the latitude four degrees 20 minutes. The 25th, was a day altogether like the former; and here they had three degrees and 29 min. of latitude. The 8th of May, they had ſight of the ſhore, which was part of Cape de Monte, but they did not think they had been ſo far: this was occaſioned

* That in all the time of their ſtaying, in the mouth of the river Benin, and all the coaſt thereabout; it was fair temperate weather, when the wind was at ſouth-weſt; and when at north-eaſt, and northerly, it rained, with lightning and thunder, and was very intemperate.

1590 ſioned by the current. In this place Mr. Towerſon was in like manner deceived. On the 9th they had ſight of Cape de Monte. The 17th, was a dark hazy day; and in the night, the author ſaw the North Star for the firſt time. The 26th was a temperate day, with little wind, and they were in 12 degrees 13 min. of latitude. The 13th they met with a great ſea out of the north-weſt. The 6th of June they found it as temperate as if they had been in England, and yet they were within the height of the ſun: for it was declined 23 degrees and 26 minutes to the northward, and they had 15 degrees of latitude. The 28th they had the ſame ſort of weather, and met with a counter ſea from the ſouth.

On the 12th of July, in 30 degrees of latitude, they met with a great quantity of weeds, which ſtuck together like cluſters of grapes, and this continued till the 17th, when they were in 32 degrees 46 minutes, and then ſaw no more. The 25th at ſix in the morning, they had ſight of the Iſle of Pike, bearing north by eaſt, 15 leagues off. The 27th they ſpoke with the poſt of London, and they told them good news of England. The 29th they had ſight of the iſland of Corvo, and next day ſaw the iſland of Flores. The 27th of Auguſt, in 41 degrees of lat. they ſaw nine ſail of ſhips, and were followed by three of them till noon, who then gave over the chace. The 30th they had ſight of Cape Finiſterre.

On the 8th of September at night, they arrived at Plymouth Sound, and rode in Cauſon Bay all night. The 9th they put into Cat-water, and there ſtaid till the 28th of September, by reaſon of ſickneſs and want of men. The 29th they ſet ſail from Plymouth, and came to London the 2d of October, 1589.

The commodities that were carried in this voyage were, both linen and woollen; iron-work of ſundry ſorts; Manillos, or bracelets of copper, glaſs beads, and coral. The merchandiſe that they brought home were, pepper, and elephants teeth, oil of palm, cloth made both of cotton, and the bark of palm-trees, very curiouſly woven. Their money is pretty white ſhells,* for gold and ſilver the Engliſh ſaw none. Cotton grows in great plenty here. Their bread is made of a kind of roots, they call it Inemia; it is pleaſant to the taſte, and light of digeſtion: the root is as big as a man's arm. The Engliſhmen on faſt days, had rather eat the root with oil and vinegar, than good ſtock-fiſh. There are palm-trees in great plenty, and the wine that comes from them conſiderable: it is white and very pleaſant; and ſo cheap, that they could by two gallons for 20 ſhells. They have ſtore of ſoap, which ſmells like beaten violets. They make pretty mats, and baſkets, which are very fine, alſo ivory ſpoons, curiouſly wrought with figures of birds and beaſts. The lightning and thunder on this coaſt is prodigious. The people are very gentle and loving: both men and women go naked till they are married, and then they are covered from the middle to the knees.

The Engliſh could buy earthen pots, the quantity of two gallons, full of honey and honey-combs, for 100 ſhells. They could alſo bring great ſtore of oranges, and plantains, which is the fruit of a tree much like a cucumber, but very pleaſant to the palate.

The author informs us that he had the art of preſerving freſh water; and that when he came to Plymouth, the experiment was made with little coſt on the ſame he brought home, (which had ſerved the ſhip for ſix months,) by the principal perſons in that town, who were much ſurpriſed at it, and acknowledged, there was not ſweeter water in any ſpring about the place.

THE SECOND VOYAGE TO BENIN, IN 1590.

ON the 3d of September the fleet ſet ſail from Ratcliff, and the 18th they came to Plymouth Sound. The 22d they put to ſea again, and at midnight were off the Lizard. On the 24th they had ſight of Cape Verde; and on the 25th they met a great hollow ſea out of the north. The 5th of November they met with three currents, from the weſt and north-weſt, within an hour one of another. This was in the latitude of ſix degrees, 42 minutes.

On the 15th of December they were oppoſite a rock two leagues diſtant, ſomewhat like the New-ſtone in England: it is not above a mile from ſhore. Here they had 27 fathoms water. A mile farther they ſaw another rock, and between them both, broken ground, where they had but 20 fathoms, and black ſand; they could plainly diſcern that the rock went along the ſhore, but from the land to the ſeaward. About five leagues to the ſouth they ſaw a great bay. The latitude was four degrees and 27 minutes. The 26th they met with a French ſhip of Honfleur, which had robbed their pinnace; they ſent a letter by her; and this night they ſaw another ſpot in the ſun. At his going down towards evening, they were oppoſite a river, and right over the river, was a high tuft of trees. The 17th, being the change of the moon, they anchored in the mouth of the river, and found the land to be Cape de Palmlas. Between them and the cape there was a great ledge of rocks, one league and a half from ſhore, and they bore to the weſt of the cape. They ſaw alſo an iſland off the foreland point. Night approaching, they could perceive no more of the land, but only that it tended inwardly like a bay, where there runs a ſtream as if it were in the river of Thames. The 19th, a fair temperate day, and the wind ſouth, they went eaſt, and the land a-ſtern of them bore weſt, appearing low by the water-ſide, like iſlands. This was the eaſt of Cape de Palmlas, the coaſt tending in with a great ſound. They went eaſt all night, and in the morning were but three or four leagues from ſhore. The 20th they were oppoſite a river called Rio de los Barbos. On the 21ſt they went eaſt along ſhore; and three or four leagues to the weſt of Cape de tres Puntos, Mr. Welſh found the bay to be ſet down deeper than it is by four leagues. At four o'clock the land began to ſhew high, and the firſt part of it full of palm-trees. The 24th, ſtill going by the ſhore, which was very low and full of trees, at 12 o'clock they anchored oppoſite the Rio de Boilas. Here they ſent the boat on ſhore with the merchants, but they durſt not put into the river, becauſe of a great ſea that continually broke at the entrance upon the bar. The 29th at noon they were oppoſite Arda, and there they took a caraval; but the negros fled on the land. Going on board, they found nothing in her but a little oil of palm-trees, and a few roots. Next morning the captain and merchants went to meet ſome Portugueſe about a caraval they had taken, who came in a boat to ſpeak with them, about ranſoming the caraval, offering for her certain bullocks and elephants teeth. They gave them one of each ſort, and ſaid they would bring them the reſt the next day. The firſt of January the captain went aſhore to ſpeak with

* Theſe are called *Cowries*.

the Portugueſe; but finding they diſſembled, he came on board again, and preſently unrigged the caraval, and ſet her on fire before the town. Then proceeding along the ſhore, they ſaw a date-tree, by the water-ſide, the like of which is not on all that coaſt. They ran on ground a little on one place; then getting to Villa Longa, anchored there. The 3d they were as far ſhot as Rio de Lagos, where the merchants went on ſhore, and upon the bar found three fathoms flat, but went not in, becauſe it was late. There is to the eaſtward of this river a date-tree, higher than all the date-trees thereabouts. Thus they went along the coaſt, which was full of trees and high woods, anchoring every night.

On the 6th in the morning it was very foggy, ſo that they could not ſee land; but at three in the afternoon it clearing up, they found themſelves oppoſite the river of Jaya, where, meeting with the ſhallow water, they ran out to ſea, as they did the voyage before, and came to anchor in five fathoms. Next day they ſet ſail again, and towards noon came before the river of Benin, in five fathoms water. The 10th, at two in the afternoon, the captain went on ſhore with the ſhallop. Every morning this week it was foggy till 10 o'clock; and hitherto the weather was as temperate as the ſummer in England. This day they went into the road, (the weſt point of which bore eaſt north-eaſt of them) and anchored in four fathoms water. The 21ſt being a fair temperate day, M. Haſſald went to the town of Goto to hear news of the captain. On the 23d the caraval arrived, bringing with her 63 elephants teeth, and three bullocks. The 28th was fair and temperate; but towards night there fell much rain, lightning and thunder. This day the boat came aboard from Goto. The 24th of February, the wind at ſouth-eaſt, they took 298 ſacks of pepper, and four elephants teeth. The 26th they got the reſt of their goods into the caraval, and M. Haſſald went with her to Goto. The 5th of March ſhe came back and brought 21 ſacks of pepper, and four elephants teeth. The 9th of April ſhe came on board with water; and this day they loſt their ſhallop. The 17th was a hazy rainy day. In the afternoon they ſaw three great ſpouts of rain, two on the larboard ſide, and one right a-head, but they came not near them. This day they took in the laſt of their water: and the 26th they victualled the caraval to go with them to ſea. The 27th they ſet ſail homeward, with the wind ſouth-weſt; and at two o'clock in the afternoon, the river of Benin was north-eaſt eight leagues from them. 1563

On the 13th of Auguſt they fell in with the fleet under the Lord Thomas Howard, admiral, and Sir Richard Grenville, vice-admiral, which was lying at Hull, in waiting for Spaniſh ſhips, 30 leagues to the ſouth-weſt of the iſland of Flores. They were detained till the 15th at night, and then had leave to depart, with a fly-boat laden with ſugar, that came from Sant Thome, and were taken by the queen's ſhips; the lord admiral giving Mr. Walſh great charge not to leave her till ſhe was harboured in England. The 23d, the north-eaſt part of the iſland of Corvo, bore eaſt and by ſouth, ſix leagues off. The 17th of September they met a ſhip off Plymouth, that came from the Weſt Indies, but ſhe could tell them no news. The next day they had ſight of another ſail. This day alſo Mr. Wood, one of their company died. The 23d they ſpoke with the Dragon, of my lord of Cumberland, which Ivie was maſter of. The 6th of October they had ſight of Scilly, and were forced by rain and wind to put into St. Mary's Sound, where they ſtaid four days. Departing the 11th, they had three fathoms upon the bar at high water; then ſteering ſouth-eaſt, through Crowſand; they ſhortly after had ſight of the Land's End, and at ten o'clock were oppoſite the Lizard.—The 30th they put into Dartmouth, where they ſtaid till the 12th of December, when ſetting ſail with the wind at weſt, on the 18th they anchored at Limehouſe, where they landed 589 ſacks of pepper, 150 elephant's teeth, and 32 barrels of the oil of palm-trees. The commodities that were carried out this voyage were, broad-cloths, kerſies, linen, iron unwrought, bracelets of copper, coral, hawks bells, horſe-tails, hats, and ſuch like commodities.

THE VOYAGE OF THOMAS STEPHENS TO GOA.

THE firſt and moſt remarkable of the voyages of the Engliſh to the coaſt of Guinea, we have found it moſt proper to arrange together. We ſhall here notice thoſe which were undertaken to the Eaſt Indies, or with a view to participate in that trade, or to interrupt the progreſs of foreigners in thoſe parts. Both before and after the period we are ſpeaking of, ſeveral voyages had been made to the Azores iſlands with various ſucceſs, but not of ſufficient conſequence to be here particularly and ſeparately noticed. The voyage we are about to preſent the reader, was performed by one Thomas Stephens* who, though he was only paſſenger in the Portugueſe fleet to Goa, the account which he gave of the navigation ſeems to have been ſuch as contributed to influence his countrymen in their endeavours to trade in the Indian ſeas, and if poſſible to get ſome footing in thoſe remoter regions.

Our adventurer, with whoſe views in undertaking this voyage we are not made thoroughly acquainted, informs us that he left Italy, and arrived at Liſbon at the end of March, eight days before the departure of the Portugueſe fleet, conſiſting of five ſhips, which left the port on the 4th of April, 1579; and on the 10th of the ſame month, the ſhip wherein he embarked, being alone, was attacked near Madeira by a large Engliſh veſſel, which, however, after having exchanged ſome few ſhot, bore away and left the Portugueſe, though they ſaw her again at the Canaries where they arrived on the 13th. When they paſſed the Line, they were much incommoded by ſqualls and calms, and here our voyager made ſome nautical remarks, moſt of which have however been better illuſtrated by ſucceeding voyagers, and with which we ſhall not therefore trouble the reader. We ſhall only obſerve that he made the following obſervation on the ſigns of land to be obſerved in approaching the African coaſt.

"At 30 leagues diſtant from the coaſt, and about 200 miles, as they computed, from any iſland, an incredible number of fowls of various kinds, followed the ſhip, ſome of which were ſo large [a ſort of eagle] that their wings, when extended, ſtretched above ſeven ſpans, and they could not have wanted ſubſiſtence, as they were all very fat. Theſe fowls were denominated by the Portugueſe according to their different forms and qualities. In all calm places near

* The account is contained in a letter written by Mr. Stephens to his father. He appears to have been a Jeſuit, and was bred at New College, Oxford.

1591 the Æquinoctial Line they ſaw ſharks about five feet long, that followed the veſſel in order to catch any thing that might chance to fall over-board. They alſo ſaw numbers of flying fiſh, and their enemies the albicores.

Inſtead of doubling the Cape of Good Hope without coming in ſight of land, they having a favourable gale, came ſo near the ſhore, that by the winds ſhifting, they were in danger of being wrecked off Cape des Aquilas, which is beyond the other Cape. After they had lain in dreadful condition, loſing their anchors, and in danger of falling a prey to the roaring waves, to ſavage beaſts, or yet more ſavage men, at length, the winds ariſing, delivered them from this danger; and they proceeded on their voyage to India, in the courſe of which, though more than 150 were ſick, yet not above twenty-ſeven died; and Mr. Stephens enjoyed his health all the way. About the eleventh degree of latitude, they were followed for many days by ſome thouſands of fiſh, which furniſhed a good ſupply of proviſions for them, which however, was not a ſign of land. But at length they took two hawks, which they ſuppoſed to be a ſign that they drew near India; however they were then near Socatora. Here ſtrong winds ſpringing up from the north-eaſt, and north-north-eaſt, they were deceived by currents, and continued ten days, without coming in ſight of land, the firſt ſigns of which, were from fowls, which they knew to belong to India; afterwards they ſaw palms, ſedges and leaves ſwimming upon the water; and on the 24th day of the month, they arrived at Goa, where they were received with the greateſt cordiality. The account of this voyage is not ſo remarkable (as we have hinted) for any thing, as for its being the firſt given of any Engliſhman of this navigation, for which cauſe we have given it a place in this collection, and here given it in order, immediately preceding the Engliſh voyages to the Eaſt Indies.

A VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES IN THE YEAR 1591, BEING THE FIRST VOYAGE PERFORMED BY THE ENGLISH TO THOSE PARTS.

THE account of this voyage was taken from the deſcription of Mr. Edmund Barker, lieutenant to Captain Lancaſter. * The fleet ſent out, conſiſted of three large ſhips, the Penelope, admiral, commanded by George Raymond; the Merchant Royal, vice-admiral, Abraham Cendel, captain; and the Edward Bon-adventure, rear-admiral, in which was James Lancaſter.

On the 10th of April, they left Plymouth, and came to the Canaries the 25th; and departed on the 29th. On the ſecond of May, they were in the heights of Cape Blanco; the 5th, paſſed the Tropic of Cancer; and on the 8th, they were in the altitude of Cape Verde. They had a fair wind at north-eaſt till the 13th, when being within eight degrees of the equator, they met with a contrary gale, which obliged them to lie off and on in the ſea, till the 6th of June, and then they paſſed the line. Before that, they took a Portugueſe caraval, bound from Liſbon to Braſil, wherein they found ſixty tuns of wine, 1200 jars of oil, and 100 of olives; beſides ſome barrels of capers, three fats of peaſe, and divers other neceſſaries, which proved better to them than gold. Many of the men fell ſick, and two died before they paſſed the line, it being extremely unhealthy between 8 deg. north-latitude, and the equator, at that time of the year; for they had nothing but tornados, with ſuch thunder and lightning, that they could not keep their men dry three hours together, to which, and their eating ſalt victuals, with want of cloaths to ſhift them, they owed their ſickneſs.

After paſſing the line, they had ſtill the wind at eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, which carried them along the coaſt of Braſil, at 100 leagues diſtance, till they came into twenty ſix degrees of ſouth latitude, where the wind changed to the north. On the 28th of July, they had ſight of the Cape; and till the 31ſt, lay off and on, with the wind contrary, in hopes to have doubled it; intending to have gone ſeventy leagues farther to Agoada de St. Blas, before they put into any harbour; but the men in all the ſhips being weak, and requiring ſome place to refreſh, they ſteered to the northward of the Cape along the ſhore fifteen leagues, and came to Agoada de Saldanna; a good bay, with an iſland lying to ſeaward of it, where they caſt anchor on the 1ſt of Auguſt, and then landed the men: to whom there came certain ſavages, very black and brutiſh, but ſoon retired. For the firſt fifteen or twenty days, they could find no proviſions but cranes and geeſe, which they ſhot, nor was there any fiſh but muſcles and other ſhell-fiſh, which they gathered on the rocks. Then the admiral went with his pinnace to the iſland, where he found abundance of penguins and ſeals, of which he took plenty.

At length they ſeized a negro, and compelled him to march into the country with them; making ſigns that they wanted ſome cattle; but at this time, not coming to the ſight of any natives, they let him go again, with ſome trifles, by way of preſent. However, within eight days, he with thirty or forty other negros, brought them about forty bullocks, and as many ſheep, of which they bought a few, and eight days after, twenty-four of each ſort. There are divers ſorts of wild beaſts, as the antelope, whereof Mr. Lancaſter killed one, as big as a young colt, the red and fallow deer, with others unknown to us; and great numbers of overgrown monkeys.

Now it was thought good rather to proceed with two ſhips well manned, than with three, wanting ſufficient hands; and as there were but 198 men in all; 101 were put into the admiral, and 97 into the Edward; and 50 (whereof many were pretty well recovered) left in the Merchant Royal, which, for many reaſons, was ſent home. The diſeaſe that conſumed the men, was the ſcurvy. The ſoldiers who had not been uſed to ſea, held out beſt; but the ſailors dropped away. Six days after the departure of the Merchant Royal, the admiral left the bay of Saldanna, and quickly doubled the Cape of Good Hope; but being come to Cape Corientes, on the 14th of September, there aroſe a great ſtorm, with violent guſts of wind, wherein they loſt the admiral's company, and could never hear of him after, though they long ſought, and ſtaid for him at the Iſland of Comoro, the place appointed for rendezvous. Four days after, about ten in the morning, there fell a terrible clap of thunder

* This voyage was begun under the direction of Captain Raymond, whoſe ſhip was ſeparated from the reſt off the Coaſt of Africa; and we hear nothing of the concluſion of his voyage.

thunder, which killed four men, (their necks being wrung aſunder) and of ninety-four, there was not one untouched; ſome being ſtruck blind, others being bruiſed in their legs and arms, ſome again in their breaſts, ſo that they voided blood for two days after, others were drawn out at length, as though they had been racked; but all recovered. The main-maſt was alſo ſadly torn from the head to the deck, and ſome of the ſpikes that went ten inches deep into the timber, were melted with the extreme heat. Thence they ſailed north-eaſt, and fell in with the iſland of St. Lawrence: which one of the men luckily eſpied late in the evening, by moon light, without knowing what to make of it; but calling others to inform him, they perceived the ſea breaking upon the ſhoals; whereupon, in very good time they tacked about, and eſcaped the danger. Paſſing on, they happened to overſhoot Mozambic, and fell in with a place called Quintangone, two leagues to the northward, where they took two or three barks of Moors, which they called pangaias, laden with millio, hens, and ducks, with one Portugueſe boy on board, going for the proviſion of Mozambic; a few days after, they came to an iſland 100 leagues to the north-eaſt of Mozambic, called Comoro, which they found exceeding full of Moors, of tawny colour and good ſtature, but carefully to be watched, being very treacherous. Being in want of water they ſent the boat with ſixteen men well armed, whom the people ſuffered very quietly to land; and many of them came on board the ſhip with their king, dreſſed in a gown of crimſon ſattin, pinked after the Mooriſh faſhion, down to the knees. The Engliſh entertained him in the beſt manner, and had ſome conference with him about the ſtate of the place, and merchandizes; the Portugueſe boy lately taken, ſerving for their interpreter. After this, they ſent twice for water, and had it very quietly; they were now ſufficiently furniſhed. However, William Mace, of Ratcliff, the maſter, pretending that it would be long before they ſhould find any other good watering place, would needs go on ſhore himſelf with thirty men, much againſt the captain's will. But as half of them were waſhing over againſt the ſhip, the Moors took that opportunity, while they were divided, and killed moſt of them, in ſight of thoſe on board, who were not able, for want of a boat, to give them ſuccour. From hence they ſhaped their courſe for Zanzibar on the 17th of November, where ſhortly after, they arrived, and made a new boat with ſuch boards as they had in the ſhip. They rode there till the middle of February, in which time they ſaw many pangaias, or boats, which are faſtened with pins, and ſewed together with palmito cords, caulked with the huſks of cocoa-ſhells beaten. At length a Portugueſe pangaia coming out of the harbour of Zanzibar, where they have a ſmall factory, ſent a converted Moor, in a canoe, with a letter, deſiring to know who they were, and what they wanted. The anſwer was, they were Engliſhmen, come from Don Antonio about buſineſs to his friends in the Indies. On which they went away, and returned no more: ſoon after they manned out their boat, and took a pangaia of the Moors, with one of their prieſts, called in their language, Sherif, whom they uſed very courteouſly. This the king took very kindly, and for his ranſom, furniſhed them with two months victuals, all which time they retained the prieſt with them. Theſe Moors informed them of the fallacy and ſpiteful dealings of the Portugueſe; who, that the Engliſh might know nothing of the affairs and trade of the country, adviſed them if they loved their ſafety, not to go near the ſhip, repreſenting the crew as men-eaters. During their ſtay here, they ſet upon a Portugueſe pangaia, (armed with ten muſquets) in their boat, but it being ſo ſmall, that the men were not able to ſtir in it, they could not compaſs their deſign. In this harbour a ſhip of 500 tons may ride with ſafety; here is alſo good watering, with plenty of proviſions, as oxen, hens, and fiſh, beſides variety of foreign fruits. Here again they had another clap of thunder, and their fore-maſt was much ſhaken; but they finiſhed, and repaired it with timber from the ſhore, where there is abundance of trees, ſome forty foot high, which was ſuppoſed to be cedar. Six days before their departure from hence, the cape merchant of the Portugueſe factory, ſent a letter to Captain Lancaſter, by a negro, his man and a Moor in a canoe, requeſting a jar of wine, another of oil, and two or three pounds of gun-powder. The captain ſent him his demands by the Moor, but took the negro along with him, becauſe he had been in the Eaſt Indies, and knew ſomething of the country. He informed them of a ſmall bark of thirty tons, called by the Moors a junk, which came from Goa thither, with pepper for the factory. 1592

They ſet forward on the 15th of February, for Cape Comori, intending there to have lain off and on for ſuch ſhips as ſhould have paſſed from Zeilan, St. Thomas, Bengal, Pegus, Malacca, the Maluccos, the Coaſt of China, and the Iſle of Japan; which veſſels are exceeding rich; but being deceived by the currents that ſet into the Red-ſea, along the Coaſt of Melinda; and the wind ſhortening upon them to the north-eaſt, and eaſterly, they were driven farther to the northward, within eighty leagues of the Iſle of Zecotora. However, here they always found abundance of dolphins, bonitos, and flying fiſhes. Now the ſhip being ſo much driven out of her courſe, and the time ſo far ſpent, they determined to ſail either for the Red-ſea, or the ſaid iſland; but the wind very luckily came about to the north-weſt, and carried them directly towards Cape Comori. Before they doubled it, they purpoſed to touch at one of the iſlands of Mamale, in twelve degrees north, which yielded proviſions; but miſſed it, partly through the obſtinacy of the maſter: for the day before they fell in with ſome of the iſlands, the wind coming about to the ſouth-weſt, they changed their courſe. The wind increaſing ſoutherly, they feared they ſhould not have been able to double the Cape, which would have greatly hazarded their caſting away on the Coaſt of India: for the winter ſeaſon, and weſtern monſoons which continue on that coaſt till Auguſt, were already come in. Nevertheleſs, the wind changing more weſterly in May, 1592, they happily doubled the Cape, without ſight of the land. Hence they directed their courſe for the iſlands of Nicobar, (which lie north and ſouth with the weſtern part of Sumatra, in ſeven degrees north latitude) and having a very good wind, arrived there in ſix days, although the weather was foul, with violent rain, and guſts: but by the maſter's fault, in not duly obſerving the ſouth ſtar, they fell, the 1ſt of June to the ſouthward of them, within ſight of the iſlands of Gomes Polo; and kept on the north-eaſt ſide of them, two or three days becalmed, plying off and on the Coaſt of Sumatra, but two leagues diſtant, expecting to have a pilot from thence; now the winter coming on, with much contagious weather, they ſailed for the iſlands of Pula Pinami, where they arrived the beginning of June, and came to anchor between them, in a very good harbour, in ſix degrees thirty minutes north, about five leagues from the Coaſt of Malacca. Here they determined to winter, and landed their men, being very ſick, of whom twenty-ſix died, and among the reſt, John Hall, their maſter, and Rainold Golding, a merchant of very good ſenſe; they had loſt their ſurgeon before, ſo that when they left the iſland, there were but thirty-three men and a boy left, of whom not above twenty-two were fit for labour, and of them, not paſt a third part ſailors. Their refreſhing, in this uninhabited place, was very ſmall, being only oyſters and great wilks growing on rocks, with ſome few fiſh, which they took with their hooks. However theſe iſlands are full of trees of white wood, above 100 foot high, and ſo ſtrait, that they are fit for maſts.

The winter being paſſed, and their ſhip fitted for putting to ſea, towards the end of Auguſt they departed

1566. parted to ſeek ſome place of refreſhment; and croſſing over to the coaſt of Malacca, next day they came to anchor in a bay of ſix fathoms water, two leagues from ſhore. Here captain Lancaſter, his lieutenant, and ſome others landed, and perceived freſh tracks of barefooted people, with a fire burning; but ſaw no living creature, except a certain kind of ſea fowl, called Ox Birds, which are very tame, and like a ſnipe in colour, but not in beak. Having killed eight dozen with hail-ſhot, they returned towards night on board. Next day a canoe, with about 16 naked Indians, drew near them, but would not come aboard; however, the Engliſh going afterwards on ſhore, they came and converſed with them in a friendly manner, and promiſed them victuals. They ſaw three ſhips the day following of 60 or 70 tons each, one of which they made to ſtrike with their very boat, and underſtanding it was of the town of Martabam, (which is the chief haven for the great city of Pegu) and that the goods belonged to ſome Portugueſe Jeſuits, and a biſcuit-baker of the ſame nation, they took it, but did not force the other two, becauſe they were the property of the merchants of Pegu. All three were freighted with pepper, which they landed at Pera, a place 30 leagues to the ſouth. The night following, all the men except twelve, whom they had taken into their ſhip, being moſt of them Peguins, fled in their boat, leaving their ſhip and goods, which were put on board the Edward. After this they took another ſhip of Pegu laden with pepper, and diſmiſſed her without touching any thing.—Their ſick men being ſomewhat refreſhed, and ſtrengthened with ſuch relief as they found in the prize, after a ſtay of 10 days, in the beginning of September they ſailed into the ſtreights, and came to Pulo Sambilam, 45 leagues northward of the city of Malacca, to which iſlands the Portugueſe ſhips muſt always come, that are bound from either Goa, or St. Thomas, for the Maluccos, China, and Japan. When they had been five days plying to and fro, upon a Sunday, they ſaw a ſail, which proved to be a Portugueſe ſhip of 250 tons, laden with rice for Malacca, that came from Nagapatam, a port of India, over againſt Ceylon. Having taken her, Lancaſter ordered their captain and maſter on board his own ſhip, and ſent his lieutenant and ſeven more to keep the prize, which rode in 30 fathoms water; there being good anchorage in that channel, three or four leagues from ſhore. They thought alſo to have taken a Portugueſe ſhip of St. Thomas, of 400 tons, that came and anchored by the prize in the night, but the Edward was ſo foul that ſhe eſcaped. After taking out of the prize what they thought fit, they turned her a-drift, with all her crew, except a pilot and four Moors. The 6th of October they met with a Malacca ſhip of 700 tons that came from Goa, which yielded after her main-yard was ſhot through. The captain, maſter, and pilot, being commanded to come on board, only the captain, with one ſoldier came. After ſome converſation, he propoſed to go and fetch the reſt, under pretence that they would not come unleſs he went for them; but as ſoon as he reached the ſhip in the evening, he made to ſhore with all the people, to the number of 300 men, women and children, in two great boats. They found on board 25 pieces of braſs cannon, 300 butts of Canary and palm-wine, with many other commodities; but they found none of the treaſure which is uſually brought by the galleons in royals of plate. Becauſe the ſailors pillaged this rich ſhip in a diſorderly manner, and would not remove the wines into the Edward, the captain, after taking out the choiceſt goods, ſet her adrift. For fear of the forces of Malacca, they departed thence to a bay in the kingdom of Junſalaom, between Malacca and Pegu, eight degrees to the northward, to ſeek for a pilot to trim their ſhip. Here they ſent the ſoldier who was left behind by the captain of the galleon, and ſpoke the Malayan tongue, to deal for pitch, of which he procured two or three quintals. They likewiſe ſent commodities to barter with the king for ambergreaſe, and the horns of the rhinoceros, and highly eſteemed by the Moors in thoſe parts, as a ſovereign remedy againſt poiſon. They got but two or three of thoſe horns, which are of a brown grey colour, and a quantity of ambergreaſe, whereof the trade only belongs to the king, who at laſt went about to ſeize the Portugueſe and their merchandiſe, which the man perceiving, they told him there was gilt armour, ſhirts of mail, and halberts (things they greatly deſired) on board the ſhips, for which, the king let him return. They then left the coaſt, and paſſing by Sumatra, went to the iſlands of Nicabar, inhabited by Moors, with whom they trafficked. On the 21ſt of November they departed for the iſland of Zeilan, and arrived on the ſouth ſide on the 3d of December, in ſix fathoms water; but the ground being rocky and foul, they loſt their anchor. Then they ran along the ſouth-weſt ſhore, to a place called Punta del Galle, intending to wait for the Bengala and Pegu fleets: the firſt of ſeven or eight ſhips, and the 2d of two or three, which with the Portugueſe ſhips of Tanaſeri, (a great bay in the kingdom of Siam, to the ſouthward of Martabam) were to come that way within 14 days, with commodities for the Caraks, that commonly depart from Cochin for Portugal by the middle of January.

Having left their anchor in foul ground before Punta Galla, they lay all that night adrift, becauſe the two they left were unſtocked, and in hold, which the ſailors made a handle of to return home. The captain at that time lying dangerouſly ſick, in the morning, it was reſolved to ply up to the northward, and keep too-and-again out of the current, which otherwiſe would have carried the ſhip to the ſouthward out of the reach of land. Having, with this view, hoiſted the fore-ſail, and prepared to ſet the reſt, the men declared they would take their direct courſe for England, and the captain was forced to give way.

On the 8th of December they ſet ſail for the Cape of Buona Speranſa, paſſing by the iſlands of Malvida, and leaving that of St. Lawrence, in 26 degrees, to the northward. Betwixt this iſland and the coaſt of Africa, they found great ſtore of bonitos, and albacores, which are a larger kind of fiſh, of which Captain Lancaſter, being now recovered, catched, with an hook, as many in two or three hours, as would ſerve 40 perſons a whole day. They took as many daily for five or ſix weeks, which was no ſmall refreſhment for them. In February, 1593, they fell in with Baia de Agoa, 100 leagues to the north-eaſt of the Cape of Good Hope, but finding the winds contrary, they ſpent a month or five weeks before they could double it. After which, in March following, they ſailed for St. Helena, and arrived the 3d of April, where they ſtayed, to their great comfort, 19 days. Lieutenant Barker going on ſhore here, with four or five Peguins, or men of Pegu, and the ſurgeon, in a houſe by the chapel, found John Segar, of Bury, in Suffolk, who having been dangerouſly ill, was left there eight months before, by Abraham Kendall, in the Royal Merchant to recover his health. He ſeemed as freſh-coloured as could be expected; but whether through fright, apprehending them at firſt to be enemies, or through exceſs of joy, when he underſtood they were his old conſorts, he became light-headed; and taking no reſt for eight days, died for want of ſleep. Here two of the men, whereof one was troubled with the ſcurvy, and the other had been nine months ſick of the flux, ſoon recovered.

The captain departing from hence wiſhed to go to Braſil, but the ſailors abſolutely refuſed; therefore they directed their courſe for England, till they came to eight degrees of the line; ſpending ſix weeks in the way, with many calm and contrary winds at north-eaſt and weſt, which loſs of time, and expence of their proviſions, (of which they had but a ſmall compliment) made them think of altering their courſe; and ſome of the men beginning to mutiny, threatened to break up the cheſts of others for victuals: for every

man had his ſhare in his own cuſtody, that they might be ſure what they had to truſt to, and huſband it the better. The captain, deſirous to prevent this miſchief, having been informed by one of the company, who had been at the Iſle of Trinidada, that there they ſhould be ſure to meet with proviſions, directed his courſe to that iſland; but not being acquainted with the currents, was carried the beginning of June into the gulph of Paria. Here they were eight days, and often in three fathoms water; finding the current continually ſetting in, and no way out, till they got to the weſtern ſide, under the main-land, where they found no current at all, and the water deeper; and ſo keeping by the ſhore, the wind, which blew from land every night, at length helped them out to the northward. Being clear within four or five days after, they fell in with the iſland of Mona, where they rode 18 days, in which time the Indians gave them ſome refreſhment; and a French ſhip of Caen, in Normandy, likewiſe arriving, they bought of M. de Barboterre, the captain, two pipes of wine, bread, and other victuals. After this they fitted out their ſhip, and ſtopped a great leak, which ſprung in the gulph of Paria, being ready to depart, there aroſe a ſtorm from the north which drove them from anchor, and forced them to the ſouthward of Santo Domingo. This night they were in danger of ſhipwreck on an iſland called Savone, which is invironed with flats, lying four or five miles off; getting clear of them, they directed their courſe weſtward along Santo Domingo; and doubling Cape Tiberon, paſſed through the old channel, between that iſland and Cuba, for the cape of Florida. Here they met again the Caen ſhip, whoſe captain could ſpare them no more victuals, but only hides which he had trafficked for upon thoſe iſlands. Being clear off the channel of Bahama, they ſteered for the banks of Newfoundland. In this courſe they ran to the height of 36 degrees, and as far to the eaſt, as the iſle of Burmuda; where, the 27th of September, finding the wind very variable, (contrary to their expectations and all men's writings) they lay by a day or two; but a dangerous ſtorm ariſing, and being in danger of periſhing, they judged it beſt to turn back again to Dominica, and the adjacent iſlands to ſeek relief; but before they could get thither, the wind failed them, ſo that they were obliged to ſhape their courſe weſtwardly to the Nueblas, or Cloudy Iſlands, near St. Juan de Porto Rico, where they found land crabs, freſh water, and tortoiſes, which go on ſhore; moſtly about the full moon. Having refreſhed here 18 days, and taken in a little proviſion, they reſolved to return to Mona; only five men, who could not be prevailed on to go, ſtaid behind, and got home afterwards in an Engliſh ſhip. They arrived the 15th of November, 1593 at Mona, where the captain, with his lieutenant, and 16 others, went to the houſes of the old Indian, and his three ſons, hoping to get victuals, all theirs being ſpent. They were three days ſeeking proviſions for relief of thoſe on board; but the wind being northerly, and the ſea running high, ſo that the boat could not get on ſhore to fetch it off, they reſolved to wait till next day. In the mean time, about 12 at night, the carpenter cutting the cable, the ſhip drove away with only five men and a boy in her. In this diſtreſs they ſeparated in companies, that place not being ſufficient to ſupport them all. The captain and ſix others lived on ſtalks or purſelane boiled, and now and then got a pompion in the old Indian's garden, who, at this time, fled from them to the mountains. It was 29 days before they deſcried a French ſhip of Dieppe, called the Louiſa; which, on their making a fire, bore in with the land, and anchored at the weſtern end of the iſland. The Indian and his ſons on this, came down to Captain Lancaſter, and went with him to the ſhip, and the next day 11 more were carried on board, and uſed courteouſly. The ſame day another ſhip of Dieppe arrived, and ſtaid till night, expecting the other ſeven men; but although guns were fired off to call them, they came not. Hereupon the ſhip departing, arrived at the north ſide of St. Domingo, where the Engliſhmen remained till April following, 1594, and ſpent two months in traffic with the inhabitants, by permiſſion, for hides, and other merchandiſe.* At this place Captain Lancaſter and his lieutenant went on board another ſhip of Dieppe, John la Noe captain, leaving the reſt of their company to follow. On Sunday the 17th of April, 1594, they ſhaped their courſe homeward, and paſſing through the Caijeos (near the windward paſſage) the 19th of May arrived ſafe at Dieppe, where having ſtaid two days to refreſh, they croſſed over to Rye, and landed on Friday the 24th of the ſame month, 1594, after an abſence of three years, ſix weeks, and two days, from their native country. 1598

* By a ſhip of Newhaven, which touched there, they had intelligence of their ſeven men, who were left behind at Mona, which was, That two of them broke their necks in venturing to take fowls upon the cliffs; three others were ſlain by the Spaniards who came from St. Domingo, on information given by thoſe who went in the Edward; and the other two this Newhaven man had with him in his ſhip, having eſcaped their hands.

A VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES, IN 1598, BY CAPTAIN JOHN DAVIS.

THIS voyage was written by Davis himſelf, and ſeems to have been ſent by him from Middleborough in Zeland, in a letter to Robert earl of Eſſex, which letter, dated the firſt of Auguſt, 1600, is preſixed to the relation. From this we learn that the author had been employed by his lordſhip, for diſcovering the eaſtern parts of the world; whence he took occaſion to tell the earl, that his journal contained only ſuch things as fell within his own obſervations, but that when he ſhould be honoured with an opportunity, he would give him an account of what he had learned on board, relating to the king of Portugal's places of trade and ſtrength, as well as to the commerce of the eaſtern nations among themſelves: that with regard to the Portugueſe poſſeſſions, he would begin at Sofala, which is their firſt footing beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and ſo proceed to Mozambique, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Coulam, Onor, Mangalor, Cochin, Columbo, Negapatam, Porto Grande in Bengala, and Malacca, the city of Macao, in the province of Canton in China, and Molucas, and Amboyna.

The fleet ſet out on the 25th of March, 1598, from Fluſhing, with two ſhips, the Lion and the Lioneſs; the former of 400 tons, and 123 perſons on board; the latter of 250 tons and 100 perſons. The owners were Muſhrom, Clark, and Monef, of Middleborough; and their chief commander was Corne-

1600 lius Houteman, who had a commiſſion from Grave Maurice. They anchored in Torbay, with very rough winds, on the 22d, from whence they ſailed, on the 17th of April, 1599; and on the 20th, had ſight of Porto Santo. On the 23d, they fell in with the Iſland of Palma; and on the 30th, came to the Iſles of Cape Verde. On the 1ſt of May, they anchored at St. Nicholas, one of thoſe iſlands in ſixteen degrees, ſixteen minutes north latitude, where they watered the 7th, and ſetting ſail, on the 9th, fell in with St. Jago. On the 9th of June, they made the Coaſt of Braſil, in ſeven degrees ſouth latitude. And not being able, for the unſteady winds and bad weather, to double the Cape St. Auguſtine, ſhaped their courſe for the little Iſland Fernanda Loronha, in four degrees, where they arrived the 15th, and anchored on the north-ſide of it, in eighteen fathoms. The iſland is very fruitful, and here is good water, alſo beef, goats, hogs, hens, melons, Guinea corn, plenty of ſea fowl and fiſh. There were on the iſland but twelve negros, eight men and four women, who had been left by the Portugueſe to till the ground: no ſhips having been there for three years before. On the 26th of Auguſt, they left this iſland with a north-eaſt wind; and the laſt of the month, doubled the Cape of St. Auguſtine. On the 10th of September, they paſſed the danger they moſt apprehended, the ſhoals of Abrolhes, which lie off the Coaſt of Braſil, far into the ſea, in twenty-one degrees ſouth. On the 11th of November, they anchored in the Bay of Saldanna, in thirty-four degrees ſouth, and here found three good rivers. They traded with the natives at very eaſy rates, having had fat ſheep and oxen for old nails, and pieces of iron, not the value of a penny. The oxen were buffaloes, which have a great lump of fleſh (like the bunch upon the camels back) between the ſhoulders; and the ſheep have no wool, but long ſhaggy hair, and large tails (all intire fat) which weigh twelve or fourteen pounds. The natives are of an olive complection, darker than the Braſilians; their hair black and curled, like the negros of Angola, but not circumciſed; their faces painted with ſeveral colours, and all naked, except a ſhort cloak of ſkins, and ſandals upon their feet. "They are a ſtrong, active people, (ſays the author) and very ſwift runners. Their words are, for the moſt part, articulate, and in ſpeaking they cluck with the tongue, like a hen; which clucking and the word coming both together, ſound very oddly. Their weapons are only darts; they are ſubject to the great king of Monomotapa. The Flemmings having done them ſome injury, they abſented themſelves for three days; and having in the mean time, alarmed the country by great fires from the mountains. On the 19th, they came again, bringing much cattle along with them. But while the Dutch were bartering with them, they made a ſudden and furious aſſault upon the ſailors, killing thirteen, and although their hand-darts could do no hurt at four pikes length, yet the reſt throwing away their weapons, took to their heels, the barbarians purſuing them. Their captain (who did not think fit to venture himſelf in the ſkirmiſh) ſent them a parcel of weapons from the ſhips, ſwords, targets, pikes, and muſquets; but the Flemmings, though like giants for ſize, durſt not venture out of their tents, and though Captain Davis, with his friend Mr. Tomkins, offered to repulſe the enemy, if they would aſſiſt him, yet the greater part refuſed. The ſame night they went all on board. The country thereabouts is a very good ſoil, and a pleaſant air, it abounds with uſeful plants, as mint, plantanes, ribwort, trefoil, ſcabioes, &c. Departing on the 27th, they, on the laſt of this month, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and on the 6th of December, the Cape des Aquillas, which is the moſt ſouthern point of all Africa: it lies in the thirty-fifth degree of ſouth latitude. On the 16th of January, 1599, they fell in with Madagaſcar, ſhort of Cape Romano; but not being able to double it; all the reſt of this month they ſteered for the Bay of St. Auguſtine, on the ſouth-weſt part of the iſland, where, on the 3d of February, they anchored, many people appearing on the ſhore, but on their landing, they fled. The reaſon of this was, that the Dutch captain in a former voyage, had done much injury to the natives, one of whom he took, bound to a poſt, and ſhot to death. Yet after ſeven days waiting, and means had been uſed to mollify them, they brought ſome milk and one cow, which the Dutch bought, and then took their final leave of them. Theſe people have ſtrong and well made bodies, and go naked, their ſkins is coal black, their ſpeech ſweet and pleaſing: their weapons are half-pikes, headed with iron, which they keep very bright.

"The country ſeems very fruitful, and produces great ſtore of tamarind-trees, and a ſort of beans, (that grow upon high trees) the pods of which, are two feet long, and proportionably large, and make a very good food; cameleons are numerous here. The Engliſh eſpecially, ſuffered great miſery in this bay, from whence they all went on board, the 8th of March, extremely hungry, and without any meat. On the 14th, they departed, naming it Hungry Bay, and ſhaped their courſe to the north-ſide of the iſland. Hungry Bay. On the 29th of March, 1600, they came up with the iſlands Comoro, which are five in number, lying between twelve and thirteen degrees, ſouth latitude: and on the 13th of May, anchored at one of them called Mayotta, cloſe by a town, where they met with people who ſeemed to be glad of their coming, and brought proviſions. The captain being invited on ſhore, went, and the king met him, with three drums beating before him; and a fine retinue, all richly dreſſed in long ſilk embroidered garments, after the Turkiſh mode. They were received very kindly by his majeſty, who gave him a letter of recommendation to the queen of Anſuma (or Joanna) whither they afterwards went, and were well received. Comoro Iſles.

"On the 28th, they departed, paſſing through the iſlands of Maſcarennas, by the ſhoals de Almirante; and on the 23d of June, fell in with the Maldivia Iſlands, which are low, cloſe by the water, and ſo covered over with cocoas, that nothing but green trees appear. Being at anchor here, many Indian boats paſſed by, but none would come to them, which cauſed the captain to give orders for the taking one of them. On the 24th, the ſhips boats brought in one of them, which was covered with mats, like a cloſe barge, and had in her a gentleman and his wife. He was dreſſed in very fine white linen, after the Turkiſh manner, had rich ſtone rings on, and his behaviour was affable, his aſpect modeſt, and his ſpeech graceful, as beſpoke him a man of quality. The captain went into his boat to ſee his wife, whom he unwillingly ſhewed him; ſhe ſat with ſilent modeſty, not ſpeaking a word; he alſo opened her caſket, wherein were ſome jewels and ambergreaſe. What was taken from them, Davis knew not, but in going away that gentleman behaved with a princely ſpirit. He was of a middle ſtature, was black, and had ſmooth hair."

Theſe iſlands are reported to be ſome thouſands in number. Their plenty of cocoas brings them a good trade, ſince they make bread, wine, and oil, ropes, ſails, and cables, of the ſeveral parts of that fruit. On the 27th, there came on board an old man, who ſpoke a little Portugueſe; when ſetting ſail, he was their pilot through the true channel, called Maldivia, which, by good luck they hit upon, lying in four degrees fifteen minutes, north latitude, there the compaſs had ſeventeen degrees weſt, variation. Vaſt numbers of ſhips from all parts of India, paſs through this channel, which is very dangerous to miſs. On the 3d of June, they fell in with the Coaſt of India, in eight degrees forty minutes, north, near Cochin; and coaſting this ſhore, doubled Cape Comorin, from whence they ſteered their courſe for Sumatra. They ſaw the Coaſt of Sumatra on the 13th, in five degrees forty minutes, north

latitude; and on the 21ſt, anchored in the bay of Achin, in twelve fathoms. Here they found ſome barks of Arabia and Pegu, that came for pepper, and Don Alphonſo Vincent, a Portugueſe, with three or four barks from Malacca, who came (as they found afterwards) to fruſtrate their trade. Soon after the king ſent officers to meaſure their ſhips, and take the number of the men and ordnance. With them the captain ſent two of his people, who carried a looking glaſs, a drinking glaſs, and a bracelet of coral, as a preſent for the king; and he ſent them back, cloathed after the manner of the country, in white calico, with tidings of peace, and plenty of ſpice.

They arrive at Achin.

On the 23d, at midnight, the king ſent for the captain, and a nobleman as hoſtage. His majeſty, beſides a civil entertainment, made him a promiſe of a free trade; and gave him as a mark of his particular favour, the criſe of honour. This is a ſort of weapon like a dagger, it has no croſs, nor hilt, but the haft and handle are of a metal of a fine luſtre, valued more than gold, and richly ſet with rubies. It is death for any man to wear it, unleſs given by the king. And he that has this favour, has an unlimited power to take victuals without paying for them, and command all others as his ſlaves. At his return, he brought a boat load of pepper along with him, and reported incredible things of his own good reception, and the great trade he had procured; but told the Engliſhmen, the king often aſked if he was not of that nation; which he denied, uttering many words againſt the Engliſh, and ſaying he would give a thouſand pounds that there had been none on board. On the 27th, the merchants went on ſhore with their wares, having a houſe prepared by the king's appointment. Some time after, the captain being at court again, the king diſcovered the treacherous deſign of the Portugueſe to him; but promiſed to ſtand his friend, and gave him a purſe of gold. Then he was aſked again, if he was an Engliſhman or not, and having anſwered that he was of Flanders, the king replied, it was a country that he had never heard of, but that the fame of England had reached his ears ſome time before. And when he heard that there were ſome Engliſhmen in the ſhip, (though to their diſparagement, it was ſaid, that they had their education in Flanders) yet to their further mortification, he told him, that he muſt ſee ſome of the men of that country. As for the buſineſs of trade, it was then agreed, that the captain ſhould aſſiſt him in his wars againſt the king of Jor, (or Jahor) and, in conſideration of that ſervice, ſhould have a full lading of pepper. The king afterwards expreſſed ſome reſentment, that none of the Engliſh had yet been brought to wait on him, (for neither Davis nor Tomkins were ſuffered to go on ſhore) and reproached the captain, as if he intended to quit the ſervice he had covenanted to perform. Upon this Captain Davis was preſently ſent for; and on the 22d, waited on the king, with whom he ſtaid four or five hours feaſting. When he had been there about an hour, he ſtood up; and the Shah Bandar, firſt taking off his hat, put a roll of white linen round his head, and a ſaſh of the ſame, embroidered with gold, that went twice about his waiſt, and hung half down his under veſt of white, and over that, one of red. Then the king made him eat, and drank to him in aqua-vitæ. He was ſerved all in gold and china, and ate on the ground, without either table or cloth. The greateſt part of his diſcourſe, was about England, the queen and her nobles, and he greatly admired them for their wars with the king of Spain, whom he had imagined to be the abſolute monarch of all Europe. Captain Davis was ſent for by the prince, on the 23d, and rode to court on an elephant, exceſſive eating and drinking, was their entertainment. This day he met with a conſiderable China merchant, who ſpoke Spaniſh, of whom he learned ſome things of moment. There were many Chineſe traders here, who had their particular town; ſo had the Portugueſe, the Guzarat Arabs, and thoſe of Bengal and Pegu. The captain diſliking that he ſhould keep company ſo much with the Chineſe, ordered him on board. On September the 1ſt, they had orders to take in ſoldiers and ordnance, and to prepare for the battery of the city of Jor, and to colour the deſign that was going on, the better, the great galleys were brought out of the river, and the ſea all about them was covered with praws, and boats loaded with armed men; ſome of the chief came on board them, as Carcoun, the ſecretary, and Abdalla, the chief Shah Bandar, with a good company of ſoldiers, appointed with all ſorts of weapons; who pretended only a good carouſe with the good liquors they had brought. The crew ſuſpecting another ſort of entertainment, prepared accordingly, making faſt all the gratings, and prepared their weapons, in ſpite of the captain, who ſeemed under no apprehenſion of danger. The Achineſe, whoſe deſign was to cut their throats, the more eaſily to effect it, mixed all the meat and drink they brought on board, with a ſort of ſeed, which grows in the country, a little of which, makes a man as it were ſenſeleſs; ſo that things appear to him quite otherwiſe than they really are, but if taken in a large quantity, is a deadly poiſon. During the banquet, the Shah Bandar, and the ſecretary ſent for Mr. Davis, and ſpoke to one of their attendants, but what he knew not. Soon after the drug began to operate upon them, ſo that they quite loſt the due management of themſelves, and began to gape and ſtare upon one another. The captain was a priſoner, and knew nothing of it. And now they had brought them into the condition they deſired, upon a ſignal given from the other ſhip, (where the ſecretary had gone to play the ſame game) they fell upon them, killed the captain and ſeveral others. Davis and Tomkins ſeeing this, with a Frenchman, defended the poop, which was all that was left of the ſhip; the enemy having got poſſeſſion of the cabin, and of the guns, by creeping in at the port holes. The maſter of the ſhip and others leaped into the ſea till all was over, and then came in again. At length the Achineſe began to fly, for the ſailors from the tops, annoyed them much) which when Davis and Tomkins ſaw; they leaped from the poop to purſue them. They were met by a Turk coming out of the cabin, who wounded Tomkins grievouſly, but as both lay ſtruggling on the ground, Davis ran him into the body with a ſmall ſword, and the ſkipper diſpatched him, by thruſting a half-pike down his throat. By this time the ſecretary and his party had got poſſeſſion of the other ſhip, and murdered the principal perſons belonging to it: but thoſe of Davis's veſſel having cut her cable, made towards them, and by means of their guns, ſoon obliged the Indians to fly, and recovered the ſhip, the galley not daring to aſſiſt them. The ſea was covered with Indians heads, for they ſwam away by hundreds; among the reſt, the Shah Bandar, and one of the king's near kinſmen were killed, and the ſecretary wounded. The news of this overthrow, ſo inflamed the tyrannical prince, who was then by the ſea-ſide, that he cut off the heads of all the Flemmings on ſhore, eight only excepted, whom he reſerved for ſlaves. Their loſs amounted to ſixty-eight men in all, including thoſe that were under confinement, beſides the two pinnaces and a boat. While they ſtaid at Achin, they had got 140 tons of pepper on board their ſhips: but upon the rupture, all the money and merchandiſe on ſhore, as well as the men, were loſt; by which means, many young adventurers were quite ruined, and Captain Davis himſelf, did not come off much better.

1600

Treachery of the Achineſe.

"The ſoil of this iſland (Sumatra) is very rich and fertile; it produces variety of excellent fruits, and very good timber for ſhipping, but no ſort of grain, only rice, of which they make their bread. Here are mines of gold and copper; precious balms and gums, rubies, ſapphires, and garnets, with much indigo, and many other valuable commodities; particularly, pepper grows here in ſuch plenty, that they are able

to

1600 to lade 20 ſhips every year, and might many more, if they were induſtrious. It grows like hops, from a planted root, which, by degrees, winds itſelf up about a pole, till it becomes a great buſhy tree. The pepper hangs in cluſters three inches long, and one about, each cluſter having forty or more corns in it; beſides theſe mineral and vegetable productions, it affords plenty of ſerviceable animals, as horſes, oxen, goats, wild hogs, elephants, and buffaloes, which laſt they uſe in ploughing their ground. To theſe advantages may be added a very wholſome and temperate air in moſt places, with ſweet dews and fruitful ſhowers that never fail to cool and refreſh the ground.

The iſland of Sumatra is divided into four kingdoms, Achin, Pider, Manancabo, and Aru. The three laſt are tributary to the firſt; but Aru holds with the king of Jor, and refuſes ſubjection. Captain Davis heard of no more than five principal cities in this iſle. Achin, Pider, Paſem, Daia, and Manancabo. Achin, the capital city of the whole iſland, ſtands in a wood, and is ſo much covered with trees, that not a houſe is to be ſeen till one is juſt upon it. It is a very large ſcattered place, and the houſes ſtands almoſt like the trees, without any order or uniformity: they are raiſed upon poſts, eight or nine feet from the ground, and have walls and coverings of mats. Here is a vaſt concourſe of people, and the three market-places yield every day the proſpect of ſo many fairs. The haven that leads to it is very ſmall, being but ſix foot at the bar, and it has one of the worſt, and moſt ill-contrived forts made of ſtone, being round, without covering, battlements, or flankers, and low-walled like a pound; but there is a very pleaſant road before this fort, in which (the wind ſtill blowing from ſhore) a ſhip may ride a little way off in 18 fathoms water, and cloſe by in ſix and four fathoms.

"The king of Achin was called Aladin, and was ſaid to be 100 years old. He was a healthy man, but exceeding corpulent. He was originally a fiſherman (of which this place had very many, for they live moſtly upon fiſh;) but diſcovered ſo much valour and conduct in ordering the former king's galleys in time of war, that his ſovereign made him admiral of his ſea forces, and gave him to wife one of his neareſt kinſwomen. The king had an only daughter married to him of Jor, by whom he had a ſon, who was ſent to Achin to be under his grand-father. The old king dying ſuddenly, the fiſherman, who was then chief commander both by land and ſea, took the protection of the child, in which the nobility and gentry oppoſing him, he put to death more than a thouſand of them, and made new lords of the meaner ſorts. This done, he murdered the child, and then proclaimed himſelf king in right of his wife. On this a war aroſe between him and the king of Jor, which ſtill continued. Theſe twenty years he had by force held the kingdom, and then ſeemed to be ſecure. His palace ſtands half a mile from the city upon the river Ore, and any one muſt paſs three courts of guards in order to get at him; it is built as other houſes are, but much higher. He ſitteth where he can ſee, and unſeen by all that come to ſee any of his guards. The walls and coverings conſiſt of maſts. It is hanged ſometimes with cloth of gold, ſometimes with velvet, and ſometimes with damaſk. He ſits upon the ground croſs-legged, and ſo muſt all in his preſence. He wears four croſſes, two before, and two behind, rich with diamonds and rubies; and had a ſword lying on his lap. He was attended by at leaſt, 40 women, ſome with fans to cool him, others with cloths to wipe off the ſweat; ſome gave him aqua-vitæ, others water; the reſt ſung pleaſant ſongs. He did nothing but eat and drink from morning to night, and ſit with his women; and delighted much in cock-fighting; and as was the king, ſo were his ſubjects, for their pleaſure led all the ſame way.

"If the king puts any of his ſubjects to death, they are torn to pieces by elephants, or impaled. There are many fettered priſoners that go about the town, beſides what may be in the goals. His women are his chiefeſt counſellors. He had three wives and many concubines, which were very cloſely kept. He had great ſtore of braſs ordnance, which they uſed without carriages, firing them as they lay upon the ground. They were the greateſt the Engliſh ever ſaw; and the metal was reported to be mixed with gold. The ſtrength of his land forces lies in his elephants.

"In religion they are a ſort of Mahometans. They bring up their children in learning, and have many ſchools. They had an archbiſhop and ſpiritual dignities. There was one in Achin whom they greatly honoured as a prophet, and ſaid he had the gift of the Spirit. He was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt in apparel, and much careſſed by the king.

"In the place of ſepulture for the kings, every grave had a piece of gold at the head, and another at the foot, weighing a thouſand pounds each, and all richly adorned with precious ſtones. The Engliſh had a great curioſity to ſee the king's ſepulchres, becauſe of the great wealth reported to be therein, but could not. The people were addicted to commerce, and generally very expert in buſineſs with reſpect to mechanical arts. They had goldſmiths, gun-founders, ſhip-rights, taylors, weavers, hatters, pot-makers, and diſtillers of aqua-vitæ, which is made of rice, (for they muſt drink no wine) cutlers and ſmiths. As to their burials, every generation or family have their particular places in the fields to inter their dead. They lay their heads towards Mecca, having a free-ſtone at each end of the grave, with the feet curiouſly wrought, thereby ſignifying the worthineſs of the perſon.

"Here was a great reſort of merchants from China, Bengal, Pegu, Java, Coromandel, Guzarat, Arabia, and Rumos in the Red Sea, and the place from whence Solmon ſent his ſhips to Ophir for gold; which is now called Achin, as by tradition they affirm; and theſe of Rumos from Solmon's time to this day, have followed the ſame trade.

"They have divers ſorts of coin, as caſpes, maſs, cowpan, perdaw, and tayell. The Engliſh only ſaw two ſorts of gold, named maſs, the bigneſs of a penny, and as common as pence in England, the other of lead, called caxas, much like the little token uſed by the vintners of London. A thouſand ſix hundred caſhes make one maſs: four hundred caſhes a cowpan; four cowpans one maſs; five maſſes four ſhillings ſterling; four maſſes make a pardaw; four pardaws a tayell: ſo that a maſs is nine-pence and three fifths of a penny.

"They ſell their pepper by the bahar, which is equal to 360 of our pounds. This coſts three pounds four ſhillings. They call their pound a Catt, which is 21 of our ounces. Their ounces are bigger than ours, by ſo much as 16 is more than 10. The weight which they ſell precious ſtones by, is called Maſs, ten and three fourths whereof make an ounce.

"Once every year the king, attended with all his noblemen, in great pomp, goes to the church to ſee if the Meſſiah be come, which happened at the time of our being here. There were 40 elephants in his train, covered with ſilk, velvet, and cloth of gold; with divers noblemen riding upon each; but there was one, whoſe furniture far exceeding the reſt, having a little golden caſtle upon his back, which was led for the Meſſiah to ride in. The king was carried alſo in a little caſtle. Some had two targets of gold, others great half-moons of gold, with ſtreamers, banners, enſigns, trumpets, and various other inſtruments of muſic. The proceſſion moved in a very ſolemn manner, and made a very handſome appearance. At length, coming to the church, they looked in, and not finding the Meſſiah, uſed ſome ceremonies; after which, the king deſcending from his elephant, rode home upon that prepared for the Meſſiah; and ſo ended the day with feaſting and diverſions."

On the firſt of September, the ſame day they had the encounter with the Achineſe, they departed, and anchored

chored before the city Pider, expecting to hear of the pinnace they had ſent thither before for rice, but did not return. On the 2d eleven galleys arriving with Portugueſe (as they thought) to take their ſhips, they ſunk one and defeated the reſt. The ſame day there came to them one La Fort, (the ſon of a French merchant in Seething Lane, London) who was one of the eight priſoners. He was ſent by the king to aſk them if they were not aſhamed to be ſuch beaſts as to get drunk, and then in their liquor to murder his people, whom he had ſent to them in kindneſs? and to demand their beſt ſhip for ſatisfaction, in which caſe he promiſed to releaſe the men. "Do this, ſaid he to la Fort, and I will make you a great man;" but the Flemings wanted ſatisfaction of the king.—Being diſtreſſed for water, they went to the iſlands called Pulo Botun, upon the coaſt of Queda, in 16 degrees 50 minutes, where they took in proviſions.—There were on board three letters ſealed up, and ſubſcribed A. B. C. which, upon the death of the Baaſs were to be opened. By A. one Thomas Quymans, was appointed to be their chief, who was ſlain at Achin. Then B. was opened, whereby La Fort (who eſcaped) was appointed chief, and was received as ſuch. The letter C. was not opened.

They ſet ſail again for Achin, on the laſt day of the month, in hopes, by ſome means, to recover their men. October the 16th they came in ſight of that city, and the 12th entered the bay, where they found 10 galleys ſet out againſt them. Bearing up to one of them, they gave her many ſhots, but in a calm under the land, ſhe eſcaped; as for the reſt, they durſt not come near them. On the 18th, they ſteered their courſe for the city of Tanaſſarin, a place of great trade; and the 25th anchored among the iſlands in the bay, in 11 degrees 20 minutes, north. Here the winds proved ſo contrary, that they could not get up the city, which ſtands 20 leagues within the bay. Being in very great diſtreſs for want of victuals, they ſailed for the iſlands of Nicobar, in eight degrees north, where they arrived the 12th of November, and were ſupplied with plenty of hens, oranges, lemons, and other fruit, and ſome ambergris which they had in exchange for linen cloth, and table napkins. Theſe iſles are pleaſant and fruitful, the land low, and has a good road for ſhips. The people are very poor, living wholly upon fruits and fiſh, without ever manuring the ground; and therefore have no rice, which the ſhips being in great want of, the ſhips ſhaped their courſe for the iſle of Ceylon. The 6th of December they took a ſhip of Negapatam, (a city on the coaſt of Coromandel) laden with rice, and bound for Achin.

There were on board 60 perſons from ſeveral parts. By them they learned, that at Mategaloa, and Trinquanamale, cities in Ceylon of great trade, they might load their ſhip with cinamon, pepper and cloves, and that there was great ſtore of precious ſtones and pearls in that iſland, as well as all kind of victuals very cheap, and that the king is mortal enemy to the Portugueſe. Upon this, they did their utmoſt to get thither, but could not for the contrary winds. The Indians then told them, that if they would ſtay till January, they would meet with more than one hundred ſhips ſailing cloſe by that ſhore, laden with ſpice, linen and China commodities, beſides precious ſtones and other rubies. To ſtay there as a man of war, their governor would not agree; therefore the 28th they ſhaped their courſe homewards, having beaten ſixteen days upon this coaſt.——They diſcharged their prize the 18th, after taking the rice, for which their chief paid them to their ſatisfaction; but the unruly ſailors plundered her of money and merchandiſe; 12 of the Indians of ſeveral places were detained on board, who informed Captain Davis among others, after he could a little underſtand them, that there was great ſtore of precious ſtones in the ſhip, hid under the timber. How true it was the captain could not ſay, for the Flemings would not ſuffer either him or Tomkins to go on board the prize, for reaſons beſt known to themſelves. The 5th of March, 1600, their food was poiſoned, before it was ſerved to them: but one of the crew taſting by chance, or greedineſs, (for it was freſh fiſh) was preſently infected, which gave the alarm. The doſe was ſufficiently ſtrong; for the ſurgeon took almoſt a ſpoonful of poiſon out of one fiſh; but this the captain obſerves was not the firſt time.—The 10th they fell in with the Cape of Good Hope, where they had a great ſtorm, and the 26th doubled the ſame. The 13th of April they anchored at the iſle of St. Helena, in 16 degrees ſouth. Here they found good water, figs, and fiſh in plenty, with goats, but hard to come at. The 15th at ſun-ſet, a caraval anchored within a large muſquet ſhot to windward of them. She was utterly unprovided, not having one piece mounted: they fought with her all night, and gave her above 200 ſhot. For eight hours ſhe ſtood the firing without making the leaſt reſiſtance; but by midnight ſhe had got out ſix pieces, which were played upon them ſo well, that their ſhip was often ſhot through, and two of their men ſlain. On which, the 16th in the morning, they departed for the iſle of Aſcenſion, in eight degrees ſouth, where they hoped to meet with relief, many of their men being ſick, and arrived there the 23d.——This iſle hath neither wood, water, nor any green thing upon it, but is a fruitleſs green rock, of five leagues broad. The 24th they ſailed for Fernando Loronha, where they knew they ſhould find relief, having ſtaid at this iſle 10 weeks outward-bound. The 6th of May they arrived there, and continued ſix days to water and refreſh themſelves. On the 13th, they ſhaped their courſe for England, and arrived at Middleborough on the 29th of July. 1600

VOYAGES OF THE ENGLISH TO THE EAST INDIES, IN SHIPS EQUIPPED BY THE COMPANY OF MERCHANTS.

THE merchants of London, in the year 1600, having joined together, and made a ſtock of 72,000l. to be employed in ſhips and merchandiſes, for the diſcovery of trade in the Eaſt Indies, they bought and fitted four large ſhips; the Dragon, of 600 tons, and 202 men, Captain James Lancaſter admiral; the Hector, of 300 tons, and 108 men, Captain John Middleton, vice admiral; the Aſcenſion, of 260 tons, and 32 men, in which was William Brand, chief governor; and the Suſannah, of 280 tons, 84 men, Captain Hayward: there were likewiſe in each ſhip three merchants, who were to ſucceed each other in caſe of death. To theſe, the Gueſt, a ſhip of 130 tons, was added, as a victualler. This fleet was furniſhed with men, victuals, and ammunition, for 20 months, and carried in Merchandiſe and Spaniſh money, to the value of 27,000l. All the reſt of their ſtock was laid out in the purchaſe and equipment of the ſhips, in providing them with neceſſaries, and in advancing or lending money to the

1601. mariners and ſailors. Queen Elizabeth having been applied to by the owners, gave them a letter of recommendation, to divers princes of India, offering to enter into a league of peace and amity with them; and granted the admiral a commiſſion of martial law.

Theſe ſhips departed from Woolwich, on the 13th of February, 1600; but ſtaid ſo long in the Thames and Downs for want of wind, that it was Eaſter before they arrived at Dartmouth; where they ſpent five or ſix days in taking in their bread and other proviſions. From thence they ſailed on the 18th of April, 1601, and put into Torbay; where the admiral ſent on board all the ſhips inſtructions for keeping company at ſea, and appointed the places of rendezvous, in caſe of ſeparation by ſtorms or other accidents. Theſe places were the calms of Canaria, the bay of Saldanna, (in caſe they could not double the Cape of Good Hope) Cape St. Roman in Madagaſcar, the Iſland Cirne, (or Diego Rodrigues) and laſt, Sumatra, the firſt of trade.

Having paſſed the Canaries, they lay from the 20th of May, till the 21ſt of June, for the moſt part becalmed, and with contrary winds at ſouth, ſo that with much ado, they got into two degrees north. Here ſpying a ſhip, they chaced and took her, ſhe belonged to the Portugueſe, and came from Liſbon in company with two caracks, and three galleons, bound for the Eaſt Indies, which ſhips ſhe had loſt at ſea. The galleons were ſent to guard the coaſt, and prevent other nations from trading there. The Engliſh took out of her 146 pipes of wine, and 176 jars of oil, beſides twelve barrels thereof, and fifty-five hogſheads of meal. This proviſion, which was a great help to them in the whole voyage, the admiral diſtributed impartially among the ſhips, to every one his portion.

On the laſt of June, the wind being at ſouth-eaſt, about midnight, they paſſed the line, and loſt ſight of the north-ſtar, thus holding on their courſe ſouth-ſouth-weſt, with a ſouth-eaſt wind, they doubled the Cape St. Auguſtine at about twenty-ſix leagues diſtance. On the 20th of July, they were got into nineteen degrees forty minutes ſouth, the wind inlarging daily to the eaſtward. Here they unloaded Gueſt, which carried the victuals that the four ſhips could not receive in England; after which, they took her maſts, ſails, and yards, and broke down her higher buildings for fire-wood, and ſo left her floating in the ſea. On the 24th of July, they paſſed the tropic of Capricorn, the wind being north-eaſt-by-north, holding their courſe eaſt-ſouth-eaſt. And now by reaſon of their long continuance under the line, (occaſioned by their ſetting out of England ſix or ſeven weeks too late, to make a quick voyage) many of their men fell ſick. Therefore, on the 29th of July, being in twenty-eight degrees and a half, the admiral wrote a direction to the governor of each ſhip, to repair either to Saldanna or St. Helena, for refreſhing. They came into thirty-degrees ſouth, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, where they met with the ſouth-weſt wind, to the great comfort of the men; for by this time many of them were fallen ſick of the ſcurvy; ſo that all the ſhips, except the admiral's, were ſo thin of men, that they had ſcarce enough to handle the ſails. This wind laſted till within 250 leagues of the Cape of Good Hope, and then changed to the eaſt. Thus it held fifteen or ſixteen days, to the great affliction of the men; for now the few who were well before, began alſo to fall ſick; whence the want of hands were ſo great in ſome of the ſhips, that the merchants took their turns at the helm, and went aloft to take in the topſails, as the common ſailors did. But at length a fair wind coming about again, on the 9th of September, they reached Saldanna; where the admiral advancing foremoſt, came to anchor, and then ſent his boats to help the reſt of the ſhips, which were in ſuch a weak condition, that they were hardly able to let fall an anchor.

The admiral went on board them, carrying a ſufficient number of men with him, and hoiſted out their boats for them, which they were not able to do for themſelves. The reaſon why his crew were in better health than thoſe in the other ſhips, was owing to the juice of lemons, of which the admiral had brought ſome bottles to ſea with him, which he gave to each as long as it laſted, three ſpoonfuls every morning faſting, not ſuffering them to eat after it till noon. (This remedy will have a better effect, if the party keep to a ſhort diet, and wholly refrain from ſalt meat; which ſalt meat, and being long at ſea, is the only cauſe of this diſeaſe.) By theſe means the admiral cured many of his men, and preſerved the reſt, ſo that although his ſhip contained double the number of the reſt, yet he neither had ſo many ſick, nor loſt ſo many men as they did. They were greatly helped by this care of the admiral, who likewiſe went ſoon on land to ſeek refreſhments for them, where meeting with ſome of the country people, he gave them divers trifles, as knives, pieces of old iron, and the like, making ſigns to bring him ſheep and oxen; for he ſpoke to them in the cattle's language, which was never changed at the confuſion of Babel, and which language they underſtood without any interpreter.

After he had diſmiſſed the people, very well contented with their preſents, and kind uſage, order was given, that certain of every ſhip's company ſhould bring their ſails on land, to make tents for their ſick men, alſo to raiſe works for their defence againſt any attempt of the natives, in caſe they ſhould take diſguſt. The admiral preſcribed alſo an order for traffic with the people; which was, that whenever they came down with the cattle, only five or ſix men appointed for that purpoſe, ſhould go to deal with them; that the reſt (which were never to be under thirty muſquets and pikes) ſhould not come near the market by two hundred yards at leaſt, and ſhould always ſtand drawn up in a rank, with their muſquets on their reſts, to be ready againſt all accidents. This order was moſt ſtrictly obſerved and kept, ſo that no man durſt go to ſpeak with any of the natives, without ſpecial leave.

The third day after their arrival, the people brought down beef and mutton, which they bought for pieces of old iron hoops; as two pieces of eight inches each for an ox, and one piece of the ſame length for a ſheep, with which they ſeemed to be well contented. In ten or twelve days they had of them 1000 ſheep; and forty-two oxen, and might have been ſupplied with many more, if they had wanted them. But within twelve days, they ceaſed to bring them any more cattle; after this, the people often came to viſit them, and when the Engliſh made them ſigns to bring them more ſheep, they pointed to thoſe that had been bought, which the admiral cauſed to be kept grazing upon the hills about their tents. For this reaſon, as the Engliſh judged, the natives thought they would have ſettled there, and therefore brought them no more. During their ſtay here, their refreſhment was ſo good, that all the men recovered their health and ſtrength, except four or five. Theſe added to thoſe they loſt before their arrival, amounted to 105 men; and yet it was judged, the remainder were ſtronger when they left this bay, than at their departure from England; the men were ſo well inured to the ſouthern climates.

On the 24th of October, the admiral cauſed all the tents to be taken down, and the men to repair on board the ſhips. Being there ſupplied with wood and freſh water, on the 29th, they put to ſea, paſſing out of the bay by a ſmall iſland, that lies in the mouth thereof; which is exceeding full of penguins, ſo that ſhips might refreſh there, if there was no other place for the purpoſe. Over the bay of Saldanna, there ſtands a very high hill, flat like a table, and is called the table; ſuch another diſtinct mark to know an harbour by, is not to be found in all that coaſt; for it is eaſily diſcerned ſeventeen or eighteen leagues at ſea.

Sunday morning, the 1st of November, they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, having a freſh gale at weſt-north-weſt. On the 26th, they fell in with the head-land of St. Lawrence, ſomewhat to the eaſt of Cape Sebaſtian; and being within five miles of the ſhore, ſounded, and found twenty-five fathoms. The variation of the compaſs was little more or leſs than ſixteen degrees; for in an eaſt and weſt courſe, the knowledge of the variation helps much, eſpecially in this voyage. From the 26th of November, till the 15th of December, they plied to eaſtward, as near as they could lie; always ſtriving to get to the iſland of Cerne, which in ſome charts is called Diego Rodrigues: but after coming to the iſland of St. Lawrence, they ſtill found the wind at eaſt, and eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, and eaſt-north-eaſt, ſo that they could not fetch it; and to ſtrive long, in hopes of change of winds, might have been of bad conſequence, ſince the men began again to fall ſick of the ſcurvy. However, the captain of the vice-admiral, adviſed the admiral to put into the bay of Antongile, in order to remove that diſeaſe with oranges and lemons; the ſame was approved of by him, and council called for that purpoſe. On the 17th, they had ſight of the ſouthermoſt part of St. Mary; and next day having anchored between that iſland and St. Lawrence, they ſent their boats to land at the former, where they had great ſtore of the above-mentioned fruit. But while they rode here, there aroſe ſo great a ſtorm, that three of their ſhips were driven from their anchors. It continued ſixteen hours, after which, the ſhips returned and weighed anchor again.

Iſle of St. Mary

"This iſland of St. Mary (ſays the author) is a high land, and full of woods. The people are black, the men very handſome and tall; they have curled hair, only before on their foreheads they ſtroke it up, as the women do in England, ſo that it ſtands ſome three inches upright; they go quite naked, only covering their private parts; are eaſy to converſe with, yet ſeem to be very valiant, their food is rice, and ſome fiſh, yet the voyagers could get but a ſmall quantity of the former, for the time of their ſtore was far ſpent, and harveſt was at hand. There are two or three watering places on the north part of the iſland, but none of them very commodious; yet, with ſome trouble, there is water enough to be had. Beſides the rice and fruits above mentioned, nothing was to be had, except a ſmall quantity of goats milk; they ſaw only one cow, and that the people drove away, as ſoon as they perceived the Engliſh to land. Seeing therefore, that there was ſo little refreſhment to be had, and the place ſo dangerous to ride in, the admiral gave order to ſail immediately to the bay of Antongile; the time of year being ſpent the eaſterly winds came againſt them, and the men ſick. On the 23d of December, they left St. Mary's, and on the 25th, entering the bay of Antongile, came to anchor in eight fathoms water, between a ſmall bay and the main, in a very good and ſafe road.

The day after, landing in the main iſland, the people ſoon repaired to them, and by ſigns informed them of the five Dutch ſhips, and that they had bought the moſt part of their proviſion; however they entered into barter with the Engliſh for rice and hens, oranges, lemons, and plantanes, but they held them all at a high rate, and brought but a ſmall quantity. This market was near a great river, into which they went in their boats; thoſe appointed to be buyers landed, the reſt remained in the boats fifteen or twenty yards off; where the natives could not come at them, always ready with their weapons in their hands, to take in thoſe that were on ſhore, if occaſion were. They trifled away ſome days before they could bring the people to deal; for all thoſe of the ſouth and eaſt parts, are very ſubtle in buying and ſelling, ſo that unleſs you hold a ſtrict hand with them, you will hardly bring them to trade at all; for they will ſhift you continually to give a little more; and if you comply, none will ſell under that price; ſo that care muſt be taken not to give more to one than another. The admiral ſeeing this, commanded a meaſure to be made of almoſt a quart, and ſettled how many glaſs beads ſhould be given for every meaſure. The like order was ſent down with reſpect to oranges, lemons, and plantanes; the number to be given for every bead, was fixed, nor were they to deal on other terms. The merchants, after a little holding off, conſented, and their dealing was frank, without any diſpute. —— They bought here fifteen tons and a quantity of rice; forty or fifty buſhels of their peaſe and beans; great ſtore of oranges, lemons, and plantanes; and eight beeves, with many hens. While they rode in this bay, they put together a pinnace of 18 tons, brought out of England in pieces; and cutting down trees, (which grew there in abundance) ſawed them into boards, and ſheathed her. She was of uſe to go before the ſhips, at their arrival in India."

1602

In this bay, there died out of the admiral's ſhip, the maſter, mate, the chaplain, and the ſurgeon, with ten common men; out of the Vice-admiral, the maſter and two others; and out of the Aſcenſion, by a very great miſchance, were ſlain, the captain and the boatſwain's mate; for when they were carrying the maſter's mate out of the Dragon, on ſhore to be buried, the captain of the Aſcenſion took his boat to attend the ceremony: and as it is the cuſtom at ſea, to diſcharge ſome pieces of ordnance at the interment of any officer, the gunner ſhot off three guns, and the balls being in them, one ſtruck the Aſcenſion's boat, and killed the captain and boatſwain's mate: ſo that theſe two, who went to ſee the burial of another, were both buried themſelves. The diſtemper which the reſt died of, was the flux, which, (in the author's opinion) was occaſioned by the water they drank: for it being winter, when it rained very much, the country was overflowed; ſo that the water was not wholſome, as it ſeldom is in thoſe hot climates, during the rains. This diſeaſe is often caught by going open and cold at the ſtomach; which the men would often do when they were hot. The ſhips left this bay on the 6th of March, and the 16th, fell in with an iſland called Roque-Piz, in ten degrees, thirty minutes ſouth. Hither the admiral ſent his boat to look for a road, but ſhe found (for the moſt part) deep water, where the ſhips could not ſafely ride. In coaſting this iſland, it appeared very fair and pleaſant, very full of fowls, and cocoa-nut trees, and there came a fragrant ſmell from the ſhore, as if it had been a garden full of flowers; and as the boats went near the ſhore, they ſaw abundance of fiſh, and the fowls came flying about them ſo cloſe, that with their oars they killed many, which were the fatteſt and the beſt they had taſted all the voyage; beſides ſo very numerous, as to have ſerved many more ſhips than they had with them. On the 30th of March, 1602, being in ſix degrees ſouth, they went over a ledge of rocks; looking overboard, and ſeeing them under the ſhip, above five fathoms deep, they were much amazed, the accident was ſo ſudden and unexpected: but ſoon after they tacked about they found eight fathoms; and ſo held on their courſe eaſt. One of the men from the top ſaw an iſland to the ſouth-eaſt, five or ſix leagues off, being but low land. This they judged to be Candu, although by eſtimation, they were not gone ſo far to the eaſtward: thirteen or fourteen leagues beyond this, they fell upon another flat of rocks. Then caſting about to the ſouthward, and ſailing twelve leagues farther, they found other rocks; ſo that examining divers ways, they diſcovered flats of rocks round about them, with twenty or thirty, and in ſome places forty or fifty fathoms water in the midſt of them. Here they were for two days and a half in exceeding danger, and could find no way to extricate themſelves. But at laſt they reſolved to ſail northward, and in ſix degrees forty-three minutes, found ſix fathoms water. The pinnace always went before them ſounding, with orders to make ſigns what depth ſhe had, that they might follow her. Being delivered

out

1602 out of this difficulty, they held on their courſe with variable winds, till the 9th of May, about three in the afternoon, they had ſight of the iſlands of Nicobar, and bearing in, anchored on the north ſide of the channel; but the wind changing to the ſouth-weſt, they were forced to leave their anchors, and remove over to the ſouth ſide, under a ſmall iſland that lies near the ſhore. Here they met with very little refreſhment, except freſh water, and ſome cocoa-nuts, yet the people came on board in long canoes, each of which would hold 20 men, and brought gums to ſell inſtead of amber, whereby ſeveral were deceived.—They brought alſo hens and cocoa-nuts to ſell, but held them ſo very dear, that few were bought: they ſtayed here 10 days, placing their ordnance, and trimming their ſhip, that they might be in readineſs on their arrival at their firſt port, which was not far off.

"The 20th of April they ſet ſail for Sumatra, but were hindered by the currents and the wind, which blew hard at ſouth ſouth-weſt. Thus beating up and down, the ſhips ſprung two leaks, which forced them to go to the iſland of Sombrero, 10 or twelve leagues northward of Nicobar. Here, (ſays our author) we in the admiral's ſhip loſt an anchor, the ground being ſo foul, (incumbered with abundance of counterfeit coral, and rocks) that they cut their cable. The people of theſe iſlands go naked, having only the privities wrapped up in a piece of linen, which comes about their middle like a girdle, and ſo between their legs. They are all of a tawny complexion, and paint their faces with divers colours. They are well made, but very fearful; for none of them would go on board the ſhips, nor even the boats. The admiral reported, that he had ſeen ſome of their prieſts, or ſacrificers, who wore garments, but fitted as cloſe to their bodies, as if they had been ſewed up in them: upon their heads was a pair of horns turned backwards, which, as well as their faces, were painted green, black and yellow; and behind them a tail, hanging down, much in the ſame manner, that the devil is painted in England. Demanding why they went in that attire, anſwer was made him, that in ſuch form the devil appeared to them in their ſacrifices, and therefore the prieſts his ſervants were ſo apparelled."

"This iſland is full of trees which, for their height, bulk, and ſtreightneſs, will ſerve the largeſt ſhips for maſts. Leaving Sombrero on the 2d of June, they had ſight of Sumatra, and the 6th anchored in the road of Achin, about two miles from the city; where they found 16 or 18 ſail of different nations, ſome of Bengal, others of Calicut, called Malabars, Guzarats, Pegus, and Patans. There came to them two Dutch Merchants who had been left to learn the language and manners of the country. Theſe told them they ſhould be very welcome to the king, who was deſirous to entertain ſtrangers; and that the queen of England was renowned in thoſe parts, on account of the great victories which ſhe had obtained againſt the king of Spain. The ſame day the admiral ſent Captain Middleton, with four or five gentlemen to attend him, to wait on the king, and inform him, that he was ſent from the admiral of thoſe ſhips, who had a meſſage and a letter from the moſt famous queen of England, to the moſt worthy king of Achin and Sumatra. He was alſo deſired to aſk whether it was his royal majeſty's pleaſure to give the meſſenger audience, to deliver his meſſage and letter, with a ſafe conduct for himſelf and his people, according to the known laws of nations. The captain was very kindly entertained by the king, who gladly granted his requeſt, and aſked him many queſtions; after which he cauſed a feaſt to be made for him, and at his departure gave him a robe and Calico turban, wrought with gold, which was a mark of ſpecial favour here. As to the admiral, his will was, that he ſhould ſtay one day on board his ſhips to reſt himſelf after the fatigues of the ſeas, and the next to land to receive his audience, that he might venture with as great ſecurity as if he were in the kingdom of the queen his miſtreſs; but that if he doubted his royal word, pledges ſhould be ſent him, to his full ſatisfaction. The 3d day the admiral went on ſhore, accompanied with about 30 attendants. At his landing, the Dutch merchants met him, and conducted him to their houſe, as it was appointed; for he would take no houſe of his own, till he had ſpoken with the king. Soon after, a nobleman coming, ſaluted the admiral very politely, and having declared that he came from his majeſty, demanded the queen's letter. This the admiral refuſed to comply with, ſaying, it was the privilege of ambaſſadors, in thoſe parts from whence he came, to deliver their letters to the princes themſelves, and not to any who repreſented their perſons. On this the nobleman deſired to ſee the ſuperſcription, which he read and copied; he wrote alſo the queen's name, and looked very earneſtly upon the ſeal; after which he with great courteſy, took his leave, to make report of what was paſſed.

"Soon after the king ſent ſix great elephants, with many trumpets, drums and ſtreamers, alſo a conſiderable number of people to accompany the admiral to court, ſo that the preſs was exceeding great. The biggeſt of the elephants was about 13 or 14 feet high, and had a ſmall caſtle like a coach upon his back, covered with crimſon velvet. In the middle of it was a great gold baſon, covered with a piece of ſilk, exceeding richly wrought, under which the queen's letter was put. The admiral was mounted upon another of the elephants. Some of his attendants rode, others went on foot; but when he came to the court-gate, there a nobleman ſtopped him, till he went to know the king's farther pleaſure; but ſoon returning, deſired the admiral to enter. When he came into the king's preſence, he made his reverence, after the manner of the country, declaring that he was ſent from the moſt mighty queen of England, to congratulate his highneſs, and enter into a treaty with him of peace and amity. As he was going on with his diſcourſe, the king interrupted him, ſaying, —I am ſure you are weary with the long journey you have taken. I would have you ſit down and reſt yourſelf; you are very welcome, and ſhall have whatſoever you can in reaſon demand, for your miſtreſs's ſake: for ſhe is worthy of all kindneſs and ſincere dealing, being a princeſs of noble diſpoſition; for ſo much fame ſpeaks of her.——The admiral perceiving the king's mind, preſented him the queen's letter, which he readily received, and delivered the ſame to a nobleman ſtanding by him. Then the admiral made a tender of the preſent, which was a baſon of ſilver, with a fountain in the middle, weighing 205 ounces; a great cup of ſilver; a rich looking-glaſs; a head-piece, with a plume of feathers; a rich embroidered belt to hang a ſword in, and a fan of feathers. All theſe were received by a nobleman of the court; only the king himſelf took the fan into his own hand, and cauſed one of his women to fan him with it, as the thing, which among thoſe of the preſents pleaſed him moſt. The admiral then having again ſeated himſelf on the ground, as the manner is, a very great banquet was ſerved up. All the diſhes were either of pure gold, or another metal in great eſtimation among them, called Tambayk, being a mixture of gold and braſs. During this entertainment, the king, as he ſat aloft in the gallery, about a fathom from the ground, drank often to the admiral in arrack. This liquor is made of rice, and is as ſtrong as any of our aqua-vitæ: a little ſuffices to make one ſleep. The admiral perceiving the ſtrength of it, after the firſt draught, with the king's leave, drank either water alone, or mixed with it.—The feaſt being ended, the king ſent for his damſels to come and dance, and his women to come and play on muſic to them: theſe women were richly dreſſed, and adorned with bracelets and jewels. This is reckoned an extraordinary favour, for they are not uſually ſeen of any, but ſuch as the king would greatly honour. The king gave the admiral a fine white robe of callico, richly wrought with gold, and

a very fine girdle of Turkey work, and two criſes, or daggers, all which a nobleman put on in the king's preſence. In this manner he was diſmiſſed, with many great courteſies, and one ſent along with him to make choice of a houſe in the city, were the admiral ſhould think moſt convenient; but at this time he declined the favour, and rather choſe to go on board his ſhip, leaving the king to conſider of the queen's letter. The next time the admiral went to court, he had a long conference with the king, concerning the ſame, with which the king ſeemed to be very well ſatisfied, ſaying, That if the contents came from the heart, he had good cauſe to think well of it; that for the league her majeſty was deſirous to make with him, he was very willing to concur. Laſtly, that as to the demands relating to trade, he had given two of his nobles orders to confer with him about it, and promiſed that what her majeſty had requeſted, would be granted. With this ſatisfactory anſwer, after another feaſt, the admiral departed; and next day ſent to the nobleman the king had named to him, to know their time for the conference. One of them was the chief biſhop of the realm, a man well deſerving of the great eſteem which both the king and people had for him, for he was very wiſe and temperate. The other was one of the antient nobility, a perſon of much gravity, but not ſo fit for tranſacting buſineſs as the biſhop. The parties having met at the time appointed, matters were talked over between them. The conferrence was held in Arabic, which both the biſhop and nobleman underſtood very well. On this occaſion a Jew, brought from England, who ſpoke that language perfectly, was of great ſervice to the admiral. This latter having made ſeveral demands, concerning the freedoms for the merchants; the biſhop aſked him what reaſons he had to offer that might induce the king to grant them; on which the admiral alledged the following: the queen's affection and friendſhip; her worthineſs, in protecting others againſt the king of Spain, the common enemy in thoſe parts, and her noble mind in refuſing the offer of thoſe countries.

He added, that ſhe did not ſuffer any prince to exceed her in kindneſs; that her forces had gained many victories over the Spaniards, and hindered the attempts of the Portugueſe againſt thoſe parts;—that the Grand Signor had already entered into a league with her majeſty on honourable conditions. The admiral next laid down reaſons, drawn from the advantages ariſing from commerce. He alledged that the king could not but be ſenſible of the proſperity which trade brought upon all countries, and the increaſe that occurred to the revenues of the ſeveral princes, by the cuſtom of commodities; that ſovereigns grew renowned and formidable, in proportion to the wealth of their ſubjects, which augmented by commerce; that the more kindly ſtrangers were entertained, the more trade flouriſhed; and conſequently the prince became more rich. That with regard to Achin in particular, the port lay well for the trade of Bengal, Java, the Moluccas, and China; which countries, having vent for their merchandiſe, would not fail to reſort thither with them; that by this means, as the king's power would improve, the trade of the Portugueſe, and their great ſtrength in the Indies would gradually diminiſh: and that in caſe his majeſty ſhould want any artificers, he might have them out of England, only ſatisfying them for their voyage, and allowing them liberty to return when they thought fit; that any other neceſſary which his country afforded, ſhould be at the king's ſervice, preſuming that his majeſty would not demand any thing that the queen could not with pleaſure conſent to, or that ſhould be contrary either to her honour, the laws, or her leagues with Chriſtian princes. The admiral demanded farther, that his majeſty ſhould cauſe immediate proclamation to be made, that none of his people ſhould abuſe any of the Engliſh, but that they might carry on their trade peaceably: and this laſt requeſt was ſo effectually granted, that although his ſubjects were ſtrictly prohibited to walk by night, yet the Engliſh might go both night and day without interruption; only if any of them were found abroad at unlawful hours, the juſtice brought them home to the admiral's houſe, and there delivered them." 1602

The conference being ended, the biſhop deſired the admiral to let him have a memorandom in writing of his reaſons, and the privileges he demanded in the queen's name, for the merchants, in order to ſhew to the king; telling him, that within three days he ſhould have his majeſty's anſwer. After this, ſome diſcourſe paſſed, relating to the affairs of Chriſtendom, and then with much congratulation they broke up for that time. Having taken care to ſend his demands, (which were partly drawn up before hand) to the noblemen; the next time he went to court, as he ſat before the king, looking at cock-fighting, (which was one of the chief diverſions of that monarch) he ſent his interpreter with his obedience to his majeſty, deſiring him to be mindful of the buſineſs about which he had conferred with his nobleman. Hereupon the king called the admiral, and told him, that he was careful of his diſpatches, and would willingly enter into treaty with her majeſty, ſaying, that on his part it ſhould inviolably be kept; that as for the demands and articles he had ſet down in writing, they ſhould all be drawn up fair by one of his ſecretaries, and authorized by himſelf. Accordingly, within five or ſix days they were delivered to the admiral by the king's own hand, accompanied with many kind and gracious expreſſions.

This league of peace and amity being ſettled, the merchants went continually to provide pepper for lading their ſhips, but there came in but ſmall quantities, on account of the laſt year's ſterility. Therefore underſtanding by ſome of the natives, that at a port called Priaman, about 150 leagues from thence, in the ſouth part of the iſland; they might load one of their ſmaller ſhips, they ſent the Suſan thither, appointing Mr. Henry Middleton captain and chief merchant in her. They were alſo much grieved that Captain John Davis, their principal pilot, had told the merchants before their coming from London, that pepper was to be had here for four Spaniſh rials of eight, the hundred; whereas it coſt them almoſt twenty. The admiral, on this account, was perplexed how to load the ſhips, ſo as to ſave his own credit, preſerve the eſteem of the merchants who employed him, and keep up the reputation of his country, conſidering how diſgraceful it would appear in the neighbouring nations if they ſhould return empty from the Indies. Beſides, the Portugueſe ambaſſador watched every ſtep they took, although he was no way acceptable to the king. Soon after this, there came to their houſe to ſell hens, an Indian belonging to the Portugueſe captain, who came with a cargo of rice, from the port of Bengal. As this captain lay in the ambaſſador's houſe, the admiral miſtruſted the Indian came only as a ſpy; however, he ordered that he ſhould be well uſed, and that they ſhould always buy his hens, giving him a handſome price. At laſt, the admiral took occaſion to talk with him, aſking whence he came, and what country he was of; and in the courſe of the converſation, underſtood that he ſerved a Portugueſe, and then propoſed that he ſhould let him know the motions of the Portugueſe ambaſſador, promiſing

* The laſt time of his being at court, having leave to ſettle a factory, and build a fort at the entrance of the harbour, under pretence of ſecuring the merchants goods, becauſe the city was ſubject to fire. The king perceiving his deſign, gave him this anſwer: "Hath your maſter (ſays he) a daughter to give my ſon, that he is ſo careful of my country? He need not be at the charge of building a fort; for I have a fit houſe within land, about two leagues from this city, which I will ſpare him for the uſe of his factory, where they may dwell without fear either of enemies or fire; for I will protect them."

1603 promiſing to give him his liberty for that ſervice. The Indian went away very well pleaſed, as was viſible by his countenance, and the quickneſs of his pace. And by his means, whatever the ambaſſador did all the day, they were ſure to hear it either that night, or next morning, and the man carried the matter ſo warily, that neither any of the ambaſſador's houſe, or of the Engliſh themſelves, knew what he came about; for he had all the neceſſary qualifications of a ſpy, being ſuſpicious, crafty, cautious, and ſubtle, never truſting any to hear what diſcourſe he had with the admiral, but delivered his mind to him alone, and that in ſo careleſs a manner, as if he had anſwered the admiral's queſtions innocently, and without deſign; for he ſtood in fear of the Engliſh, leſt they ſhould betray the ſecret of his coming to ſell hens, which ſerved to colour his coming to their houſe.

Next day the admiral was ſent for to go to court, where the king diſcourſed with him, about an ambaſſage the monarch of Siam had ſent him, about the conqueſt of Malacca, and what forces he would aſſiſt him with by ſea, if he undertook that ſervice; for the king of Sumatra was able to fit out a great number of galleys, provided he had four or five months warning before hand. This propoſal the admiral ſeconded with many reaſons, and took occaſion to mention how inſolently the Spaniſh ambaſſador carried himſelf; and that his coming was only as a ſpy, to diſcover the ſtrength of his kingdom. "I know well, (ſaid the king) for they are enemies of mine, as I have been to them; but how came you to know ſo much?" The admiral anſwered, that the ambaſſador had planted ſpies about him, to obſerve all his actions, and pry into his deſigns; among other things, that he had got a draught of his ſhips, with intent to ſend it to Malacca, and procure force from thence, to ſet upon them unawares. The king ſmiled to hear the admiral talk at this rate, and ſaid. "You need not fear any danger from that quarter; for all the ſtrength they have at Malacca, is not able to do thee any harm," the admiral anſwered, I do not fear their ſtrength as to what they can do to me; but it may prevent my attempts againſt them; for if they ſhould have notice of the time I mean to go to ſea, they will be ſure to keep within their ports; ſo that I ſhall not be able to come at them. "Is it ſo?" ſaid the king, "Yes, (ſaid the admiral) and therefore I would intreat your majeſty, to detain two of the ambaſſador's ſervants, who, within three days, ſets out for Malacca, taking their way not directly from hence, but by another port of yours, where they are to hire a bark for the purpoſe, becauſe they may be ſure not to be intercepted; and if your majeſty arreſts them there, you may be privy to ſome of their plots and deſigns." "Well, ſaid the king, let me know of their departure from hence, and then you ſhall ſee what I will do for you." The admiral took his leave very well pleaſed; and having learned the ſecret from the hen-merchant, appriſed the king of it. The time being come that the ambaſſador's two ſervants were to depart with the draughts, and their maſter's letters, they went to a port about twenty-five leagues from Achin, where, having agreed for their paſſage, they embarked; but as they were going over the bar, a mile from the city, a frigate went after them, and cauſe their bark to lower their ſails, that the Juſtice might ſee their lading; as ſoon as he got on board, perceiving the two Portugueſe, he aſked them whence they came, and whither they were going? They anſwered, they came from Achin, and belonged to the Portugueſe ambaſſador. "But, ſaid the Juſtice, you have robbed your maſter, and run away like thieves with his goods, therefore I will ſend you back to him, to anſwer for yourſelves." In the haſte of ſearching them, they loſt their draughts and letters; their trunks were alſo broke open; and they ſent bound to Achin, to be delivered to the ambaſſador, in caſe they belonged to him. The admiral had ſome intelligence of what had paſſed, and the next time he went to the court, the king called to him, and ſaid; "Now, what ſay you? Are you contented?" the admiral made him obeiſance, and gave him hearty thanks for his clemency, and kindneſs towards him. After ſome other diſcourſe, the admiral departed; meanwhile, the Indian came daily to ſell his hens; and, as the admiral ſuſpected, and he himſelf afterwards confeſſed, not without his maſter's conſent. By this time the ſummer was paſt, and September come, the ſeaſon in which the admiral meant to go to ſea, in order to ſupply his neceſſities. And now fell out the greateſt croſs of all to his deſigns. The ambaſſador himſelf had obtained his diſpatch from the king to be gone; which the admiral being appriſed of, went to court, and coming where the king was ſeated to view the ſports that were made for his diverſion, he ſent his interpreter to deſire the honour of an audience. The king immediately called for him, and demanded his errand. "It has pleaſed your highneſs, ſaid the admiral, to do me many favours, and therefore I am emboldened to requeſt one kindneſs more at your majeſty's hand." "What is that, ſaid the king ſmiling, are there more Portugueſe going to Malacca to hinder your meaſure? yes, ſaid the admiral, the ambaſſador himſelf, (as I am informed) hath your majeſty's diſpatch to be gone at his pleaſure; and is determined to depart within five days. "And what would you have me do, ſaid the king?" "Only to detain him ten days, replied the admiral, till I am gone with my ſhips." "Well ſaid the king, and laughed, you muſt bring me a fair Portugueſe maiden when you return, and then I ſhall be pleaſed." With this anſwer, the admiral took his leave, and made all the haſte he could to be gone; leaving the merchants under the king's protection till he returned, with directions, in the mean time to levy what pepper they could, to help out the Aſcenſion, which was more than three quarters laden: yet he would not leave her behind him, riding in the port, but took her with him; for he rode but in an open place. Three ſhips being ready, a captain of a Dutch ſhip, who was in the road, deſired he might bear the admiral company, and take part in this adventure. His ſhip was about 200 tons; but he had as little money to buy commodities as the Engliſh: and therefore was glad of a help, accepting of an eighth of what ſhould be taken, which was offered him. The admiral having taken his leave of the king, and preſented to him Meſſrs. Starkey and Styles, two of the chief merchants, left behind to provide pepper during the cruiſe, his majeſty graciouſly took them into his protection; after which, on the 11th of September, the ſhips ſet ſail towards the Streights of Malacca.

The ambaſſador detained.

But now we muſt relate in what manner the king dealt with the ambaſſador of Portugal, he being very eager to be gone. After their departure, he every day urged to have his diſpatch granted: but ſtill upon one occaſion or another, his paſſport was delayed. At length, (twenty-four days after the admiral's putting to ſea) the king ſaid to him, "I wonder you are ſo haſty to be gone, ſeeing the Engliſh ambaſſador is at ſea with his ſhip? he is ſtronger than you; and if he ſhould meet you, may do you a miſchief." "I value him not, replied the ambaſſador, for my frigate is ſo nimble with ſail and oars, that if I have but her length before him, I will defy all his force." "Well, (ſaid the king) I am the more willing you ſhould depart, ſince I ſee you confident of your ſafety: whereupon he had his diſpatch to be gone. This delay proved very ſerviceable to the Engliſh: for if the ambaſſador had left Achin earlier, all ſhips would have had advice of them, by frigates ſent from Malacca; but as the intelligence was ſtopped, they lay within twenty-five leagues of that city itſelf, without the matter being known.

On the 3d of October, lying off and on in the Streights of Malacca, the Hector ſaw a ſail, and calling to the reſt of the ſhips, they all deſcried her. It being towards night, direction was given to ſpread a mile and a half from each other, that ſhe might

not paſs them in the dark. The ſhip fell with the Hector, which hailed her, and ſhot off two or three pieces of ordnance. This giving the reſt of the ſhips notice, they all drew about her, and began the attack with their great ſhot, which ſhe returned. But when the admiral's ſhip came up, he fired ſix guns together out of his prow; and then her main-yard fell down. After that, there was no more firing on either ſide; the admiral being fearful of ſinking her by a ſhot between wind and water. At break of day, the captain with ſome of the reſt entering their boat, Captain Middleton in the Hector, which was next her, called them to him, and then brought them on board the admiral, to whom they ſurrendered their ſhip and goods. After this, he cauſed all the chief men in their prize, to be diſtributed on board his ſhips, and placed on board her four of his own men; who ſuffered none elſe to enter the veſſel, for fear of pillaging: becauſe they were to anſwer for whatever ſhould be miſſing, out of their wages and ſhares; for the ſhip was unladen ſolely by its own boatſwain and mariners, without any aſſiſtance from the Engliſh; only they received their goods into their boats, and carried them on board ſuch ſhips, as the admiral appointed. By this order, rifling and pillaging was wholly prevented, which otherwiſe, could hardly have been avoided. In five or ſix days, they unloaded 950 packs of calico, and other merchandiſes, ſhe had in herlikewiſe much rice and other goods, of which however the Engliſh made ſmall account. After this, a ſtorm ariſing, they ſet all her men on board; and then left her riding at anchor. This ſhip came from a place called St. Thomas, in the bay of Bengal, and was bound for Malacca. When they intercepted her, above 600 perſons, men, women and children, were on board; her burthen being 900 tons. The admiral would never go on board her, that he might give no ſuſpicion, either to the mariners preſent, or the merchants at London, of diſhoneſt dealing, to ſerve his own intereſt. The admiral was very glad of this lucky circumſtance which ſupplied all his occaſions, and enabled him to load as many more ſhips, if he had them; ſo that now he was at a loſs, not for money, but for a place to leave the reſt of the goods in ſafety, till the return of the ſhips from England. On the 21ſt of October, the admiral returned for Achin. By the way, a great water-ſpout fell not far from the admiral, and put them in great fear.

A ſhip taken.

They caſt anchor in the port of Achin, on the 24th of October, where the admiral went on ſhore, and found all the merchants in health; who greatly commended the entertainment they had received in his abſence from the king: therefore the admiral by way of gratification, choſe out ſuch things from among the prize-goods, as he thought might be moſt to the king's liking, and preſented them at his firſt going to court. The king receiving the preſent, welcomed the admiral, and ſeemed very joyful for the good ſucceſs he had againſt the Portugueſe: but jeſtingly ſaid, he had forgot the moſt important buſineſs he had requeſted at his hands, which was the fair Portugueſe maiden. The admiral made anſwer, that he met with none deſerving of the honour to be ſo preſented. The king ſmiled, and ſaid, "If there be any thing in my kingdom, that may pleaſure you, I would be glad to gratify your good will." After this the admiral commanded the merchants to put on board the Aſcenſion, all ſuch pepper, cinnamon and cloves, as they had bought in his abſcence; which was ſcarcely the ſhip's full lading: but at that time there was no more to be had, nor that year to be hoped for. He deſired them likewiſe to repair with their things on board, being reſolved to go for Bantam in Java Major; where he underſtood he ſhould meet with both a good ſale for his commodities, and plenty of pepper, at a much more reaſonable price than at Achin. The admiral, before his departure, went to court, to notify it, and had a long conference with the king; who delivered him a letter for the queen, written in Arabic. They left Achin the 9th of November, being three ſhips, the Dragon, the Hector, and the Aſcenſion. They kept company two days; and then the admiral diſpatched his letters for England, by the Aſcenſion: ſhe ſteering her courſe towards the Cape of Good Hope; and they along Sumatra, for Bantam, to ſee if they could meet with the Suſan, which had orders to lade at Priaman. In their way, they fell among ſome Iſlands in the night, wondering when the day approached, how they got thither without ſeeing them. They were near the ſhore and all low; the ſea alſo full of flats and rocks, ſo that they were in great danger before they could get clear. Keeping their courſe, they paſſed the line the third time; and came to Priaman on the 26th of November. Here the Suſan had provided towards their lading, about 600 bahars of pepper, and ſixty-ſix of cloves. Their pepper indeed coſt them leſs than at Achin; but none grows about this port, on the contrary, all is brought from a place eight or ten leagues off in the country. This place, (Priaman) produces no other commodities; only there was good ſtore of gold duſt, and ſmall grains; which they waſh out of the ſands of the rivers; after the great floods, that fall from the mountains, from whence it is brought. It is a good place for refreſhing, and quite healthful; the air being very good, though it lies within fifteen minutes of the line. Having taken in proviſions, the admiral ordered the captain of Suſan, to haſten her lading with pepper, and ſo to depart for England. After which, on the 4th of December, he ſhaped his courſe towards Bantam. On the 15th, they entered the Streights of Sunda, and came to anchor under an iſland, three leagues from that city, called Pulo Panſa. Next morning, they entered the road of Bantam, and ſhot off ſuch a peal of ordnance, as had never been heard there before. On the 17th, the admiral ſent Captain Middleton on ſhore, to let the king know that he was ſent by the queen of England, and had both a meſſage and a letter from her, requiring his majeſty's ſafe conduct and warrant to land, in order to deliver the ſame. The king anſwered, that he was very glad of his coming, and ſent a nobleman back with the captain to welcome the admiral, and accompany him to ſhore. Being arrived at court, he found the king, (who was a child of ten or eleven years of age) ſitting in a round houſe with ſixteen or eighteen noblemen about him, in ſome kind of ſtate. The king welcomed him, and after ſome diſcourſe about his meſſage, delivered the queen's letter into the king's hand, with a preſent of plate and ſome other things; which the king received with a ſmiling countenance, and referred the admiral (for further conference) to one of his nobles, who was then protector. After talking an hour and a half upon different matters, that nobleman received the admiral and all his company, under the king's protection; inviting him to land, where he might buy and ſell without any moleſtation, aſſuring him that he ſhould be as ſafe as if he were in his own country, and this all the reſt of the nobles confirmed.

1602

The king, having given the admiral leave to chuſe a houſe where-ever he thought fit, that was his next care; ſo within two days, the merchants brought goods on ſhore, and began to ſell; but one of the king's nobles coming to inform the admiral, that it was the cuſtom of the king, to furniſh himſelf before his ſubjects. The admiral was contented, having been appriſed, that he would give a reaſonable price, and pay very well. The king being ſerved, the merchants went forward in the ſales; ſo that in five weeks time, they ſold more goods than would pay for the lading of both the ſhips. They brought from thence 276 bags of pepper, each containing 62lb. which coſt five rials and half an eight, beſides anchorage and the king's cuſtom. The anchorage for both ſhips coſt, by agreement made with the Shah Bandar, or governor of the city) 1500 rials of eight, and

1603 and the cuſtom was one rial of eight, upon every bag. They traded very peaceably, although the Javans are reckoned as errant thieves and pilferers, as any in the world. But the admiral, after he had received ſome inſults, was authoriſed by the king to kill whoever he took about his houſe in the night; ſo that after four or five had thus been made examples of, they lived in tolerable peace and quietneſs, yet continually kept careful watch every night.

As faſt as they bought their pepper, they ſent it on board; ſo that on the 10th of February, 1603-4, Their ſhips were completely laden, and ready to depart. But, in the mean time, Captain Middleton of the Hector, fell ſick on board. It was a rule obſerved by the admiral, from the beginning of the voyage, that while he himſelf was on ſhore, the captain of the vice-admiral kept on board, becauſe both ſhould not be once abſent from their charge. The admiral hearing of his ſickneſs, went to viſit him, and found him weaker than he himſelf perceived. This, his experience in theſe hot countries, had taught him, and ſo it happened with captain Middleton, who, although he was then walking up and down, died at two o'clock the next morning. Now the admiral reſolving quickly to depart, ordered a pinnace of about 40 tons, (which he had) to be laden with commodities, and putting in her 12 men, with proper merchants, ſent her for the Moluccas to trade there, and ſettle a factory, againſt the return of the next ſhipping out of England. He alſo left 8 men, and three factors in Bantam, appointing the principal of them, Mr. William Starkey, to ſell ſuch commodities as were left behind, and provide lodging for the ſhips againſt their next return. Going to court to take his leave of the king, he received a letter and preſent for the queen, of ſome Bezoar ſtones, which were very fine: and for himſelf a very fine Java dagger, in much eſteem there, beſides a good Bezoar ſtone, with ſome other things, and then was diſmiſſed in a very handſome manner.

"On the 20th of February, ſays the author, they went on board and fired their guns, and ſet ſail for England. The 22d and 23d, they were in the ſtreights of Sunda; and on the 26th got clear of the iſles there and the land, holding their courſe ſouth-weſt, ſo that the 28th, they were in eight degrees four minutes ſouth. On Sunday the 13th of March they paſſed the tropic of Capricorn, their courſe moſtly the ſame, with a briſk gale at ſouth-eaſt. On the 14th of April they were in 34 degrees, judging Madagaſcar to be north of them. The 28th they had a very violent ſtorm, which forced them to take in all their ſails, and continued a day and a night, with an exceeding great and raging ſea; ſo that it ſeemed ſcarce poſſible for a ſhip to live in it. However, they weathered it, and made a ſhift to repair all the damages they had received; but their ſhip proved leaky all the voyage after. By the 2d of May they had another great ſtorm, which continued all night, the ſea beating ſo violently on the Dragon's quarter, that it ſhook the iron-work of her rudder, which next morning broke quite off from the ſtern of the ſhip, and ſunk: this ſtruck a fear into the hearts of all the men; the beſt and moſt experienced of them, not knowing what to do, and eſpecially, ſeeing themſelves in ſuch a ſwelling ſea, and in ſo ſtormy a place, (that the author thinks there are few worſe in the world.) Now the ſhip drove up and down in the ſea like a wreck, whichever way the wind carried her; ſo that ſometimes ſhe was within three or four leagues of the Cape of Good Hope, and then was driven by a contrary wind, to almoſt 40 degrees ſouthward, into the hail and ſnow. This was another great misfortune, the cold weather pinching them exceedingly, ſo that their caſe was very deplorable and deſperate. Yet all this while the Hector induſtriouſly kept them company, which was a comfort to them, and ſometimes the maſter of her, came on board the Dragon.—At laſt it was concluded to put her mizen-maſt out at the ſtern port, to try if they could ſteer the ſhip into ſome place where they might make another rudder; but this device was to very little purpoſe, for when they had fitted it, (the ſea being ſomewhat grown with lifting up the maſt) it ſo much ſhook the ſtern, and put all in ſuch danger, that they made what haſte they could to get it into the ſhip again, and were very glad when they had brought it about. They were now ſenſible, that unleſs they could make a new rudder, and hang it, they muſt periſh in thoſe ſeas; but how to perform it was the difficulty, the ſhip being of 7 or 800 tons, and in ſo dangerous a part of the ocean; yet neceſſity compelling them to try means, the admiral ordered the carpenter to make one out of the mizen-maſt; but this obſtacle aroſe, that with their rudder they loſt moſt of the irons which faſtened it, yet they went forward, and one of the men dived to ſearch what irons remained, but he found only two whole, and a broken one. However, the rudder being finiſhed, and finding a fair day, they faſtened it on, and proceeded on their way homewards; but within three or four hours after, the ſea took it off again, and they had much trouble to ſave it, with the loſs of another of their irons; ſo that now they had but two to hang it by, and the men grew deſirous to quit the ſhip, and go on board the Hector: this the admiral oppoſed, ſaying, he deſpaired not to ſave the ſhip and the goods, as well as themſelves, by one means or other. On that he went into the cabin, and wrote a letter for England, to ſend it by the Hector,* which he ordered to depart and leave him there, without letting one of the company know of it. The letter being delivered, the admiral expected the Hector would have left him in the night; but ſeeing the ſhip in the morning, he ſaid, Theſe men regard no commands.——She ſtill kept two or three leagues from them; for the maſter, who was an honeſt good man, loved the admiral well, and was very loth to leave him in ſo great diſtreſs. Yet ſeeing it now was neceſſary they ſhould exert themſelves, the carpenter made the rudder again ſo firmly, that they began to be in hopes of getting at length into ſome port of relief. Now they had been driven up and down in theſe great ſeas, and endured many more ſtorms than are here mentioned, ſometimes for one whole month together, ſo that the men began to fall ſick and diſeaſed: the wind alſo fell ſo low that they could fetch no part of the coaſt of Africa. Knowing therefore, that they had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, by the height they were in to the northward, they ſailed directly to the iſland of St. Helena. In their paſſage the main-yard fell, and ſtruck one of their men into the ſea, who was drowned. This was an unlucky accident. On the 5th of June, they paſſed the tropic of Capricorn; and the 16th in the morning had ſight of St. Helena. They bore along the ſhore to get the beſt of the road, and caſt anchor in 12 fathoms water, right againſt a ſmall channel, which the Portugueſe had built long before. Going on ſhore, they found, by many writings, that the caracks had departed but eight days before. Here they found good refreſhment of water, and wild

* "Right Worſhipful,

"What hath paſſed in this voyage, and what trades I have "ſettled for this company, and what other events have befallen "us, you ſhall underſtand by the bearer hereof, to whom, (as "occaſion may happen) I muſt refer you. I will ſtrive with all "diligence to ſave my ſhip, and her goods, as you may per"ceive by the courſe I take in venturing my life, and thoſe that "are with me. I cannot tell where you ſhould look for me, if "you ſend out any pinnace to ſeek me, becauſe I live at the de"votion of the winds and ſeas, and thus fare you well, deſiring "God to ſend us a merry meeting in this world, if it be his good "will and pleaſure. The paſſage to the Eaſt Indies in 62 deg. "and a half, by the north-weſt on the American ſide.

"Your loving friend,

"JAMES LANCASTER."

wild goats, but they are hard to come at, without good directions for the purpoſe. The courſe the admiral took was this, he appointed four of the beſt ſhot's-men he had to go into the middle of the iſland, with four men to attend on each, to carry the goats that were killed to the rendezvous; and twenty men went every day to fetch them to the ſhips, taking care not to make any ſort of noiſe, that might fright the animals; and by theſe means the ſhips were plentifully ſupplied. While they ſtaid there they put their ſhips in order, and ſearched their rudder, which they hoped would laſt them home. All the ſick men recovered their health, by refreſhing with goats and hog's fleſh, which they had great need of; for they ſaw no land during three months, but were continually beating the ſea.—The 5th of July they ſet ſail from this iſland, ſteering north-weſt, and on the 13th paſſed by the iſland called The Aſcenſion, in eight degrees. No ſhips touched there, it being quite barren, and without water, only it had good ſtore of fiſh about it, but a deep ſea, and ill riding for ſhips. 1604. From hence they held their courſe in the ſame direction, the wind being ſouth and ſouth-eaſt, till the 19th, and then paſſed the Line. On the 24th they were in ſix degrees north, and by eſtimation 150 leagues from the coaſt of Guinea; then bearing away, north-weſt by north, till the 29th, they had ſight of the iſland of Fuego. Here they were becalmed for five days, ſtriving to paſs to the eaſtward of it, but could not, for the wind changed, and came about north-eaſt, ſo they ſtood weſt north-weſt. On the 7th of Auguſt, 1603, they were in 16 degrees, and the 12th paſſed the Tropic of Cancer, in 23 degrees and a half, holding their courſe northerly; on the 29th they paſſed the iſland of St. Mary, the wind fair. The 7th of September they began to ſound, judging the Land's End of England to be forty leagues diſtant; and on the 11th came well and ſafe into the Downs.

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN HENRY MIDDLETON, BEING THE SECOND EQUIPPED BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

THIS voyage was performed by Captain Henry Middleton, in the Red Dragon, admiral; the Hector, Captain Sufflet, vice-admiral; the Aſcenſion, Captain Colthurſt, and the Suſan, (the captain's name unknown) which was loſt on her return.

Having taken leave of the company, the ſhips departed from Graveſend the 25th of March, 1604, and about the 20th of December following, after various accidents, arrived (the men being very weak) in Bantam road. There paſſed many compliments between them and the Hollanders, who ſaluted each other with their great guns; and the laſt day of the year, the admiral of the Dutch dined on board the Dragon. The following day the Engliſh admiral went on ſhore with a letter and a preſent from the king of England, to the king of Bantam, which were with great ceremony received by that young monarch, who was but 13 years of age, and governed by a protector. The 16th of December, the admiral came on board from Bantam, to proceed on his voyage for the Moluccas, ordering Mr. Sufflet to go home in the Hector. The 7th of January following, they anchored under the ſhore of Veranula. The people here bear a deadly hatred to the Portugueſe, and therefore had ſent to the Hollanders for aid, promiſing to become their ſubjects, if they expelled them. In ſhort, the latter preparing to aſſault the caſtle of Amboyna, ſummoned the Portugueſe in the prince of Orange's name, to deliver it that day by two o'clock, which they refuſed: yet in the end, after many attacks, it was ſurrendered to them by compoſition: after which, the governor of the town, by order of the Dutch, debarred the Engliſh from trading there.——The war continuing between the Ternatans and Tydorians, the firſt were aſſiſted by the Dutch, the latter by the Portugueſe. Soon after, the Engliſh being under the iſland of Tydore, diſcovered two galleys of Ternate, between Pulo Conally and Tydore, in full ſail between them, waving with a white flag, that they might ſtrike and ſtay for them. At the ſame time, ſeven galleys of Tydore came rowing between them and the ſhore, to aſſault the Ternatans. The admiral ſeeing the danger they were in, lay by the lee, to know what the matter was. In the foremoſt of thoſe galleys was the king of Ternate, with many of his nobles, and three Dutch merchants, who being in great fear, implored the admiral, for God's ſake, to ſave them, and the other galley, wherein was ſeveral Hollanders, from the Tydorians, from whom they expected no mercy, if they were taken. On this the admiral ordered his gunner to ſhoot at the Tydore galleys; yet they deſiſted not, but boarded the latter within gun-ſhot of the Engliſh, and put all in her to the ſword, except three who ſaved themſelves by ſwimming, and were taken up by the Engliſh boats. The admiral being determined to go for Tydore, the Dutch intreated that he would not let the king of Ternate and them fall into their enemies hands, from whom he had ſo lately delivered them; promiſing, in return, vaſt quantities of cloves, and other commodities of Ternate and Maken; but they did not keep their promiſe.

On the king of Ternate's going on board the Dragon, he trembled for fear: this the admiral ſuppoſing to be the effect of cold, put a black damaſk laced with gold, and lined with unſhorn velvet on his back, which, at his departure, he had not the manners to reſtore, but kept it as his own. The admiral arriving at the Portugueſe town in Tydore, the governor of the fort ſent one Thomas de Torres and others, with a letter, intimating that the king of Ternate, and the Hollanders, reported, that there was nothing but treaſon and villainy to be expected at the hands of the Engliſh; but that, for his part, he conceived a better opinion of them, believing thoſe ſuggeſtions to be nothing but malice. What confirmed this, not long after, was, the admiral being at the king's town, ſent Mr. Grave on board the Dutch admiral, who gave him but a cool reception, and charged the Engliſh with having aſſiſted the Portugueſe in the laſt wars againſt the king of Ternate and them, with ordnance and other ammunition. This the admiral refuted by the teſtimony of ſome Portugueſe, who were taken priſoners by them in that action; and then being aſhamed of the ſlander, the Dutchman affirmed, he had it from a renegado Guzarat, but did not think it to be true. To complete their ingratitude, not long after, the king of Ternate ſeeming to affect the Engliſh nation, the Dutch threatened him, that they would forſake him, and join with his mortal enemy the king of Tydore, if he ſuffered the Engliſh either to have a factory, or any trade with his ſubjects: affirming, that they were thieves and robbers; that he would find them to be ſuch, and

1604 that the king of Holland was ſtronger by ſea than all Europe beſides; with many ſuch opprobrious ſpeeches againſt the Engliſh, and all other chriſtian princes. To which inſolent ſpeeches the admiral replied, "That what Hollander ſoever had reported them, lied like a villian, and that he would make his aſſertion good againſt any one who ſhould give out ſuch a report: affirming, that if the queen of England had not taken pity on them, they had been utterly ruined by the king of Spain, and branded for ſlaves and traitors." The following are the letters ſent by the kings of Eaſt India to King James of England; which are the moſt remarkable circumſtances in this relation.

1. The King of Ternate's Letter to the King of England.

"I HAVE heard of your majeſty's fame, by that great captain, Sir Francis Drake, who came in the time of my father, about thirty years ago; by which captain, my predeceſſor ſent a ring to the queen of England, as a token of remembrance: if the aforeſaid Drake had been living, he could have informed your majeſty of the great love and friendſhip between us, he acting in behalf of the queen, my father for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, and ever ſince that captain's departure, we daily expected his return, my father living many years after; and I, after his death, living in the ſame hope, till I was father of eleven children. In this time I have been informed, that the Engliſh were men of a bad diſpoſition; and that they came not as peaceable merchants, but to diſpoſſeſs us of our kingdom: which, by the coming of the bearer hereof, we have found to be falſe; a thing we greatly rejoiced at. And after many years expectation of ſome Engliſh forces, according to the promiſe of Captain Drake; here arrived certain ſhips, which we hoped had been Engliſh: but finding them of another nation, and being out of all hope of ſuccour from the Engliſh, we were conſtrained to write to the prince of Holland, to crave aid and aſſiſtance againſt our ancient enemies, the Portugueſe; and according to our requeſt; he hath ſent hither his force, which have expelled the Portugueſe out of all the forts they held at Amboyna and Tydore. Inaſmuch, as your majeſty has ſent me a moſt kind and friendly letter by your ſervant, Captain Henry Middleton, the ſame doth not a little rejoice us. And whereas Captain Henry Middleton was deſirous to leave a factory here, we were very inclinable thereunto. This the captain of the Hollanders underſtanding, he came to challenge me with a former promiſe, which I had written to the prince of Holland, that if he would ſend me ſuch ſuccours, as ſhould expel the Portugueſe out of thoſe parts, no other nation ſhould trade there but they: ſo that we were compelled againſt our liking, to yield to the Holland captain's requeſt for that time, for which we crave pardon of your highneſs, promiſing, that if any of your nation repair hither in time to come, they ſhall be welcome; and although the chief captain of the Hollanders doth ſolicit us not to hold any friendſhip with your nation, or give ear to your highneſs's letters; yet, for all their ſuit, if you pleaſe to ſend here again, you ſhall be welcome. And in token of our friendſhip, (and that) which we deſire of your majeſty, we have ſent you a ſmall preſent, a bahar of cloves, our country being poor, and yielding no other commodity, which we pray your highneſs to receive in good part.

TERNATE."

2. The King of Tydore's Letter to the King of England.

"THIS writing of the king of Tydore to the king of England, is to let your highneſs underſtand, that the king of Holland hath ſent into theſe parts, a fleet of ſhips, to join with our ancient enemy the king of Ternate, and they jointly together, have over-run and ſpoiled part of our country, and determined to deſtroy both us and our ſubjects. Now underſtanding by the bearer hereof, Captain Henry Middleton, that your highneſs is in friendſhip with the king of Spain, we deſire your majeſty that you would take pity on us, that we may not be deſtroyed by the kings of Holland and Ternate; to whom we have offered no wrong, although by forcible means, they ſeek to deprive us of our kingdom. And as great kings upon earth are ordained by God to ſuccour all thoſe who are wrongfully oppreſſed; ſo I apply unto your majeſty for aſſiſtance againſt my enemies; not doubting but to find relief at your majeſty's hands; and in caſe your majeſty do ſend hither, I humbly intreat it may be Captain Henry Middleton, or his brother, with whom I am well acquainted. God enlarge your kingdoms, and bleſs you and your councils.

TYDORE."

3. The King of Bantam's Letter to the King of England.

"A LETTER given by your friend, the king of Bantam, to the king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, deſiring God to preſerve your health, and to exalt you more and more, and all your council, and whereas your majeſty has ſent a general, Henry Middleton, he came to me in health, I did hear that your majeſty was come to the crown of England, which doth greatly rejoice my heart: now England and Bantam are both one. I have alſo received a preſent from your majeſty; the which I give you many thanks for. I do ſend your majeſty two bezoar ſtones, the one weighing fourteen maſſes, the other three; and God have you in his keeping.

BANTAM."

And after receiving theſe letters, the ſhips departed for England.

THE VOYAGE OF SIR EDWARD MICHELBURNE TO BANTAM.

THIS voyage was performed with two ſhips, the Tyger, of 240 tons, and a pinnace called the Tyger's Whelp; Sir Edward Michelburne commanding the expedition. But though he belonged to the Eaſt India company, he did not undertake the voyage on their account as we are informed in the relation.

On the 5th of December, 1604, ſetting ſail from Cowes in the Iſle of Wight, they came on the 23d, to the Road of Aratana, in the Iſle of Teneriffe; and on the 14th of January, 1605, they were troubled with extreme heat, lightning, thunder and rain, all night. They paſſed the line on the 16th, ſhaping their courſe ſouth-ſouth-weſt, for the Iſle Loronnah, with the wind at ſouth-ſouth-eaſt. Three degrees ſouthward of the line, they found amazing ſhoals of fiſh, and with their hooks, lines, and harping-irons, took ſo many dolphins, bonitos and other fiſh, that the men could not tell what to do with them. They alſo met with large flights of fowl, though in

the main ocean, called peſhoraboues, and alcatrazzes. They caught ſeveral of the former, which like to repair to the ſhips in the night, and will light upon a perſon's hand. The alcatrazze is a kind of hawk, that lives by fiſhing, and preys on the flying-fiſh, which ſometimes are ſeen in ſuch numbers together, that afar off they ſeem like a great flock of birds.

On the 22d, they anchored at the iſle of Loronnha, in four degrees ſouth; where going on ſhore, their ſkiff was overſet, by the violent breaking of the ſea; by which accident, Mr. Richard Michelburne, a relation of the admiral's, was drowned. On the 25th, their long-boat going to fill ſome empty caſks, had the ſame misfortune, and two more of the men were drowned. It was very troubleſome to get wood and water here; becauſe the landing was ſo dangerous, that they were forced to pull the caſks on ſhore with ropes, and ſo back again when filled. The commander going on ſhore to ſee the iſland, on the 26th, found nothing but a wild country, inhabited only by ſix negros. It was formerly well ſtocked with goats and wild oxen; but they have been deſtroyed by the crews of the Portugueſe veſſels, which water here, in their way to the Eaſt Indies; their ſlaves being left to kill and dry goats againſt their coming: ſo that the Engliſh could find but few. Turtle doves, alcatrazzes, and other fowl, were plenty, which they killed with their muſquets, and found to be very good meat. Here is alſo abundance of maiz, or Guinea wheat, and cotton-trees, with wild gourds, and water-melons.

On the 13th, in the morning, they deſcried the iſland, or rather rock, called Aſcenſion, in eight degrees thirty minutes ſouth: and on the 1ſt of April, ſaw land, bearing ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, though they reckoned they were forty leagues diſtant; yet, according to the variation of the compaſs, they were near the land, thirty leagues before they ſaw it. On the 2d, they were almoſt cloſe to the ſhore, ten or twelve leagues to the northward of the bay of Saldanna; and on the 3d, came to a little iſland, which Captain Davis took to be that lying five or ſix leagues from Saldanna. On this the commander, deſirous to ſee it, went thither in his ſkiff, accompanied with no more than the maſter's mate, the purſer, the author, and four men who rowed; but while they were on ſhore, a ſtorm aroſe, which drove the ſhip out of ſight for two days. Finding abundance of rabbits and ſeals there, they called it Coney Iſland.

On the 8th, they anchored in the road of Saldanna, and went on ſhore the next day. This country is well ſtored with neceſſaries, it abounds with oxen and ſheep (which are kept in great herds and flocks, as in England) wild deer, antelopes, baboons, foxes, and hares; alſo with oſtriches, cranes, pelicans, herons, geeſe, ducks, pheaſants, patridges, and divers other ſorts of excellent fowls. It is moſt pleaſantly watered with wholeſome ſprings, which deſcending from the tops of very high mountains, render the valleys very fruitful. Here is a kind of tree, not much unlike the bay; but of a fat harder ſubſtance, that grows cloſe by the ſea-ſide. The natives brought them ſo much cattle, that they carried freſh beef and mutton to ſea with them. For a piece of an old iron hoop, not worth two pence, they bought a great fat bullock, and a ſheep for two or three horſe-nails, or a bit of iron. The people who inhabit this fine country, are ſome of the moſt ſavage and beaſtly in the world. They go naked, wearing only a ſheep-ſkin on their ſhoulders, and a little flap of ſkin, which does not cover their nakedneſs. While the ſhips continued here, they lived upon the guts of the cattle, which the ſailors threw away; but they dreſſed them without cleaning or waſhing them of the filth; all they did was to cover them over with hot aſhes, and before they were warm through, they pulled them out, and after ſhaking them a little in their hands, eat the guts, excrements and aſhes, all together. They live generally upon raw fleſh, and a certain kind of root, which is very plenty here. By the good refreſhment that they found on ſhore (where they continued from the 9th of April, to the 3d of May) the ſailors, who had been weakened by the voyage, became as healthy and ſtrong, as when they firſt put to ſea. On the 7th of May, they were ten leagues ſouth of the Cape of Good Hope; and in the night paſſed over the ſhoals of Cape des Aguillas. On the 9th, there aroſe a violent ſtorm, which laſted forty-eight hours, and ſeparated their pinnace, accompanied with rain, lightning, and thunder, and often filling the ſhip with water. The Portugueſe called this place, the Lion of the Sea, on account of the extreme fury of theſe tempeſts, and the danger in doubling the Cape. On the 24th, being about eight leagues to the ſouth of the Iſle de Diego Ruiz, which lies in nineteen degrees forty minutes ſouth latitude, and ninety-eight degrees thirty minutes longitude; they propoſed putting in there; but the wind increaſing in the night, they changed their deſign. About this iſland, they ſaw a great many white birds, having in their tails only two long feathers. Theſe birds, and ſeveral others, accompanied them, with ſuch contrary winds, and violent guſts, as often ſplit their ſails, whilſt the ſhip boulting to and again, rather went to the leeward than advanced, the wind blowing ſtrong at eaſt-ſouth-eaſt. On the 3d of June, ſtanding their courſe for the Iſland de Cerne, they deſcried the Iſle de Diego Ruiz again, and made to it, deſigning to have waited there for a good wind: but finding it to be a dangerous place, on account of the rocks and ſhoals that lie about it, they durſt not come to anchor, but purſued their courſe for India.

On the 19th, they drew near the iſle of Diego Gracioſa, which ſtands in ſeven degrees thirty minutes, ſouth latitude, and in 110 degrees 40 minutes longitude, by computation. This ſeemed to be a very pleaſant iſland, and of good refreſhment, if there be any good anchoring place; but the wind being bad, and the tide forcing them to ſhore, they durſt not ſtay to ſearch ſufficiently. This iſland is about ten or twelve leagues long, abounding with birds and fiſh, and is entirely covered with a wood of cocoa-trees.

On the 29th, they deſcried land, which they took to be a cluſter of iſlands, locked in one, lying under the high land of Sumatra. Here the ſea broke with ſuch violence upon the ſhore, that they durſt not land, though the people made fires along the coaſt, as they thought to invite them.——Thoſe iſlands lie in two degrees north latitude. On the 25th, they came to an anchor, by a little iſland full of cocoa-trees, which had very few nuts upon them, ſome however they got, but could find no water. Three or four people appeared at a diſtance, who ſeemed to have been left there to gather cocoas, and make them ready againſt others ſhould come and fetch them. On the 26th, they caſt anchor within a league of a great inhabited iſland, called Bata, in twenty minutes ſouth. It abounds with woods and rivers; alſo with fiſh, monkeys, and a kind of fowl, ſaid to be that country bat. The author killed one of them that was larger than a hare, and ſhaped like a ſquirrel; only from each ſide there hung a large flap of ſkin, which in leaping from tree to tree, he would ſpread like a pair of wings, as if he flew with them. They are very nimble, and will often leap from bough to bough, taking hold of nothing but their ſails. Here they built their ſhallop, and for that reaſon they called her the bat. On the 29th, the author walking along the ſhore, diſcovered a ſail under a little iſland, about four leagues diſtance, which he was in hopes was the pinnace, mentioned before, to have been ſeparated in a ſtorm; but being ſent next day by the commander, along with Captain Davis, to ſee if it was ſo, they found three barks at anchor, whoſe men made ſigns to come on board, and to allure them, ſaid they had hens; ſome of them underſtood Portugueſe: but the Engliſh not being well provided, anſwered, that they would go and fetch money, and

1605

Saldanna deſcribed.

Flying Squirrel

1606 and next morning return and buy. Accordingly the next morning they did return, better qualified to talk to them; but the others had not thought fit to wait for them.

On the 4th of Auguſt they ſtood for Priaman; and on the 9th the ſhallop was manned, and ſent along the coaſt to look for the pinnace; and eſpying a bark, gave her chace; but when the crew perceived they could not get away, they came to an anchor, and in a boat eſcaped to an iſland. As the veſſel was laden only with cocoas, oil, nuts, and the like, they loſt her, imagining, the commander would not have been pleaſed with ſo poor a prize. The 10th and 11th, the ſhallop ſtanding cloſe along the main land, they eſpied eight praws, ready over-againſt a place called Tico, which they made up to, in expectation of finding their pinnace amongſt them; but although ſhe was not there, they were in ſome hopes ſtill, on being informed, that there was an Engliſh ſhip, at Priaman, not above ſix leagues off. With this intelligence they haſted on board the admiral, and acquainted him that they had not ſailed a league farther before their ſhip came on ground, on a rock of white coral, but having a ſtrong gale, they ſoon got her off again, without any hurt, and drawing near a rock off Priaman, they diſcovered their pinnace, whoſe captain and maſter met them half a league from the road in their ſkiff. At their coming on board the commander welcomed them, with a peal of his great guns, and having given each other an account of what had happened, during their abſence, they came to an anchor in five fathom water, very good ground, in the road of Priaman, which ſtands in 42 minutes ſouth latitude.

On the 14th the commander ſent the author on ſhore, with a preſent to the governor, and others, to ſee what price pepper was at, to buy freſh victuals, and to know whether their men might land with ſafety; but the governor durſt not ſpeak to him privately, by reaſon of the war then carried on, which made them jealous one of the other. The occaſion of theſe wars was this: The king of Achin having two ſons, kept the elder at home, intending him for his ſucceſſor, and made the younger king of Pedir, but the former being diſſatisfied at this, impriſoned his father, alledging, that he was too old to govern any longer, and made war on his younger brother. The Engliſh finding little good was to be done in this place, took in freſh victuals, and departed on the 21ſt for Bantam. The ſame day they took two praws, with only a little rice, which they quitted again: the ſailors ſeeing ſome leap over-board, and imagining they had all done the ſame, the firſt two men that entered were very much wounded by two Indians, who lay hidden behind their ſails, and then leaped over-board, ſwimming ſwiftly away. The next day they took a fiſhing-boat and let it go alſo, without doing it any hurt, only in the attack, one of the boatmen was ſhot through the thigh. On the 25th they diſcovered a ſail, and ſent their ſhallop, long-boat, and ſkiff, to ſee what ſhe was. As ſhe would not ſtrike to them, they attacked her, the fight continuing from three o'clock in the afternoon, till ten at night, when their pinnace coming up, ſhe yielded. She was a bark of about 40 tons, bound for Priaman, and loaded with ſalt, rice, and China ware: they towed her along with them all night; but in the morning the commander finding they were of Bantam, where the Engliſh merchants had then a factory, he let them go, not ſuffering any thing to be taken from them. On the 2d of September they met with a ſmall ſhip of Guzarat or Cambaya, being about 80 tons, which they took and carried into the road of Sillibar, in four degrees ſouth, into which road many praws continually come to refreſh themſelves: for there is good water, wood, rice, buffaloes, fleſh, goats, hens, plants, and freſh fiſh; but all very dear. The 28th they departed for Bantam, and the 23d of October came to an anchor in the road of Marrah, in the ſtreight of Sunda. Here they took in freſh water. "Here, ſays the author, is plenty of buffaloes, goats, cocks, hens, ducks, and other good proviſions, in exchange for which the natives chuſe to take calicoes, pintiadoes, and ſuch like ſtuff, rather than money, and if well uſed, will uſe you well; but you muſt watch them; for they think every thing well got that they can ſteal from a ſtranger. On the 28th they ſet ſail, and arrived within three leages of Bantam, which ſtands in ſix degrees 40 minutes ſouth, where they anchored. The Engliſh fleet, which they thought to have met with, was gone for England three weeks before; but the factors came on board, and was very glad to ſee them, and gave the commander an account how groſsly the Dutch, who were then in the road, had abuſed them to the king of Bantam, repreſenting them as thieves and reprobates, who came only to plunder them by artifice or violence, if they found an opportunity. They added however, the Dutch were ſo much afraid of them, that they durſt not come into the road, but kept two or three leagues off. The commander moved with this report, weighed anchor, and ſent the Dutch word, that he would come and ride cloſe by their ſides, giving them to underſtand, at the ſame time, that if they offered ſo much as to point a gun at him, or the leaſt inſult whatever, he would either ſink them or ſink by their ſides. There were of theſe five ſhips, one of 7 or 800 tons, the reſt of a far ſmaller burden. But of this meſſage, (notwithſtanding they came and anchored cloſe by them) they never had any anſwer: on the contrary, whereas the Hollanders were uſed to ſwagger, and keep great ſtir on ſhore, before the commander's arrival, they were ſo quiet after, that ſcarcely one of them were ſeen on land. The 2d of November they took leave of their countrymen, and ſtood on their courſe for Patane. In their way, between the Cherſoneſus of Malacca, and Pedra Branca, they met with three praws, which, for fear, ran in near the ſhore, wherefore the commander manned his ſhallop with 18 men, and ſent to requeſt them, that for his money he might have a pilot to carry his ſhip to Pulo Timaon, five days ſail from thence. But they ſeeing the ſhip and pinnace at anchor, about a mile off, not able to come nearer, bluntly refuſed; whereupon the ſhallop attacked them, and in leſs than half an hour took one of them; but the men, who were 73 in all, got on ſhore. Another, after having fought all night, yielded about day-break; ſhe was laden with benjamin, ſtorax, pepper, China ware, and pitch. The 3d praw got away, while the other was fighting. The commander, who came up in his ſkiff, a little before ſhe ſtruck, would not ſuffer any thing to be taken out of her, but two of the men for pilots, and then diſmiſſed the reſt, becauſe they were of Java. Theſe Javans are reſolute in danger; their chief weapons are javelins, darts, daggers, and a kind of poiſoned arrows, which they ſhoot from trunks: they are not expert in uſing them: moſt of them are Mahometans. Theſe had been at Palimbam, and were going home.——On the 26th, they ſaw certain iſlands bearing off them north-weſt, which neither they nor their new pilots knew; and the wind proving contrary, they put into them for wood and water. Next day they anchored within a mile of the ſhore, in 16 fathoms, good ground, on the ſouth ſide of the iſlands. Here, ſending out their boats, they found ſome of them to be ſunken iſlands, and nothing above the water but the trees, or roots of them.——All is a wilderneſs of woods, and a moſt uncomfortable place, having neither fruit, fowl, nor any kind of beaſt for victualling. Thoſe iſlands they took to be the ſame as the Broken Iſlands, lying ſouth-eaſt from the iſle of Bantam. However, in one of them they met with a pretty good watering place.

On the 2d of December, they weighed anchor and ſtood for Patane, as near as the winds would permit; for in theſe months, they found them to be very contrary, keeping ſtill at north-north-weſt, or north-eaſt. On the 12th, they obſerved a ſail near Pulo Laor, and

Several veſſels taken.

Sillibar road.

Marrah road.

Bantam.

Sunken iſlands

ſending their pinnace after, the neareſt ſtayed behind to have met with the other two, but in the night loſt them. Next morning they deſcried the pinnace and ſhallop, about four leagues to the leeward, with the other ſhip, which they had taken; and ſeeing that they were not able to join them, the wind and current being contrary, went to them, they found her a junk of Panhange, of about 100 tons, laden with rice, pepper and tin, going to Bantam. The commander diſregarding ſuch mean luggage, took only as much rice as ſerved for his proviſion, and two little braſs guns, which they paid for to their content; he alſo kept one man for a pilot, who, ſeeing him uſe them ſo well was willing to go. The other two pilots, which they took before out of the praws, being very unſkilful, he ſent back in the pink, after rewarding them for the time they had been with him.

On the 13th ſailing towards Pulo Timaon, which borders on the country of Panhange, they were troubled much with contrary winds and currents, for the ſea from the beginning of November to the beginning of April runs continually ſouthward, and from April to November back again to the northward. The wind alſo in the firſt five months is moſt commonly northerly; and in the other ſeven ſoutherly. All the ſhips of China, Patane, Jor, Panhange, and ſome other places, to the northward, come to Bantam, in the northerly monſoon, and return again during the ſoutherly one. By obſerving theſe ſeaſons, ſhips will be ſure to have wind and tide with them. Here they found ſuch violent contrary winds and currents, that they could advance but a league in three weeks.—Panhange, is a very plentiful country, and full of people of faſhion. There is alſo ſtore of ſhipping, and victuals are very cheap. It lies between Jor and Pantane, and reacheth along the coaſt to cape Tingeron: which is a very high point, and the firſt land that the caracks of Macao, the junks of China, or praws of Cambaya, do make, when bound for Malacca, Java, Sumatra, Jumbe, Jor, Greece, or any other part to the ſouthward.——Here, in their way to Patane, about the 27th they met with a junk full of Japans, who had been pirating along the coaſt of China and Cambaya. Their pilot being dead, and not knowing how to govern their ſhip in foul weather, ſhe was caſt away on the ſhoals of the great iſland Borneo, where they durſt not go on ſhore: for the Japans being feared as a bold deſperate people, are not ſuffered to land in any part of India, with weapons. Taking their ſhallops, after the loſs of their ſhip, they met with this junk, which belonged to Patane, of about ſeventy tons, laden with rice, and having killed all the people, ſave an old pilot, and furniſhed it with ſuch neceſſaries and arms as they ſaved out of their ſunken ſhip, ſhaped their courſe for Japan: but the badneſs of the junk, contrary winds, and unſeaſonableneſs of the year, forcing them to leeward was the cauſe of their falling in the way of the Engliſh. They were ninety men in all, a number too great for ſo ſmall a veſſel; and moſt of them in too gallant a habit for ſailors: beſides there was ſuch an equality of behaviour among them, that they ſeemed to be upon a level: for though one among them was called captain, they ſhewed him but little reſpect. Their lading was only rice; and, for the moſt part ſpoiled with wet: for their ſhip was leaky both under and above water. The Engliſh riding at anchor under a ſmall iſland, near that of Bantam, for two days treated them kindly: with a view to have learned the place and paſſage of certain ſhips, on the coaſt of China, in order to have made their voyage. But theſe men being hopeleſs, in that junk, ever to return to their own country, reſolved with themſelves either to gain the ſhip or loſe their lives. As there was a friendly intercourſe between the two veſſels, with preſents and feaſting: ſometimes twenty-five or twenty-ſix of the principal men would come on board the Engliſh ſhip, tho' not above ſix were ſuffered to have weapons.—The commodore intending to have the rice ſearched in the junk, ordered Captain Davis in the morning to poſſeſs himſelf of their weapons, and put the company before the maſt; for fear, in caſe any thing valuable was found, they might ſet upon the Engliſh and kill them: but Davis being deceived by their diſſembling carriage, would not ſeize on their weapons, though he was ordered twice to do it. At ſun-ſet, after long ſearch, and nothing found, ſave a little ſtorax and benjamin, the Japaneſe, ſeeing a fair opportunity, at a watch word agreed on between them, reſolutely fell upon the Engliſh in both ſhips at once. They ſuddenly killed and drove overboard all the Engliſh that were in their junk; and thoſe who were on board the ſhip ſallied out of the commander's cabin, where they were put, with ſuch weapons as they had, or could find there. Sir Edward being on deck, leaped into the waſte; where, with the boatſwain, carpenter, and ſome few more, he kept the enemy under the half deck.

1606

Japaneſe meet a junk.

Murder the crew.

The Japaneſe treachery.

The firſt they happened to meet with was captain Davis coming out of the gun-room, whom they pulled into the cabin; and giving him ſix or ſeven wounds, thruſt him out again before them.—— He died as ſoon as he came into the waſte, into which they preſſed moſt furiouſly to reach them with their ſwords. It was near half an hour before they could be driven back into the cabin, four or five of their leaders being ſlain; and four more before they were ſubdued. They often fired the cabin, by burning the bedding and ſome combuſtibles; and would have burnt the ſhip, if they had not been prevented, by beating down the bulk-head and pump, with two demi-culverins from under the half-deck. Theſe guns being charged with croſs-bars, bullets, and caſe-ſhot, and bent cloſe to the bulk-head, ſo hurt them with boards and ſplinters, that there was but one left out of twenty-one, it was ſurpriſing to ſee how miſerably their legs, arms, and bodies were torn; they were ſo deſperate, they never once called for quarter: only one leaped over-board, who afterwards ſwam back to the ſhip, and begged mercy; being aſked what was their deſign? He replied, it was to take the ſhip, and cut the throats of all that were in her. He would ſay no more, but at laſt aſked to be cut in pieces. The next day, being the 28th, when they were about five miles from land, the commander ordered the Japaneſe to be hanged: but he broke the rope, and fell into the ſea: whether he ſwam to land or not was unknown. They took their courſe to a little iſland to the leeward, where they anchored the 30th, ſtaying three days to mend their boat, and take in wood and water; in this iſland they found a ſhip of Patane, whoſe captain being aſked, whether the ſhips of China were come to Patane? He told them they were not, but would be there within a few days, for this reaſon they took him for their pilot, and purpoſed to wait there for the Chineſe ſhips.

Captain Davis ſlain.

On the 12th of January 1606, one of the mates, from the top-maſt, deſcried two ſhips, which came towards them; the Engliſh likewiſe advanced, and coming up with the largeſt in the night, after a ſhort fight, boarded, and brought them to an anchor. Next day the Engliſh having taken ſome of their ſilks, both wrought and raw, paid for them more than they were worth; after which they let them depart on the 15th, without touching their ſilver, though they had above fifty tons on board. This was done out of kindneſs, but becauſe they had hopes of meeting with the other Chineſe ſhips, which they lay in wait for, ſhaping their courſe back again, but the wind proving quite contrary, they could not proceed; and ſo were forced on the 22d to put into two ſmall iſlands to leeward, called by the Javans, Pulo Sumatra.——On the 24th a great ſtorm ariſing, their cable broke. The 2d of February five Holland ſhips ſailing homeward put into the ſame road. Captain Warwick, who was their general, having invited Sir Edward to dine with him, told him that the Engliſh merchants in Bantam, were in great danger every hour of being aſſaulted by the king of Java, on account

1607 count of the Chineſe ſhip which he had taken, whereby that monarch had loſt his cuſtom; and therefore requeſted him to go no farther, but ſail home with him; Sir Edward anſwered, that he had not as yet made his voyage, and therefore would not return. But weighing the caſe a little better, after the departure of the Hollanders, (which was on the 3d of February) and conſidering that he had but two anchors, and two cables left to truſt to, he thought proper to repair his ſhips, and return home with the poor advantage he had made. Accordingly he ſet ſail for that purpoſe, on the 5th of February; and the 7th of April, after a great ſtorm, had ſight of the Cape of Good Hope. On the 7th, they came to St. Helena, where they watered, and found refreſhment, as wine and goats, with which, and wild hogs, the iſland abounds, but is uninhabited. There are alſo great ſtore of partridges, Turkey-cocks and Guinea-hens. They departed on the 3d of May, and on the 14th, paſſed the equator. On the 27th of June, they arrived at Milford Haven, in Wales, and caſt anchor in Portſmouth road, on the 9th of July, 1606.

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM KEELING, TO BANTAM AND BANDA.

IN this voyage were employed three ſhips, with 310 men; the Dragon, admiral, Captain Keeling chief commander or general; the Hector, vice-admiral, William Hawkins, captain, and the Conſent, David Middleton, captain.

On the 1ſt of April, 1607, the Dragon and Hector were fallen as low as the Downs; after their departure from thence, they met with ſeveral diſaſters. They paſſed the line in the beginning of June: when being come into four or five degrees of ſouth latitude, they were forced by guſts, calms, rain, ſickneſs, and other marine inconveniencies, to return northward. But miſſing the iſle of Fernando de Loronnha, to their great ſurpriſe. On the 30th of July, the commander conſulted with Taverner, the maſter, who was of opinion that they ſhould be obliged to return for England. His company beginning to be much diſeaſed, and being unable to reach Fernando de Loronnha; (water being their greateſt want, and a watering place ſo near) he called a council, and, after dinner, propounded what was fitteſt to be done. It was generally agreed, that they ought not to ſtand to the ſouth any longer. They therefore ſtood for Sierra Leona. On the 4th of Auguſt, in the morning, they ſaw many flowers, a ſign of land; and in the evening had ground from twenty-eight to ſixteen fathoms, oozy, but no ſight of ſhore. Having ſent out the ſkiff, to ride at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhip, in order to examine the ſet of the current, by the log line, ſhe found it ſet ſouth-eaſt-by-eaſt, two miles a watch; although ſhe rid wind road. They ſteered all this morning, eaſt, and caſt-by-ſouth, and had from thirty to twenty, and ten fathoms water, but no ſight of land, and the greateſt depth was oozy; the leaſt a yellow, ſandy ground. About nine, they eſpied land, being a round ſpot, moderately high, bearing north-eaſt, about eight leagues diſtant. They were at noon in the latitude of ſeven degrees fifty-ſix minutes, and ſteered all day eaſt; ſometimes one point northerly or ſoutherly, as their water deepened or ſhoaled; for they had often times above ten fathoms, and at the next caſt under ſeven fathoms, in pitty ground; and when they found ſhoal water, upon bearing up northerly, they inſtantly deepened; a ſign that they bordered upon the ſhoals of St. Anne. The author allows, ſince the preceding day at noon, fourteen leagues eaſt, and five leagues weſt, wind at ſouth and ſouth-by-weſt, and ſouth-by-eaſt. In the afternoon, they had ten, eleven and twelve fathoms water. The firſt land proved Ila Verde, being a very round land, and mark for thoſe bound for the place, from the ſouthward. About ſeven in the evening, they anchored in twenty fathoms water, hard ſand, having ſteered ſix leagues or more, to the north-eaſt, and north-north-eaſt. About ſix the next morning, they made ſail for the road; and had no leſs than ſixteen, fifteen, ten and nine fathoms, till they were north and ſouth with, and half a mile from the rock, (which lies about one mile and a half off the Cape, and one mile from the neareſt ſhore). They had ſeven fathoms very good ſhoaling, between them and the rock: and ſoon after they had paſſed it, they had twenty fathoms water, and ſhoaled to eighteen, ſixteen, twelve and ten fathoms, all the way in the road, bordering very near the ſouth ſhore; for there is ſand lying off the north ſhore about two miles or a league, from the ſouth ſhore, whereon the ſea breaketh. They rode in ten fathoms, good ground, the point of Sierra Leona bearing weſt-by-north, and the ſand-bank north-north-eaſt.——This afternoon, perceiving men, who beckoned them on ſhore, the commander ſent his boat, which leaving two hoſtages, brought four negros, who promiſed refreſhing. The ſkiff ſounding between the Dragon and beach, found fair ſhoaling, and two fathoms water, within two boats length of it. On the 7th, there came on board with the boat, negros of better appearance, having one Engliſhman in hoſtage; for two of them having made ſigns that the commander ſhould ſend ſome of his men up into the country, and that they would remain as pledges, he ſent Edward Buckbury, and his ſervant, William Cotterel, with a preſent, viz. one coarſe ſhirt, three foot of a bar of iron, a few glaſs beads, and two knives. They returned towards night, and brought the commander, from the ſaid captain, one ſmall ear-ring of gold at about eight or nine ſhillings ſterling. And becauſe it was late, the hoſtages would not go on ſhore, but lay on board all night, without requiring any ſecurity for them, the ſhip's boat being ſent, fetched five tons of freſh water, which is both very good, and eaſy to come by. On the 11th, the commander went fiſhing towards ſhore, where the people brought their women to ſee them, but were afraid the Engliſh would carry them away. He gave them ſome trifles, and bought a quantity of lemons, at the rate of 200 for a penny knife: wind at eaſt. On the 12th, he went again, but took little fiſh; the wind was from north-weſt to ſouth, the weather rainy. Next day it rained without intermiſſion, and they got fiſh enough for a meal; the commander bought an elephant's tooth of ſixty-three pounds weight, for five yards of blue calico, and ſeven or eight pounds of iron-bar. On the 14th, it rained all day. On the 15th, he went and caught, within one hour and an half, 600 cavallas, a ſmall but good fiſh. In the afternoon, with Captain Hawkins and a convenient guard, he went on ſhore to the village, where they bought 2 or 3000 lemons. He reckoned it a fair day, when they had three hours dry over head.

On the 20th, John Rogers returned, and brought him a preſent of a piece of gold, in form of an half-

moon, valued at about ſeven ſhillings ſterling. With an account that the people were peaceable, the chief without ſtate: the landing two leagues up; and the chief village eight miles from the landing place. On the 22d, they went on ſhore, where they made ſix or ſeven barricos full of lemon-water; the commander opening one of the company's firkins of knives to buy limes with. On the 7th of September, they went all on ſhore, to ſee if they could kill an elephant. They ſhot ſeven or eight bullets into one, and made him bleed exceedingly, as appeared by his track; but being near night, they were forced to return on board, without effecting their deſign. Although the commander often propoſed to obſerve the latitude of the road, both on board and on ſhore, yet his inſtruments being out of order, he never did: but the maſter made it by his obſervation, eight degrees; thirty ſix minutes north; the point of Sierra Leona bearing neareſt weſt, three or four miles off. He alſo found the variation to be one degree fifty minutes eaſterly.

On the 17th of December, about two in the afternoon, they ſaw the Table of Saldanna very plain; and ſtanding to make it till three, the commander cauſed the maſter to ſteer eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, and ſouth-eaſt-by-eaſt, to double the Cape. At that time the whole company being ſick, deſired to put into Saldanna, they ſtood for it, and about noon got into the road, anchoring in five and a half fathoms water; the weſt point bearing weſt-north-weſt, the iſland north-north-weſt, and the Sugar Loaf, ſouth-weſt. The weſtermoſt Cape-land, and Penguin iſland, bear ſouth-by-weſt, &c. There was a ſand-bank ſouth of the iſland, about a mile diſtant; and another half a league off to the ſouth-eaſt. Between the iſland and ſhore are ſeven miles diſtant. The Sugar Loaf and the iſle bear ſouth-by-eaſt, and north-by-weſt from the weſt point of the bay, half a mile off is a flat. The weſtermoſt ſouth-land, and point of the Sugar Loaf, bearing ſouth-ſouth-weſt, and north-north-eaſt. As ſoon as they anchored, the commander went on ſhore, finding the people very bold, but dear. There he met with theſe words engraved upon a rock, viz. "The 24th of July, 1607, Captain David Middleton, in the Conſent." On the 21ſt, he landed again, and bought 102 ſheep, 12 bullocks, and 2 calves, of which he allowed the Hector a ſhare. This traffic continued ſeveral days, in which time they bought ſome cattle. At ſun-riſe, on the 21ſt of January, 1607, they ſet ſail, and by ſix in the evening, were ten leagues weſt-by-ſouth from the ſouth point of the bay. On the 19th, the Dragon ſhipped a great deal of water at the helm-port, and at the hole in the gallery, about two hours after midnight which wetted ſome bales of cloth. Latitude thirty-five degrees twenty-two minutes, the author allows thirteen leagues ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, wind eaſt-north-eaſt, and north-eaſt; ſix leagues drift ſouth, and three leagues north-eaſt, wind weſterly. The too great quantity of goods, made the ſhip labour exceedingly. On the 17th of February, they ſaw the land bearing eaſt about eight leagues from them, and as it was judged, in the latitude of twenty-four degrees twenty minutes. They ſtood in till after ſix o'clock; at that time, being within four leagues of the ſhore, they flatted, the Hector being too near a-ſtern for them to ſtay. Then they tacked, they had no ground at eight or nine fathoms, which was no great wonder, for it was low ſmooth land. About noon, they were athwart of two ſmall iſlands, ſeeming to make a good road; wherefore, not knowing their latitude, they ſtood off till they could obſerve, it being nigh noon. On the 18th, latitude twenty-three degrees thirty-ſeven minutes. Therefore they ſtood in again, ſuppoſing this to be the place they ſought: but coming near the ſhore, and having ſent both ſkiffs a-head, they found ſix fathoms water, for which reaſon, they anchored in ſeven and half ſandy ground, about one in the afternoon, the two iſlands and breach bearing ſouth-weſterly a mile from them. There was an inlet about three leagues from them, eaſt-by-north, which the maſter ſuppoſed to be St. Auguſtine; and intending to ſearch the ſame; the commander called a council, where it was reſolved to make ſome ſmall ſtay at St. Auguſtine. The variation in this place was 15 deg. 30 minutes; and by another obſervation, the ſame morning, 15 degrees 26 minutes, he was obliged to obſerve over the land half a degree high, otherwiſe the variation would have reſulted ſomewhat more: on theſe two obſervations he had great dependance: it flowed eaſt.——On the 19th in the morning they weighed, and one of their anchors being faulty, it broke. They ſteered for the above-mentioned ſeeming harbour or bay, and found in their way from ten or twelve, to twenty fathoms, coming near the point in the height of the bay, they had no ground at 100 fathoms, till they were advanced far into the bay, when their ſkiffs, which were before them, found bottom. After this, they had from thirty to eight fathoms, and farther in deep water. They dropped one anchor in eighteen fathoms, and laid another in forty: for the ſouth ſhore was the deepeſt water, the other being made ſhallow by the coming down of the rivers. On the 20th they had 70 fathoms water at the ſhip; the bottom oozy. The land bore weſt-by-ſouth, and north; and to the north, lay certain ſhoals, with a ſand-bank to the north-weſt, ſo that they were but five points of the compaſs open to the winds; but the road is very foul ground, and deep water; beſides, there runs a ſtrong ſtream down the river continually. Captain Hawkins coming on board the Dragon, the commander being indiſpoſed himſelf, ſent him on ſhore, accompanied with both the ſkiffs, well armed. Towards night he returned on board, without having ſeen any people; but the freſh track of them was very viſible in a great many places. He left ſome beads and trifles in a boat which they found, to allure the natives. According to this account, there was little likelihood of refreſhing here: but the commander's fiſhers, from the other ſide of the bay told him, they met with a great number of bones of beaſts, and ſome with fleſh on them. George Evans, of the Hector, was bitten here by an alegator. The commander ordered water to be taken in without delay: and in the mean time propoſed to ſeek proviſions. It flows here neareſt eaſt, and higheſt, much water. On the 21ſt, having eſpied four natives, the commander ſent to preſent them beads, &c. whereupon they promiſed, by ſigns, to bring ſtore of cattle next day. On the 22d, the commander perceiving ſeveral of the inhabitants, went on ſhore, and found a ſubtil people. (Their bodies were ſtrong, and well proportioned; their privities only carefully covered with cloth made of the rhinds of trees). He bought one calf, one ſheep, and one lamb; but they would part with nothing but for ſilver. In the afternoon, he rowed up the river, as well to look for the beſt watering place, as otherwiſe, and found the water very ſhallow and brackiſh. On the 24th, he went on ſhore again, ſeeing one man there, and bought three kine, two ſteers, and four calves, which coſt nineteen ſhillings, beſides a few beads. The cattle which were buffaloes, are far better fleſh than thoſe of Saldanna. Theſe people are circumciſed, as ſome affirm to have ſeen.

1608

"On the 28th, (ſays the author) they departed. There lies a breach four miles from the north point of the bay, ſouth ſouth-eaſt. The place is deſcribed as very inconvenient for riding, the water being deep, and the ground pitty and foul, as appear by their cable cutting. On the 12th of March, lat. 15 deg. 50 minutes, they ſounded ſeveral times in the afternoon, and had no ground at 90 fathoms, and before eight, they had ground at 20, 28, 17, 16 fathoms, all within half a cable's length. Then they inſtantly tacked off, and had 19 and 24 fathoms; and the three laſt, had no bottom at forty fathoms. The ground was compoſed of ſmall ſingle ſtones, like beans, and the ſhip at this time was about five or ſix miles from

1608 from ſhore. This afternoon, having had a freſh gale at eaſt by north, they got ſomewhat to the north.—The 13th, latitude 15 degrees 45 minutes, it having been calm from midnight till eleven this forenoon, they loſt what they got the day before, and were driven ſouth as appeared by the land. They were at noon within three leagues of ſhore. The 14th, latitude 15 degrees 42 minutes, ſo that they were advanced north, three leagues, and judgment would have allowed at leaſt 15 leagues north north-eaſt, ſo that the author concluded the current ran ſwift, and ſet more ſouth than ſouth-weſt: for this morning, though hazy, they were not far from ſhore, having had ſight of land all along; whereas then, although it was much cleared, they could hardly ſee it. The 15th they were in latitude 15 degrees 40 minutes. They could not ſee the land, yet were but ten leagues from it. They knew not what courſe to take to get out of this current; for if they put off, and the current ſhould hold, the ſhips might be in danger from the iſland of Juan de Nueva; and by keeping the ſhore great hazards might accrue: beſides, where ſuch a galé ſtems not the ſtream, it is indiſcretion to continue.

"The Moors of this place alike affirm, that in ſome years, upon the coaſt of Mombaſa, Magadoxa, Pata, Brava, &c. pieces of Ambergris are found, weighing twenty kentals, of ſuch bulk, that men may hide behind one of them. They make yearly voyages from hence to the iſle of Comora, to buy ſlaves, and report the people to be very treacherous; having, at different times killed 50 perſons by poiſoning, and therefore reſolved to trade on board.—They ſaid there were eight Dutchmen upon Pemba, who had been there three or four years, two of whom turned Moors. They reckon this monſoon of ſouth winds to begin yearly the firſt of May, and the extremity thereof to continue 100 days. The moſt boiſterous weather (which they report to be wonderful) is in June and July: for on the 10th of Auguſt it begins to be leſs windy, and ſoon after north winds come, attended with much rain, for three or four months more; at which time moſt aloes is made, which is only the juice of ſemper vivens, put into a goat's ſkin, and ſo dried. The 3d of May the commander ſent on ſhore to weigh aloes, and received on board 1250 pounds, which coſt for the company's account 250 dollars. He bought in all 1833 pounds nett. The chief ſending to borrow 500 rials of eight, which he refuſed to lend; but preſented him with two yards of kerſey, and a very handſome knife. He had, at another time, 575 pound more of aloes, which coſt 115 dollars. Chaul, Dabul, and Danda Rajipuri are good and ſafe ports, and rich trading towns, upon the coaſt of India. At Saada, Ilbuki, Auzoane, Mutu, four of the iſles of Comora, there is abundance of rice, and the people are good: but Jughaze, and Malale, (two more of the ſame iſlands) produce very little rice; and the people are treacherous.

"Burrom, Makella, and Cayxim, are good harbours for both monſoons on the coaſt of Arabia, but no places of merchandiſing. Xael, or Zaer, has no harbour nor road for any time, but would vend iron and lead, a Turk being Aga; and they ſend by land for ſuch commodities to Cayxim, a day's journey to the weſtward; but there is no going thither at this time; that in both monſoons there is a continual extreme ſea-gale upon the coaſt of Arabia, and the current generally with the wind; there is no riding at the entrance of Surat, to have any ſhelter from the weſtern ſhore, againſt the weſtern monſoons, by reaſon of bad anchoring ground, and chiefly by the extreme violence of the tides, which overſet ſhips that are not aground. The road of Deliſa is a very good place to ride in ſecure againſt the monſoon. But what is ſtrange, two miles either to the eaſt or weſt from thence, it continually blows ſo hard that no ſhip can abide it; neither could the author aſſign any reaſon for it, except the diſtance betwixt the ſhips of the high mountains might cauſe it: for there was much low land betwixt them and the ſhore.

"On the 24th of June they departed. The 23d they ſaw an iſland, and about noon, two more; they left two to the north, and one to the ſouth, which is the biggeſt, and in the latitude of four degrees two minutes below the Line. The north part of theſe iſlands is a very high land, full of trees. In the mid-way, between the ſouthermoſt of the three, which are ten leagues diſtant north and ſouth. There is a ſand-bank lying from the eaſt end of the moſt northern (or middlemoſt) ſouth-eaſt, half channel over; to avoid this, they ſteered within two leagues of the middlemoſt iſland, by a very good paſſage, having the breach about three leagues to the ſouth. It lies very dangerous for thoſe who have no knowledge of it, to paſs by night. There ſeemed to be a paſſage between the two northernmoſt; but it is ſcarce league-wide. On the 26th they were half way between Priaman and Teku, about three leagues from the ſhore, where it was obſerved, that the two hummocks of Miku, with the high land over them, bore north and by weſt, and ſouth by eaſt, half a point eaſterly. There lies a ſhoal alſo four miles from the coaſt, bearing ſouth and north, with the ſaid high land, ſtanding north-eaſt by eaſt; from the road of Priaman, they had 45 fathom water, two leagues and a half from ſhore. There is an iſland about four leagues from the road, north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt. The three iſlands of Priaman, lie ſouth ſouth-eaſt, and north north-weſt, being diſtant each from the other, about a mile. In the afternoon they got into Priaman road, and ſaluted the town with five pieces of cannon. The governor ſent a goat to the commander, who returned it with a preſent of three yards of cloth alſo, one piece of blue calico, a muſquet barrel, and two ſword blades. He likewiſe beſtowed on the meſſenger, (who ſpoke Portugueſe) a piece of blue calico. There came another of Achin, with whom he held a long converſation in Arabic: and from his report, conceived great hopes of a beneficial trade. On the 29th the commander went on ſhore by times, ſhooting off ſeven pieces of ordnance: he went immediately to the governor's houſe, who preſented him with a buffalo, and appointed him to ſettle the price of pepper, with ſundry chief men. Theſe commiſſioners were about 60 in number, and he had many diſputes with them about weighing the pepper; he deſiring, that it might be done upon the iſland, and they inſiſting that it ſhould be weighed in the town. They demanded 50 dollars the bahar, which much diſpleaſed him; for the Achineſe adviſed, to offer but 16; but this was his craft, for being a merchant, his aim was to have engroſſed much pepper, before the commander ſhould have bought any; and then would have made him pay his own price for it. After much debate, the rate was agreed at 22 dollars and a half the bahar, beſides ſix per cent. cuſtom. He likewiſe, at length conſented to pay two other cuſtoms, or rather exactions, the one 160 dollars, the other, not much leſs. Writings were drawn between him and them. The night before, a man who ſpoke Portugueſe, lay on board the Dragon; and in behalf of the late governor's wife, (by him intitled queen) deſired the commander's aid in taking the town, offering him one half of it. But being acquainted with the fineſſe of Moors, and the thing not agreeable to his commiſſion, he refuſed to intermeddle; and in the morning ſent him on ſhore. He ſold cloth to the chief, for 159 maſſes of gold.—The town and lands of Priaman yield not, yearly, above 500 bahars of pepper; but adding the produce of the neighbouring diſtricts, as Baſſaman, Teku, Berus, and the mountains near the town, the whole amounted to 2500 bahars, which quantity will load two ſhips, and may be bought at a very reaſonable price, if a factory has the means to buy all the year: but their harveſt is only in Auguſt and September, and the grain is fetched away by the ſhips of Achin and Java only, the Gu-

zarats not being permitted to trade there by the king of Achin's expreſs command; ſo that a veſſel that touches at Surat, and having bought a parcel of blue calicoes, white calicoes, blue ſtriped and checquered ſtuffs, and ſome ſmall and fine pintadoes, ſhall leave a factory, may lay the beſt foundation for profit, one year againſt the next. The author, ſays, he cannot ſee how ſhips can call at Cambaya, and come to Priaman time enough in one year; beſides the king of Achin's letter muſt be procured, for their ſafer proceedings in thoſe parts.

On the 18th of September, in the morning, they departed, and next day at noon, were ten leagues weſt north-weſt, from the point to the ſouth of Priaman, having ſteered to the eaſtward of Illa de Friſteza. Before day, on the 20th, they ſaw an iſland a-head, and ſteered eaſt ſouth-eaſt, to get clear of it. They now went to the eaſtward of it four leagues; the iſlands of Sumatra being ſeven leagues from them. The 21ſt, 26 leagues, being allowed ſouth-eaſt by ſouth, they were within ſix or ſeven leagues of Sumatra; and weſt from them, about four leagues, was another great iſland. On the 2d of October in the morning, they ſaw land, which they took for the Salt Iſland, but it proved a round hummock upon Sumatra. They made ſcarcely any way, yet at noon, were in five degrees 55 minutes ſouth. The 3d they had ſight of Salt Iſle, bearing north-eaſt by north, four or five leagues diſtant. It lies in the latitude of ſix degrees, ſix minutes. When they ſaw it, they were within four leagues or leſs of the ſouth land, which bore eaſt ſouth-eaſt, the wind all night freſh at weſt, and north-weſt. The ſouth land conſiſts of four iſles; the weſtern part of it lies with the Salt Iſland, or roundeſt and higheſt iſland in the ſtreight of Sunda, ſouth-weſt by ſouth, &c. The neareſt of the ſouth iſlands being the weſtermoſt, is ſix leagues diſtant from the Salt Iſland. The Salt Iſland lies half-ſea over; and the diſtance betwixt Sumatra, and this ſouthermoſt land is 12 or fourteen leagues. This evening they had the Salt Iſland four leagues north of them. On the 14th in the morning they were within five or ſix leagues of the point, (including Bantam whole bay) eaſt north-eaſt from them. There were before they came to that point, two rocks full of trees, bearing north and ſouth, four miles diſtant, between which two they ſteered. The ſouthermoſt lies very near Java, and the northermoſt half way or more, between the point of Bantam and another low ragged iſland, which, with the other two to the northward of it, bear with the northermoſt rock. Weſt ſouth-weſt, and eaſt ſouth-eaſt, between which iſlands they did not know of any paſſage. They got into the road of Bantam where they found ſix Dutch ſhips, two were almoſt laden with cloves, and two more were to be laden with pepper. The commander found 13 Engliſh people alive, of whom two were merchants, and received a letter from Captain David Middleton. On the 6th, they paid the two Chineſe their wages, and releaſed them. The 20th he called his merchants together, and having formerly reſolved to return with the Dragon to England, upon ſpecial conſiderations, he now conſulted about employing the pinnace, not yet finiſhed; and it was reſolved to ſend her with Brown and Sidnal, for Banda; that John Herne, John Saris, and Richard Savage, ſhould remain at Bantam; and that ſo ſoon as the pinnace ſhould return from Banda, John Saris ſhould go in her to Sequedana, in Borneo. The 15th of November he ſent for Jaques Dermite, and diſcovered to them a deſign of the Javans to kill them, whereof he had received very particular information.

"On the 22d, the ambaſſador of Siam came to viſit the commander, and dined with him. He affirmed, that one might ſell 1000 pieces of red cloth, there in two days, and great quantities yearly; for they cloathed their elephants and horſes with it; that gold is plenty there, and good, being worth three times the weight of ſilver; there are there precious ſtones in abundance, and cheap; and that his maſter would account it a great happineſs to have commerce with ſo great a king as his majeſty of England, with whom, as he underſtood, the king of Holland was not to be compared. 1668

The commander took leave of the king, the governor, the admiral, the old Shah Bandar, alſo of Tangong, and of the Dutch, on the 25th, deſigning to ſtay no longer. The 2d of December at night, the merchants came on board, bringing a letter from the king of Bantam, to King James, and two picols of Canton, as a preſent to him. The 12th they diſcovered a ſail, before they got out of the ſtreights, which proved to be the Hector. Her captain ſtaid behind at Surat. By her they underſtood, that the Portugueſe had taken 18 Engliſh ſhips, among which were ſeveral of the factor's, and goods to the value of 9000 dollars. The 14th they got into the Bantam road again, being forced to a longer voyage or loſs of reputation. On the 16th there came a ſmall Flemiſh veſſel from Amſterdam, with news of peace between Spain, France, and the Netherlands, and that the end of his coming was, to order the Dutch to deſiſt from their deſign againſt Molucca. The commander appointed Meſſrs. Molineux and Peckham, to return for England, and took the reſt with him for the Moluccas. The 17th he removed into the Hector, and the maſters exchanged ſhips. The 21ſt he diſpatched Mr. Towerſon, preſſing his departure with all ſpeed. The 23d, the Dragon ſet ſail from Bantam.

On the firſt of January, about one in the morning they weighed, and with a briſk gale off the ſhore, got about the eaſt point, eaſt north-eaſt, from whence they rode three leagues; thence to another point ſouth-eaſt by eaſt, three leagues. Between the ſecond point lies a ſhoal, having little water for a great length; to avoid which it is beſt to ſteer half way between Java, and the iſles of Tonda, which are five leagues diſtant. To the eaſtward of the ſecond point, lies the iſland of Tarara, ſo cloſe to the ſhore, that it is not diſtinguiſhable at a diſtance. From the 2d to the 3d point, bearing eaſt ſouth-eaſt, there are four leagues, and a mile and a half off that point, north by weſt, lies the iſle Lakkee, betwixt which and the point, there is by report, but one fathom and three quarters of water. They rode at night in ſix fathoms, having the iſle a league off to the eaſt. The 4th they weighed, and ſteered within half a league of Lakkee, having ſeven or eight fathoms water. The iſland Lakkee, with the weſt point, including Jaccatra, bears ſouth-eaſt, four leagues diſtant. There is a dangerous ſand off the weſt point of Jaccatra, ſo that it is beſt to borrow off the ſaid iſland, which lies oppoſite to that point. The 8th the commander went and anchored far out before Jaccatra, the king having ſent the Shah Bandar to deſire powder and match; he preſented him 30 pounds of the former, and a roll of the latter. He bought of them for 45 dollars, a Portugueſe boy, (given to the king by the Dutch) who would by no means forſake Chriſtianity. The points as they rode, bore north-weſt, and eaſt by north, four leagues diſtant. The town and the higheſt of the eaſtermoſt hills, ſouth by eaſt, and the weſt hill ſouth by weſt. Since they left Bantam, they ſaw 30 or 40 iſlands. The 10th in the afternoon, they departed; and on the 12th, having ſailed 30 leagues eaſt by ſouth. They were at noon, two leagues ſouth-weſt by ſouth an iſland; ſouth and north, with which there is a ſhoal, three leagues from Java, called Los tres Hermanos, (or the Three Brothers:) the iſle lies 10 leagues from Java, but not ſo far eaſterly, as is projected in the charts, and bears with the higheſt hill they ſee upon Java, north by weſt. The 21ſt in the forenoon, they ſaw the land of Celebes: the 27th, in the morning, they were north and ſouth with a land lying 12 leagues, eaſt ſouth-eaſt, from the eaſt ſide of Cambaya: coming nearer the weſtern part, it proved two iſlands, lying eaſt north-eaſt, &c. The great iſland lay eaſt by north, five leagues off, making

Los trés Hermanos.

1608 three or four head-lands. There lies a round iſland eight leagues ſouth, from the ſaid head-lands. From the eaſtern point to another, north-eaſt, half north, there are three leagues, and to a fourth, north-eaſt by north, three leagues. Eight leagues ſouth-eaſt by eaſt, from the third point, lies a ſhoal ſix leagues long, as it beareth. The 28th, from the ſaid point north-eaſt, eight leagues, lies the iſland Ticabeſſa, (whereof they had ſight;) and to the north-eaſt by north, 14 leagues, is the eaſt or north-eaſt point or Buton. At night, a caraval, with 40 or 50 men came on board, ſent from the king of Buton, among whom were the king's uncle and ſon, who knew Sidnall and Spalding.

"On the 4th of February in the morning, about eight o'clock, they ſaw Burro, the eaſt point of which was north-eaſt by eaſt, ſeven leagues off, and the weſt point north-by-weſt, nine leagues off. The author for the ſpace of a few hours ran 12 leagues, north-eaſt, wind weſterly. The 5th, a conſultation being held, it was thought beſt to go for Banda, the winds not ſerving for the Moluccas. From the eaſtern point of Burro, to another, there are four leagues, eaſt and weſt. The Iſle Bloy lies ſouth and north from the eaſternmoſt end of Burro, four or five leagues. From Burro they ſaw Amboyna, which lies eaſt by north, 12 leagues diſtant, and is 10 leagues long, eaſt, to the eaſtward of which lie other iſles, eaſt and weſt, of good quantity. On the 28th, they got into the road or harbour of Banda, where the people and Dutch came to welcome the commander. There is a ſmall flat iſland, that lies to the north of Pulorin's eaſt end. Puloway, and the entrance of the harbour, bore weſt, northerly, three leagues diſtant. The two points of the ſouth, bear north, one quarter eaſt, &c. half a mile diſtant. Thoſe that are bound in, muſt keep on the north ſide, cloſe under the higheſt hill. They rode in ſix fathoms and a half water; the entrance of the ſound being weſt ſouth-weſt, one mile off them. Nera one mile north, and the low point of the round hill, one mile weſt. The Hope having been driven to the eaſt, came piloted in next morning. The 9th, the commander went on ſhore, and delivered his majeſty's letter to Nera, together with a preſent, being the beſt gilt cup with a cover, the beſt head-piece and gorget, and one of Mr. Buckes's muſquets, which coſt 25 dollars: it was received with the moſt ſtate that had been known; but they took till next day to conſider about the propoſals for ſettling a factory. The Dutch ſaluted at Captain Keeling's landing, and again at his going on board; he boarded with them. The 11th, he agreed for building their houſe. The 21ſt he went to Urtatan, to confer with the people, where he promiſed to be at Lantor the Sunday following. The 25th in the afternoon, he was called upon, and went to Lantor, where he delivered the king's letter; the ſmall gilt cup with a cover, the fine gilt target, one muſquet and a barrel, which they received with reſpect. Nekhada China (as the Dutch ſpy) came on board in the night, to adviſe the commander how to manage. Where the Dutch have a factory, let no man look for better meaſure; large gifts being more regarded than fair dealing.

On the 13th, thoſe of Lantor demanded for Serepinang, 140 rials of eight, and Captain Keiling required leave to ſell his cloth the beſt he could, by ſettling a price. The prieſt was ſent from the government to demand payment of what they called Rooba, before the Engliſh traded, which the commander refuſed, except upon condition that the whole country would bind themſelves to lade him with mace and nutmegs, within four months, at 100 dollars the catti. The prieſt taking time to conſider of it, the other anſwered that ſince he perceived they protracted the affair, waiting till the arrival of the Dutch, (which was now become doubtful, the monſoon being almoſt ſpent, and the eaſt winds beginning already to blow) he would not give more than 90 rials; on which the prieſt took his leave, who under a very fair outſide concealed abundance of guile. The 16th, there arrived three Dutch veſſels, which, without anchoring, fired thirty, ſixteen, and nine pieces of cannon. Two of theſe ſhips came from Ternate, having loſt Paul Van Carden, their admiral, with 74 men, taken by the Spaniards. The Dutch offered 5000 dollars for him; but reſtoring the fort of Machian, which he had formerly taken from them."

At length, the Engliſh came to an agreement with the Dutch, with regard to the preſent diſpute, and on the 23d, the commander made a ſecret agreement with the chief of Puloway, to ſend a factory thither; and were forced to lend them 300 rials, and gave as ſerapinang, 100 rials, with four Malayan pintadoes. Next day, the Dutch hearing of the agreement, ſought to prevent him. The 29th there arrived in the road ſix great ſhips, and two ſmall pinnaces. The commander ſaluted them with nine pieces of cannon, and they anſwered with three. The firſt of April, 1609, he received by the Hope, from Puloway, 225 cattis and three quarters of mace, and 1307 cattis and a half of nutmegs, which mace (ſo bought) he marked with B. for diſtinction; the 4th, going on board to cure one of his eyes, which by the heat of the nutmegs, watching, &c. was very ſore, he left the houſe and goods in the care of Auguſtine Spalding. There arrived from the Moluccas, two ſmall Dutchmen. And now the wind every morning, blew hard eaſterly. The 9th, the Dutch admiral, Williamſon Varhoef, went on ſhore to Urtatan; the fleet ſhot 40 pieces of ordnance: his ſhip but five. He delivered a letter from Count Maurice, without a preſent, which, when the people demanded, anſwer was made, (as the author was told) that they had one on board: but it was not yet reſolved what it ſhould be. The 10th, the Sha bandar, at the common requeſt, ſent for the letter, which being in Portugueſe, he peruſed, and found it only an inſtrument, binding the prince and ſtate to ratify ſuch agreements as their admirals and councils ſhould make with other powers. It was written on paper, ſealed underneath, and left open for all.

They began to bring their nutmegs on board, on the 11th, being conſtrained thereto by the Dutch, whoſe intentions was to go on ſhore within a day or two, ſo that the Engliſh could neither ſelect the beſt, nor let them be long enough in ſweat. On the 12th, at night, after the firſt watch, the ſtates ſent four men to deſire the commanders company inſtantly on ſhore; but he excuſed going till next morning, and then went betimes. The Shah Bandar of Nera, coming to viſit him on his landing, after much talk he propoſed (as he had often done before) the formal ſurrender of Banda, to the uſe of the king of England, before the Dutch landed, or began their fort. They ſeemed to like the propoſal well, promiſing to conſider, and give an anſwer the ſame day; but did not perform.

On the 15th, the Dutch, with twenty boats landed 1200 men; the natives fled. On the 18th, the commander went on ſhore, and ſending for ſome Dutch of note, complained of many wrongs he had received ſince their arrival, and demanded redreſs; adding, that although the Engliſh were not ſtrong enough to right themſelves, yet their king would not ſuffer his ſubjects to be injured by their means, without obtaining effectual ſatisfaction: the Engliſh commander at the ſame time told them, that notwithſtanding their behaviour, he could not help acquainting them, that the natives intended to poiſon their water; and had for that reaſon, warned him not to drink of it. They thanked him, and having been with their admiral, requeſted the commander from him to have patience, with regard to the affair of rice, till he had conſulted on the matter. On the 20th, the commander went on ſhore to fetch the rice, in part of Daton Puti's debt to the company, but the Dutch had diſhoneſtly taken it, notwithſtanding the admiral promiſed that he ſhould have it.

Then

Iſland of Burro.

Iſle Bloy.

Amboyna.

Banda Road.

Factory at Puloway.

They invade Banda,

Then he thought to have ſupplied himſelf among the Javans: but they durſt not, although he offered more than the Dutch paid, alledging, that the Dutch had charged them not to ſell him any. At his return home, finding the perſon whom the admiral had formerly ſent to him, he deſired him to tell that commander, that he looked upon the taking of his rice, as a great wrong; and that if he were a gentleman, he would not ſuffer low people to abuſe him, as he walked among them. The perſon anſwered, that he was a weaver; on this the commander reproved him, being an Engliſhman in their ſervice. The commander took his praw, and went to Labatacca, where he found ſuch little buſineſs, that it appearing not worth while to keep there, he ſent his ſkiff to bring them and their goods away. He went to Cambay on the 22d, where the Dutch did the Engliſh much wrong, even in their own yard; when having ſeveral times complained without redreſs, the commander concluded that it was by order from the chief. On the 24th, the Dutch began their fort. Next day one of their pinnaces, which came from Puloway, could tell him no news of Brown there. On this he manned his ſkiff and went thither: but found little ſpice. However, the people deſired him to ſtay at Ayre Puti, promiſing to load his ſhip, and offered to make it death to any one who ſhould ſell one catti of ſpice to the Dutch. The commander ſhewing a diffidence, they having once before deceived him, they offered to enter into articles, and confirm them by oaths. Upon this he propoſed their bringing the goods on board, which they refuſed, fearing the Dutch. He then offered to ſend one Engliſhman in each praw, and to run the riſque if the Dutch took it. But they would not hazard their people. On the 6th, in the morning, having taken into his boat four ſuckles of mace, and many nutmegs, with three chiefs, in order to confer what to do. By the way, they declared, that if he would not deal with them, their ſpice ſhould rot upon the trees; and they would all die, before they would trade with the Dutch. "But (ſays the author) they are wicked and faithleſs Moors; neither know I what to do; for if I go to the Moluccas, I muſt loſe 2000 dollars owing here; and trade there is uncertain. On the other hand, ſtaying two months longer here, will prevent going to the Moluccas." However, at laſt he agreed with them. On the 29th, the chief being convened, after many proteſtations of ſincerity, they engaged by writing, to deal with him only, for all their ſpice at Puloway, and at Ayre Puti, and not to ſell or part with any to the Dutch. The Dutch offered 12000 dollars, to make peace with the inhabitants, and drive the Engliſh from thence, which they refuſed, and often earneſtly deſired the commander not to take it ill, that they permitted the Dutch to land and ſell their cloth, which they did upon a particular conſideration no way material to him. On the 4th of May, the commander went to Puloway, where he found the Dutch offered cloth at one third leſs than the Engliſh. He alſo met with 1000 cattis of nutmegs, and 200 cattis of mace, which they of Pulorin had ſold the Engliſh, without letting the Dutch have one catti of either. On the 8th, the Dutch there ſent to requeſt the conveyance of a letter and a ſick man on board their ſhips, which the commander promiſed: but his nutmegs being ready to load, Nakhada Goa, came from the chief to intreat him not to carry their man or letter; but ſtay alſo himſelf on ſhore, which he refuſed, and prepared to ſet forward; of which being informed, they ſent him word again by the ſame perſon, that if he went, they would ſeize whatſoever he left behind, and conſider the Engliſh as enemies; upon which he ſtopped. On the 9th, the people ſent, and deſired him to go on board in four days. As he was going to bed, there came a command that they ſhould not ſtir out of doors upon pain of death. Soon after, he heard that the Dutch were upon their knees to the people, on this, going out armed, he found them overcome with fear; and demanding the cauſe of coming on board ſo late? They anſwered, that one of them was ſhot in the leg, as he ſlept in their houſe, which cauſed them to ſeek the commander for help, and that they were intercepted by the way. He went home with them, and leaving three Engliſh with two of them in their houſe, brought two home with him. On the 10th, in the morning, he cauſed the goods of the Dutch (at their earneſt requeſt) to be brought to his houſe, at which the natives ſeemed offended. It was determined in council to kill the Dutch; but Nakhada Goa preſerved their lives. They were commanded by the natives not to ſtir out of doors, upon pain of death: their goods and money were regiſtered. The ſame evening, many praws filled with men, went from hence, and on the 12th, at night, one of them returned with news that they had ſlain the Dutch admiral and all his principal followers. Next day the commander had much trouble to keep the Dutch from being ſlain by thoſe of Campon Awrat, whoſe Shah Bandar had been ſlain by the Dutch. Two Dutch pinnaces arrived on the 14th, the iſlanders were in great hopes they would have landed; but the commander ordered his men to forbid them, and with much intreaty and danger, ſaved thoſe who were on ſhore, from being ſlain by the people of Campon Awrat, who came armed for that purpoſe. About noon he ſent away his ſkiff with letters from the Dutch on the iſland to thoſe on ſhip-board; and at night took great pains to preſerve the former, by keeping a careful watch. Next day the ſkiff returned with anſwers to the Dutch letters. On the 16th, the ſtates conſulted, and reſolved, that with the commander the Dutch ſhould be ſafe, but would not permit them to go on board their ſhips. He went on board, and brought more letters to the Dutch, and, at the harbour's mouth, was hailed by five Dutch ſhallops and other boats. On the 20th, in the evening, Simon Hoen, their vice-admiral, came on board the Hector, and gave the commander many thanks for the kindneſs ſhewed to the Dutch at Puloway. At his going away, ſeven guns were fired. —— On the 25th, he manned his praw, and went to Labatacca; where they deſired ſome perſons to buy their ſpice, which he promiſed them. The Dutch having pulled down his houſe, gave him, by way of ſatisfaction for it, about 150 dollars, beſides forty of the boards. When he was going to bed, Van Bergel, and Samuel King, came from the vice-admiral to let him know, that they had concluded to allow him a quiet trade at Labatacca, except at ſuch times as they ſhould come to ſurpriſe the ſame. They likewiſe deſired him not to take offence, if their boats ſearch his, to ſee if they aſſiſted their enemies. This he took very ill, and to prevent ſuch inconveniencies, propoſed to trade only at Puloway and Pulorin, provided they would pay him what debts Nera and Cumber owed him, amounting to 12 or 1300 dollars: they promiſed to give an anſwer the next day; and in the morning, Van Bergel brought him word, that he might trade at Labatacca. On the 31ſt, having gone there to forward buſineſs; about ſupper time, Van Bergel and Samuel King came on board. As they deſired to ſpeak with him in private, he went with them into his cabin; where, after many compliments, they delivered him a note from the vice-admiral, importing, that he would allow the Engliſh liberty to trade, but not to carry victuals and ammunition to the people, whom he held for enemies: alſo, that he required their boats ſhould paſs by his ſhips to be ſearched; that otherwiſe they ſhould be ſearched by force, and both ſhip and goods confiſcated. The commander anſwered, that he would follow his commerce; and that if the other injured him, it would fall heavy upon him: that he had ſome rice ſtill to diſpoſe of, and intended to ſell, if they did not obſtruct him. That for ammunition, he had in his ſhip not above twenty hand-guns, belonging to ſome poor men; the ſale of which he neither could, or would prevent, except they would

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1609 buy them, in which case they should have them at a reasonable price. That as to submitting to their search, he could not do it without becoming a traitor to his prince; and that he would hazard both life and fortune, rather than his integrity should be called in question at his return to England. On the 2d of June, he sent the vice-admiral and council, a few lines upon the same occasion, by Augustine Spalding, seeking an amicable agreement. Next day, he received a note from the Dutch, who insisted on continuing their search; and offered to buy the hand-guns, but would not permit the rice to be carried. To which he returned by the messenger, the following answer.

"The Vice-Admiral, M. Simon Johnson Hoen, &c. of the Dutch fleet, may please to know, that to the end to take away all cause of quarrel from them to us, and shew the world our honest cause, and their wilfulness: whereas they will not permit my rice to be carried to Puloway, I will likewise therein consent to them, upon condition that they will revoke their supposed search; and to the end, they shall have some security for the performance, I will pass my yet unfalsified word: or if that (through your incredulity) be not sufficient, mine oath unto your deputies, or yourselves, generally at pleasure, to the same effect. But if herein you will not (through desire of quarrel with the English) consent to my reasonable request, then be pleased to know, that I will send it at what price or hazard soever. Concerning our ammunition, I write nothing; your purpose of buying the same being prevention to your doubts, which I pray let be done speedily for your own satisfaction. Thus I commit you to the Almighty, who prosper your honest proceedings, as I wish to mine own. From aboard the Hector, in Banda, this 3d day of June, 1609. WILLIAM KEELING."

They sent him their last resolution at night (having called four councils thereupon) which was, that they held their determination for the search. On this, the commander considering their intentions, and that the least violence would cause a total breach; that, in such case, sixty-two men could have no chance against a thousand, or more, and that their ship and goods would be in great danger, or at least be hindered in loading spices, their fort commanding all, he therefore yielded, as by constraint, to the search. The 5th he went with the last of his rice to Puloway, the Dutch having sent on board, and searched, to their great vexation: notwithstanding which, the ship at Lantor beckoned, and called them on board; he refusing, they said they would fire; but they thought better of it. On the 14th, going to Labatacca, he bought some spice, and put off some cloth. On the twenty-fourth, he went to Cumber, whence he stowed eleven suckles of mace. He went to Lantor the next morning to recover some debts, which were denied him. The 26th, he sent his great boat for Puloway, and went himself to Labatacca, whence he stowed two suckles of mace: next day the boat returned, with spice from Puloway. The Javans began to confer with the Dutch. The 29th he went to Cumber, whence he stowed fourteen suckles of mace. The 1st of July he went thither again to account with the debtors. The 2d, the Dutch (with all the strength they could raise, leaving the ships and fort weakly manned) went and took Labatacca, where they killed sixteen or twenty persons, and burned the towns, bringing away pots and pans.—He sent to Cumber on the 4th, but one of his Guzarats advised him to go thither no more, because they suspected he held intelligence with the Dutch. The 16th, before day, the Dutch, with their whole power, went to get eastward, and then burned several boats, and returning to take Salomo, they were there at much strife about landing, not who should go foremost, but who should stay longest on board; by which, and other misconduct, they were repulsed with the loss of six men, besides many hurt, among whom, the governor, Mr. Jacob de Bitter, behaved bravely. Afterwards, Matthew Porter, with others, going on shore, one sent the commander word by him, that the Dutch designed to seize him, and advised him to look well to himself, and the ship: the reason they alledged for this was, that the two preceding nights, the English made signs (which were answered by the people from shore) of the Dutch preparation to land. The 17th, the Dutch sent Van Bergel and Samuel King on board the Hector, requesting to know when the commander intended to depart. As he was delayed at Puloway, he could not satisfy them: then offering to make good all his debts if he would be gone speedily, he refused, saying, that the company would not feel so small a loss; and that he could not answer such desertion at home, especially after having staid till his lading was ready. They had likewise some talk concerning the pretended signals above-mentioned; affirming that the English made them two nights together, that many depositions were taken on this; also, that one of his men, was in their fort the day before. Being asked, why they made signs to the country, he answered, that they had reason so to do, since the country was so much indebted to them, and the Dutch gave them all the obstruction they could. The commander, provoked at their behaviour, also defied them to prove what they had alledged, and bade them go on their own way. However, that he might take off all ground of suspicion, he offered to go to Laboan Java, where he could neither know any thing of their motions, nor make signs to prejudice them. On the 28th, in the afternoon, the Dutch sent many of their chiefs on board him, who, at first, demanded kindly, Whether he continued in his former determination of lading there? Having answered, that he did, they desired him to resolve to depart in friendship: he replied, that now spice was ready, he hoped to get away in twenty days. They delivered him a letter from their Vice Admiral and Council,* to which they subjoined the following remonstrance.

"On the 18th of April, the worshipful Admiral Peter Williamson Van Hoef, having anchored with his fleet, in the island of Banda, and there being informed by the merchants of the united East India company, that they were, by the inhabitants of Banda, daily straitened and molested; and also sometimes dispossessed of their cloths and merchandise, which they took at such rates as they pleased, paying for them when, and in what manner they thought proper; whereby they became indebted to the East India company, above 20,000 rials of eight, without intention to discharge the same. And farther, that the people had lived in a very doubtful situation, being daily in fear, lest they should work their destruction, as they did but a few ago, having murdered our merchants, and by force take others; and, according to their custom, made heathens of them.

"Therefore the admiral aforesaid, was moved by all friendly means, to build a castle or fortress, that the people and merchandise might rest in better security, both against the Portuguese, and all other enemies; which, by most of the chief Orancayas, was consented to, and on this have we proceeded to erect a for-

* "The commander, Mr. William Keeling, may please to know, that it hath been, by our deputies, offered to him, that if he thought good to transfer over to us, the debts remaining among the Bandaneses, and then with friendship withdraw from the road with his ships (which himself heretofore hath partly made mention of to some of us) we are resolved to deal with him in that behalf: and although this reasonable proposal is by us made to him, to avoid quarrel, yet hath the commander aforesaid refused to accept the same; notwithstanding, we have sufficient occasion to command him, with his said ships, to withdraw from this Road and our fleet, out of the reach of the fortress of Nassau. And that the commander may understand the reason which moved us to the same, we have at large remonstrated the same."

a fortreſs, which being about half finiſhed, the Admiral Van Hoen aboveſaid, procured a convention of the chief Orancayas, and council of the iſle of Banda, to meet him and others of the council, at Ratu, there to have entered into a friendly treaty and agreement with them, to which effect, the admiral nominated the fiſcal, or juſtice of the fleet, beſides others of good account, as hoſtages, to continue at Reyacca, that they might, with leſs fear or reſtraint, come to meet him.

"Accordingly, the admiral, with ſeveral of his council, and a company of ſoldiers, the 22d of May, 1609, came to Ratu, the appointed place of convention. Being there, a Bandaneſe approached him out of the wood, who told him, that the Orancayas, and other chiefs of the iſles, were near at hand in the woods, but were ſo fearful of the ſoldiers, that they durſt not come to him; and therefore prayed him and his council to come to them, which they accordingly did, leaving his ſoldiers at the place of rendezvous, and being entered amongſt them, found the woods crowded with armed blacks, Bandaneſe, and Orancayas, who inſtantly ſurrounded them, and without much conference, treacherouſly and villainouſly maſſacred them, giving each of our chiefs not leſs than 20 wounds. This ſtratagem having ſucceeded, they preſently aſſaulted the company of ſoldiers, intending to have ſerved them the ſame; but they partly in fear, and ſuſpecting ſome treachery, having kept upon their guard, encountered the enemy, who at length, betook themſelves to their beſt refuge, with the loſs of ſome of their chiefs, and ſo fled to Cayas, and there had murdered the fiſcal, or juſtice aforeſaid, with the reſt of the hoſtages, beſides divers of our people, who were walking into the woods to gather cocoa-nuts; inſomuch, that on this occaſion, above 40 of our people were murdered by the Bandaneſe, contrary to their oaths and promiſes; which action provoked us to take all poſſible revenge againſt thoſe treacherous and inhuman iſlanders, and urge us to proſecute the preſent bloody war."—They conclude thus:

"We, by virtue of our commiſſion and patent of his princely excellency, order the Engliſh commander to withdraw with his ſhip our of our road and fleet, and beyond the reach of the artillery of the fortreſs of Naſſau, within the ſpace of five days, after the date hereof: and inaſmuch as we have conquered by force of arms the iſland of Nera, we alſo claim and hold the roads belonging thereto, as the road of Labatacca, &c. to be under our command, and will not permit any (during our war with the Bandaneſe) to anchor there.

"Accordingly it is ordained, and abſolutely reſolved upon by the vice admiral, and the reſidue of the council, in the ſhip of Hollandia, in the road of Banda, the 28th of July, 1609.

"Simon Jahnſon Hoer, Jacob de Bither, Henry Van Bergel, John Corneliſon Wytt, William Jacobſon, Simon Martens, Ruſger Tomaſſen, Marlahen, 1609, William Vandervort, alias Secret."

The admiral briefly anſwered to their remonſtrance by word of mouth, That he could not juſtify his departing in ſuch a manner, his lading being then ready; and that unleſs he was otherwiſe commanded than by words, he would ride there till he was laden, which would be within 25 days at fartheſt. They alledged, That this their notification to him was ſufficient; to which he replied, That raſh men often threatened to do, what they durſt not for their lives perform. He fired five parting guns. The 19th he ſent his ſkiff for Puloway, to look out for a road there. Van Bergel coming on board to ſearch the boat, the commander deſired him to tell the vice-admiral, that he would leave a factory at Puloway in caſe of conſtraint, and that without conſtraint he would not depart from thence. The 20th, about one in the morning, the ſkiff returned from Puloway, without any account of the debts or inventory of goods, which was the principal cauſe of his writing. He (who was ſent on the meſſage) brought word only, that the people were willing to pay their debts if he could ſtay 15 or 20 days; and offered him their beſt road at Puloway. The Dutch after this came to ſome agreement with him for the time of his ſtay, and for the debts: to which he was invited by the monſoon, and the trade which he already had. The firſt of Auguſt, peace was proclaimed betwixt the Dutch and the iſlanders, which was a melancholy argument of the Puloway men's breaking with the Engliſh. The Dutch ſent the commander a letter of credit, for diſcharging the debts left at Banda, payable at Bantam, and that evening fired nò leſs than 150 guns for joy of the peace. Upon the governor's earneſt intreaty he went to ſee the Dutch fort; it was mounted with 30 pieces of ordnance, of which eight were very good braſs demi-cannons. The 14th, having ſent his boat to fetch away goods, there returned with it a ſervant of Nachada Guzarat, by whom he underſtood, that the Puloways were reſolved not to let him have any more ſpice, except ſome little to gloſs over their falacy to the Engliſh; therefore he ſent his boat for Brown, and fired five guns to warn his people on board: the iſlanders not perceiving that he was offended at their ill-dealings. After the ſecond ſummons, Brown came, but without Spalding, whom they would not part with till the commander went on ſhore; therefore he ſtood again to the eaſtward, near the town, and the king of Macaſſar came on board him, bringing Spalding, and the three Dutch on board. The 10th he weighed a half hundred by his ordinary Banda beam, and it weighed nine cattis and a half; which it appears that the catti weighs five pound fourteen ounces and a half, avoirdupois. He weighed alſo the ſingle catti, which made five pounds fourteen ounces and a half, avoirdupois. The 11th, they anchored near Macaſſar, upon Celebes, being very deſirous to go thither, in hopes, as he was informed, of getting cloves there in exchange for cloth. The 12th, having ſent his ſkiff armed, to enquire whereabouts they were, he found, that Macaſſar was yet half a day's ſail to the north, and that three months before, a Dutch ſhip was loſt in ſight of the town; upon which report, they gave over the deſign of going thither. The 21ſt they anchored before Jaccatra, where they found the Banda, and Enkhuiſen, two Dutch ſhips, which brought the Engliſh in the Hope and their goods from Amboyna, having arrived eight days before. The 26th, coming near the point of Bantam, they met a praw with Ralph Hearne, ſent by Mr. John Saris, who had ready 3481 bags of pepper. Having got betimes in the road, Saris came on board the Hector in a Dutch boat. On the 23d the commander having taken in 4900 bags of pepper, propoſed leaving a factory, which was conſented to. The 27th he appointed a factory at Bantam, aſſigning the factor Auguſtine Spalding 50l. ſterling a year; and the reſt per month as follows: Francis Kelly, ſurgeon, 45 ſhillings; John Parſons 30 ſhillings, Robert Neal, 29 ſhillings, Auguſtine Adwell, 24 ſhillings; Etheldred Lampre and William Driver 20 ſhillings each; William Wilſon, 22 ſhillings a month; William Lamwell and Philip Badnedg 16 ſhillings each; Franciſco Domingo 20 ſhillings; Juan Sevron, and Adrian, Mr. Towerſon's boy, 10 ſhillings each a month. He alſo hired ſix perſons to go with him to England. The ſecond of October the commander took his leave of the governor, and deſired his favour to the factor, which he promiſed with much ſhew of ſincerity.

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Engliſh factory at Bantam

Early on the 3d he went on board in order to put to ſea. The firſt of November, having in 24 days run about 250 leagues from Bantam, they were in 25 degrees ſouth latitude, the needle varying 24 degrees. The 29th they had all day a ſtrong gale of wind, which, towards night, proved a ſtorm at weſt ſouthweſt from the northward, and put them to try their main courſe, continuing all night, and the next day. On this occaſion (as often before) they found the obſervation really to be true. That is, generally when

1609 when any eaſterly wind comes about to the northward, if it happens to rain, preſently veering round to the weſt-ſouth-weſt, it there ſettles. They were in thirty-two degrees and a half ſouth, when the ſtorm took them, and had about thirty degrees variation and upwards. On the 8th of December, early in the morning, they fell in with Tierra de Natal, ſix leagues off to the weſt, where the variation was about eight degrees and a half. They were at noon in thirty-one degrees twenty-ſeven minutes latitude, ſtanding ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, wind at ſouth-weſt, under low ſails. They met a Dutchman, and underſtood by him, that the Eraſmus, (a ſhip of the fleet, which left Bantam at the commander's firſt arrival there, in the Dragon) being very leaky at ſea, and left by the reſt, ſteered for the iſland Mauritius; and there unlading, left the goods, with twenty-five perſons to guard the ſame, till they ſhould be ſent for; the reſt of her company being now in this ſhip. He ſaid at Mauritius, there were two havens, one called the north-weſt, lying in ſomewhat leſs than twenty degrees; the ſouth-eaſt, in twenty degrees fifteen minutes. That all kinds of refreſhments were there to be had, as fiſh, with a number of fowls; here were hogs alſo, and the place was very healthful. That the iſland was between thirty and forty leagues in circuit: and the variation there twenty-one degrees north-weſting.

On the 22d, they were in the latitude of thirty-five degrees, twenty-eight minutes, and within ſeven leagues to the ſouth-eaſt of Cape des Aguillas, which roſe like two iſles; but coming more athwart, it appeared like three iſlands; two bays to the north, making three perſpicuous points, low, and ſeeming round; they ſounded about ſeven in the evening, and had ſeventy-ſeven fathoms water, oozy ground, being ſouth of the ſhore, five leagues at moſt: they obſerved the ſun's ſetting, and found ſmall variation, having twenty-eight degrees and a half ſouth of the weſt Azimuth; their latitude being about thirty-five degrees twenty-ſix minutes. On the 23d, they ſteered all night weſt-by-north, and weſt-north-weſt, with a freſh eaſterly gale; and in the morning, ſailed in ſight of the land, which was high, about eight or ten leagues diſtant. About noon, they were near the Cape of Good Hope, having ran between it and Cape des Aguillas, in ſeventeen hours. They were within three leagues of the Sugar Loaf, and ſtood off and on all night. On the 28th, they received by the Dutch boat, ſix ſheep (the fatteſt the author ever ſaw) from the iſland; the tail of one of them, was twenty-eight inches broad, and weighed thirty-five pounds. The commander alſo bought of the Dutch, a main top-ſail, (which his ſhip was in great want of) they were very ready in other reſpects, to ſupply his wants. He took fat ſheep left in Penguin Iſland, and left lean ones in their room: he left a note alſo there of his arrival, and the ſtate of his company, as others had done before. On the 10th of January, in the morning, his ſhip was under ſail homeward. All the time he ſtaid there, the wind had been weſterly and ſoutherly: and the two former times, that he was there, at the ſame ſeaſon, it blew eaſterly and was very ſtormy. On the 20th, they paſſed the Tropic of Capricon, about noon. The Dutch came and ſupped with him, and he fired three parting guns. On the 30th, before day, they ſaw St. Helena, having ſteered ſixty-ſix leagues weſt in that latitude. They anchored on the north-weſt ſide, a mile from ſhore, north-weſt from the chapel, in twenty-two fathoms, ſandy ground. On the 16th of February, they ſaw the iſland of Aſcenſion, ſeven or eight leagues weſt-ſouth-weſt from them. On the 28th, in the morning, the wind being pretty fair, they ſteered with the Dutchmen. On the 10th of May, they had very fair weather, wind ſouth-weſt, latitude forty-nine degrees thirteen minutes. Next day, betimes in the morning, the wind came at ſouth, and blew a hard ſtorm, which put them into their fore courſe. At night, they ſpoke with a Lubecker, who told them, that Scilly bore eaſt-by-north from them, thirty-eight Dutch miles. They gave him notice of the diſtreſſed ſhip. On the 9th, in the morning, they had beachy land to the north-north-eaſt, three leagues diſtant; and about ſun-ſet anchored in the Downs.

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN DAVID MIDDLETON, TO BANTAM AND THE MOLUCCAS.

MR. David Middleton was Captain of the Conſent, one of the three ſhips belonging to Captain Keeling's fleet: but ſetting out firſt, and not meeting with the other two at the place of rendezvous, went on, and performed the voyage alone. The Conſent was a ſhip of 150 tons; and ſailed from the Hope, on the 12th of March, 1606.

On the 16th of July, 1607, they anchored in the bay of Saldanna, all their men in good health; only Peter Lambert, the day before, was killed by a fall from the top-maſt head. On the 21ſt, the captain and maſter went to Penguin iſland, three leagues diſtant from the road, where they ſaw an amazing quantity of ſeals and penguins. Here having bought ſome cattle, and refreſhed, about four in the morning, with very little wind, they left the road of Saldanna, their men being in very good health. They were loth to depart without the company of their admiral and vice-admiral: but not being certain of their arrival there, directed their courſe for St. Lawrence.

On the 27th of Auguſt, the wind being at north-weſt, they ſteered eaſt-by-ſouth, and at two o'clock, ſaw the land of St. Lawrence, or Madagaſcar, about ſix leagues off; then bearing north-by-weſt, at noon they obſerved the latitude to be twenty-four degrees forty minutes; and the variation at night, ſixteen degrees twenty-three minutes. On the 30th, at five in the afternoon, they anchored in the bay of St. Auguſtine, in ſix fathoms and a half, large gravel. They were forced to go to leeward, being to roomwards of the road, before they could get in, by reaſon of a great breach that lies off the bay; and then came in cloſe upon a track, having had ſeven, ſix and five fathoms all the way. On the 31ſt, the Captain, with Mr. Davis, went in their long boat to view the iſlands; and the author as they went, ſounded cloſe by the beach, and had ſix fathoms. One of the iſlands is very ſmall, like a bank of ſand; the other about a mile in length, and half in breadth. There is nothing upon either, but a little wood in the latter. On the 1ſt of September, they removed three leagues from their firſt place, within two miles of the mouth of the river, and rode in five fathoms and a half, very firm ground. It being very foul where they rode before, they broke one of their cables in weighing. On the 17th, having

having provided wood and water, in the morning about five they departed with a pleaſant gale, at eaſt-by-north. Coming out, they ſteered weſt and weſt-by-north, till they were clear of the breaches. They brought to ſea with them, four goats, three ſheep, and a young hiefer. They found there great plenty both of ſheep and beeves, for a ſmall value. This day, about three miles from the iſland, before the bay of St. Auguſtine, they obſerved the latitude twenty-three degrees forty-eight minutes. After they were clear of the breach, which lies to the northward of the iſle, they ſteered away ſouth-ſouth-weſt, and ſouth-by-weſt; ſometimes they had very fair weather, and a pleaſant gale at ſouth-eaſt-by-eaſt. On the 11th, having a freſh gale at ſouth-eaſt, and ſouth-by-eaſt, they ſtood towards the ſhore till midnight, and then ſaw a great breach, right-a-head, cloſe by them, but having the ſurf before they ſaw it, they tacked, and ſtood off again preſently. At noon, they found the latitude twenty-five degrees twenty-two minutes. On the 12th of November, in the morning, they ſaw an iſland, and bearing with the north-ſide, found it to be Ingana. It is about five leagues in length, lying eaſt-by-ſouth, and weſt-by-north. The eaſtern end is the higheſt land; and the weſtern full of trees: Its latitude is five degrees and a half, the variation four degrees, thirteen minutes. Having the wind at weſt-north-weſt, they proceeded without ſtopping, eaſt-by-ſouth, and eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, a pleaſant gale, but very much rain. On the 13th, in the morning, they had ſight of Sumatra, about four leagues diſtant. Saturday, the 14th, they anchored in Bantam road, about four in the afternoon; where they found the merchants in health, and all things in good order. Next day the captain went on ſhore, and ſpoke with Mr. Towerſon, concerning the ſhip's buſineſs, and agreed to have the iron and lead which they brought, carried on ſhore: after this, having refitted their ſhip, and taken in their goods and merchants, they ſet ſail for the Moluccas, where they arrived the beginning of January. The reſt of this month, and all the next was ſpent in mutual entertainments with the Spaniards, and Molucca princes. The reaſon was, the Spaniards durſt not permit them to trade, till the camp maſter had given leave; and he would not grant it, unleſs the Engliſh, in thoſe broils betwixt him and the Dutch, would do, or ſeem to do them ſome piece of ſervice, at leaſt, by accompanying their ſhips for greater ſhew: which the captain abſolutely refuſed to do, as being againſt his commiſſion. In the mean time, they carried on a private trade with the people by night; and in the day, made merry with the Spaniards. In the beginning of March, they were allowed an open trade: but within a few days this licence was countermanded again, and they were ordered to depart. Accordingly, March the 14th, they weighed anchor, and ſet ſail, trading a little by the way. On the 23d, having entered the Streights of Bengaya, where the captain propoſed to take in water, there came an Indian in a praw, haſtily from the iſland to the ſhip; who being aſked the queſtion, undertook to bring them to a watering place, on which they ſtood over for the eaſtern ſhore, and anchored about one in the afternoon, in ſixty fathoms water; where there runs a very ſtrong current. Here, while they were fitting out the boat with caſks; the Indian ſold ſome freſh fiſh for China diſhes very cheap. At night, their men brought water; but had a weariſome time of it, being five miles diſtant from the place where they rode. On the 24th, in the morning, they went again for more water, by day-break, the iſlanders of both ſexes came with above 100 praws, and brought plenty of very good fiſh, both dry and freſh; alſo both poultry and hogs, great and ſmall, which they ſold for coarſe white cloth and China diſhes, all very cheap: they brought alſo plantanes, caſſada roots, and many other fruits. In the afternoon, the king and the captain made each other preſents. Then the meſſenger, and all the reſt departed. About ten at night, in weighing anchor, they broke the flooks of both their ſtarboard anchors. Then ſailing away, with very little wind, at length they manned their long-boat, and towed the ſhip all night. On the 19th of April, the king ſent one of his brothers again, to know whether the captain was willing he ſhould come on board; being very deſirous to ſee both him and the ſhip; becauſe he had heard much of Engliſhmen, but never ſaw any. The captain ſent him word, that he ſhould think himſelf much honoured by his preſence. Soon after, the king came off in his caricol, rowed at leaſt by 100 oars, it carried ſix braſs guns; and had on board about 400 men with arms. He was attended by five caricols more, which had at leaſt 1000 men in them, the captain having ſent Francis Kelly the ſurgeon, as a pledge, which he demanded for his ſecurity, he came on board: where the captain courteouſly received, and treated him with a banquet of ſweetmeats. After which, he demanded what the king had to ſell, he replied, that he had pearl, tortoiſe-ſhells and cloth, made in the country, (as they ſuppoſed) of cotton ſtriped: but as he came into that part of the iſland only upon a party of pleaſure, and did not think to have met with any ſhip, he had brought none with him; yet that if the captain pleaſed to go to the town, which was about a day and a nights ſailing thence, he ſhould ſee great quantities of pearl, and any thing he had to ſell; adding, that becauſe the place was unknown to him, he would ſend a pilot to bring him thither. The captain and factors, upon conſidering the matter, thought beſt to accept of the kind offer, eſpecially as it was nothing out of the way to Bantam; and preſented him a muſquet and a ſword, with thanks for coming on board. The king made anſwer, that he had not any thing then about him, worth beſtowing on the captain, but that he would requite his kindneſs before his departure; and in the mean time, intreated him to accept of two pieces of cloth, which he received with many thanks: about three in the afternoon, the king took his leave of the captain, promiſing preſently to ſend him a pilot, who accordingly came on board; and at night, ſent a caricol to ſee if they wanted any thing, and to bear them company, with a boat for the captain. Then they ſtood away with a ſmall gale; but at night it was calm, and the tide againſt them: ſo they came to anchor in twenty-two fathoms water, and in the morning weighed again. On the 21ſt, about ten o'clock, the purſer, who had been ſent on ſhore the day before, returned on board with hens and cocoas, and told them, that the Indians had carried him to the king, who was very glad of his coming, becauſe he was the firſt Engliſhman he had ever ſeen. The purſer found him drinking and carouſing with his nobles, and the room hung about with heads of men whom he had ſlain in war. After ſome little ſtay, he took his leave and came to the caricol again, on board which he lay all that night. This night, the ſhip anchored in twenty fathoms water, the place not half a mile broad. On the 22d, in the morning, there being very little wind, ſhe was towed by her boat through the ſtreights, and as the tide was with her, ſhe made ſuch way, that about eleven, they came to anchor in twenty-five fathoms water, about one mile and a half from the town, where they waited the king's coming: but he came not that night. Here they ſent their boat on ſhore, and bought fiſh for their company. On the 23d, about one in the afternoon, the king came up under their ſtern, attended by forty caricols, and rowed round their ſhip, very gallantly ſet forth with their colours and pendants. After this, they rowed towards the town, and the captain complimented him with a volley of muſquets, and all his ordnance; then ordering his long boat to be manned, he well accompanied with Mr. Saddle their factor, and his followers, went to the town. The king likewiſe welcomed the captain with his great

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1609 great and ſmall ſhot, affirming that his heart was now at reſt, ſince he had ſeen the Engliſh, promiſing to do the Engliſh all the kindneſs that lay in his power; the captain having returned him thanks, for that time took his leave, and in the morning weighed, and anchored in about 27 fathoms water, half a mile from ſhore. The 24th in the morning there came on board a Javan who had a junk in the road, laden with cloves, from Amboyna; Mr. Middleton talked with him, and offered the captain his whole cargo.——The king invited the captain to take part of his dinner, entreating him to bear with the homely manner of his country: for their meat was ſerved up in great wooden platters cloſe covered with cloth. The king, the captain, and Mr. Siddal, dined together: there was plenty of victuals, their drink was very pleaſant, and the king was very merry. After dinner, they had ſome talk about the cloves they were to have had; and promiſing to come on board himſelf the next day, or ſend ſome one of his attendants, to ſee a muſter of all his cloth; then the captain expreſſing great thanks, took his leave. The 25th the king's uncle came on board to ſee their ſhip, and was kindly entertained. After him came the king's brother, and ſtaid to dinner with the captain, and then took his leave. The king himſelf came not as they expected, but ſent his ſon and the pilot, and had a view of the cloth, which they liked very well.

On the 26th the king and his ſon came on board, and dined with the captain, and had plenty of good cheer; the king was very merry, and deſirous to ſee a little dancing. On this ſome of the ſailors danced before him, and he was well pleaſed, both with their performance and the muſic. At night the king's uncle ſent the captain four fat hogs. The 27th, the king of an adjacent iſland came in his caraval, with his wife, and viewed their ſhip, but they could not intreat him to come on board. Their ſhip being fully laden with cloves, bought in this place of the Javans, the captain purchaſed ſome ſlaves of the king, one of whom, while they were buſy this night, ſtole out of the captain's cabin door, and leaping into the ſea ſwam aſhore. Next morning the captain ſent Auguſtine Spalding to acquaint the king with it, who preſently ſent him another. May the 2d, having given the town a ſalute for a farewel, they ſet ſail for their wiſhed-for port of Bantam. The 3d they had ſight of the ſtreights of Celebes. The 22d, they anchored in Bantam road, where they found not one European ſhip in the road: but there were four junks, which came from China, with taffatas, damaſks, and many other merchandiſes.

The 15th of July, 1608, the captain and merchants, having diſpatched their buſineſs, took their leaves, and ſet ſail homewards to their native country, where they arrived in ſafety after their long and tedious voyage.

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN ALEXANDER SHARPEY, IN 1601.

THERE were two large ſhips employed on this voyags. The Aſcenſion, admiral, commanded by Alexaneer Sharpey; and the Union, vice-admiral; Captain Richard Rowles, lieutenant-general. As theſe veſſels ſeparated near the Cape of Good Hope, and the Aſcenſion was caſt away in the bay of Cambaya, ſo they may be ſaid to have made different voyages; of which we meet with different relations.* On the 14th of March, weighing anchor at Woolwich, they came into the downs, over-againſt Deal, three miles from Sandwich, where they ſtaid till the 25th, and ſailed to Plymouth; leaving which on the 31ſt with a fair gale, they arrived at Salvages, about 500 leagues from thence, on the 10th of April; and next morning came in ſight of the Grand Canaries. Caſting anchor the 12th at night, they fired a gun, for a boat to come on board; but the Spaniards apprehending they were part of a ſquadron of 12 ſhips of Flemmings, who were reported to be coming that way, inſtead of ſending any perſon to them, ſent into the country for a body of 150 horſe and foot to defend the place; nor could they be perſuaded otherwiſe, till two of the factors went on ſhore, and acquainted the Spaniards they were Engliſh ſhips which had touched there only to take in ſome neceſſaries.—Next morning, (as the manner there is) they fired another gun, and then the governor of the town ſent a boat to know what they wanted, which having acquainted him with, the anſwer was, that unleſs they came into the road, it was not in his power to relieve them. But the factors being examined on oath, as to the truth of the matter, had a warrant granted them for a boat to go on board the ſhips at pleaſure, and ſupply their wants. What they moſt wondered at was, the behaviour of thoſe on board two ſhips in the road, known by their flags to be Engliſh, who had not the kindneſs to appriſe them of the cuſtoms of thoſe ſubtile covetous people, as the author calls the Spaniards. On this occaſion he further remarks, That if a ſhip lie out of the road, no perſon, though of the ſame nation it belongs to, ſhall go on board it, without the conſent of the governor and council.†

The 18th of April, about ſeven in the morning, they ſet ſail, with a fair gale, which in three hours falling, heaving to and fro till the 21ſt, and then a briſk wind ſpringing up, the 27th, about two in the morning, they anchored at Mayo, about 300 leagues from the Canaries.——They determined to take in freſh water at a place called Bonaviſta; but having anchored there, they found it two or three miles up in the land, and not clear; ſo that they took the leſs. But there were other good commodities. At their arrival, they were told by two negros that they might have as many goats as they would gratis; and accordingly they had about 200, for both ſhips. They told them alſo, that there were but 12 men in the iſland, and that there was great plenty of ſalt growing out of the ground, ſo that if they pleaſed they might lade both their ſhips. Our author ſays it was excellent white ſalt, and as clear as ever he ſaw any in England.

They came to Saldanna, with all their men in good health, except two, who were touched a little with the ſcurvy, but ſoon recovered on ſhore. The ſame

* There are extant two accounts of the voyage of the Aſcenſion; one written by Capt. Robert Coverte, and the other by Thomas Jones; beſides other ſupplemental accounts.

† During the five days the admiral continued there, ſome of them went on board every day, and ate and drank with the Engliſh after their own manner. The governor had alſo a preſent of two cheeſes, a gammon of bacon, and five or ſix barrels of pickled oiſters, which he accepted of very kindly; and in return, ſent them two or three goats and ſheep, with plenty of onions. There they took in freſh water, canary, marmalade of quinces, oranges, lemons, quinces, white bread, and other proviſions.

day they had ſight of the Cape of Good Hope, 15 or 16 leagues from thence. At Saldanna they refreſhed themſelves excellently well, and took in about 400 head of cattle, beſides fowls, with plenty of various fiſh, and freſh water.

At Penguin iſland, five or ſix leagues from land, is abundance of fowls of that name, and infinite numbers of ſeals; with theſe latter they filled their boat twice, and made train oil for lamps. They took hence alſo 20 fat ſheep, left there by the Dutch, for a pinnace which they met 200 leagues from the Cape of Good Hope, and left ſix bullocks in their ſtead. At firſt coming hither, they began to ſet up their pinnace, launching her the 5th of September, and in ſeven or eight days after, ſhe was rigged and ready to ſail.—— The inhabitants of Saldanna, are a very beaſtly people, eſpecially in their feeding; for our author had ſeen them eat the guts and garbage dung and all; nay, the ſeals which the Engliſh had caſt into the river, after lying there for fourteen days, they have taken up and eaten, although they were putrified and ſwarmed with maggots, as well as ſtunk moſt intoleably, the native brought down to the ſhore. Oſtriches eggs, and ſome empty ſhells, with a ſmall hole in one end; alſo feathers of the ſame bird, and porcupines quills, in exchange for their commodities. They chiefly deſire iron, eſteeming old pieces of it more than either gold or ſilver. On the 20th of September early they ſet ſail, and that night being very dark and windy, loſt the Union and their pinnace, called the Good Hope. About five in the evening the Union put out her enſign, to what intent they could not imagine, but all that night ſhe lay at hull.

They proceeded next day, and having met with various changes of winds and often calms, October the 27th came into 26 degrees, the height of St. Lawrence, holding on their courſe with the ſame ſort of weather. On the 22d of November in the morning, they diſcovered two or three ſmall iſlands; and in the afternoon another, called Comora, a very high land. The 24th, having ſent their boat on ſhore, they met with five or ſix men of that country, who ſold them plantains. The next day they ſent the boat again; but a little before ſhe got to the ſhore, ſpying a canoe, with two men in it fiſhing, they went between them and the ſhore: however, not caring to take them by force, they ſhewed them a knife or two, which allured them into the boat. They then brought them on board the ſhip, and uſed them very kindly, giving one a turban to put on his head, and to the other a little glaſs, of a quarter of a pint full of aqua-vitæ, after which they ſent them on ſhore. The 25th, by help of their pinnace, (the wind hitherto failing) which towed the ſhip between the two iſlands, adjoining to the ſhore, they came to anchor in the evening, in between 17 and 20 fathoms water. On the 26th they ſent their pinnace on ſhore with a preſent to the king, by Mr. Jordan, their factor, who went himſelf alone with it, leaving only a pledge or two in the boat. It conſiſted of a pair of knives, and a ſaſh with a looking-glaſs and comb; the whole in value about fifteen ſhillings. The king received theſe ſomewhat formally, and, ſcarcely looking on it, gave it to one of his noblemen. However, he told the bearer, that if the commander would come on ſhore, he ſhould have any thing the country afforded; and bowed towards him in a very courteous manner, at his taking leave. It is probable, that after Jordan came away, the king examined the preſent better: for in the afternoon he ſent the commander a very fat bullock; the meſſengers were gratified with a couple of penknives, with which they thought themſelves royally rewarded. Next day the commander went, attended with twelve others, and carried a ſmall banquet, ſuch as a box of marmalade, both ale and ſome wine. Of theſe they eat before the king, who touched nothing; but his nobles eat and drank.—— After the banquet, the commander had ſome diſcourſe with the king, by his interpreter, concerning their wants; by whom the Engliſh underſtood, that the iſlanders had ſome dealings with the Portugueſe, of whoſe language he could ſpeak a little.—— On the 28th the king had determined to go on board the Aſcenſion, but his interpreter told the commander that his council and common people would not ſuffer him. Towards night Captain Coverte went on ſhore where the ſailors were cutting wood, and returned with the boat. The 29th the author went on ſhore again, with the maſter, Mr. Tindall, Mr. Jordan, and all the trumpeters. They were very kindly received at the water-ſide, by the interpreter, who brought them to the king. "He was then near his palace, (Says the author) very courteouſly bowed himſelf. He had for his guard when he walked about, ſix or eight men, with knives of a foot long, as broad as hatchets, and very ſharp, who went next his perſon; ſeveral alſo went before, and many behind him, for his defence.—— "Thoſe people ſeemed to be civil, kind and honeſt to ſtrangers; for a ſailor having left his ſword behind him, one of the inhabitants found it, and brought it to the king, who perceiving it belonged to ſome of the ſtrangers, told him, that if it appeared he came by it otherwiſe than as he declared, he ſhould be put to death. Next day, at their going on ſhore, the king's interpreter brought the ſword, and told them what his majeſty ſaid upon the occaſion. They ſeemed likewiſe to have a good form of government amongſt them: for at their meeting in the morning, they ſhook hands, and ſpoke to one another, which the Engliſh took for friendly ſalutations. They appeared very modeſt and ſtrait, with large limbs, and of a very comely appearance, both men and women. They are Mohametans in religion, and go almoſt naked, only they wear turbans on their heads, and cover their privities with a piece of linen. The women wear a piece of linen before, that covers their breaſts, and reaches to the middle; from the middle, to a little before the knees, another piece goes round them; and about their waiſts ſedges are tied, like a rowl, which hang down, and become them very well. They all go bare-footed except the king, who wears a ſort of ſandals. For his apparel, he had on a white wrought net cap, a ſcarlet veſt, with ſleeves, but looſe about him, and open before; he had alſo a piece of linen round his middle, and another round his ſhoulders to his feet. When the Engliſh were at the town, they brought them cocoa-nuts, fowls and proviſions in plenty, except freſh water, which was procured out of the ſands, in this manner: They make a hole, and as faſt as the water ſprings, they lade it out into their cocoa-ſhells, and ſo drink it. They brought ſome to the Engliſh, but none of them would drink of it, it looked ſo thick and muddy.

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They left Comora on the 10th of December; about two or three in the morning, they ſaw on a ſudden a low land, about a league off, with high trees on the ſhore; had it not been for theſe they would have taken the land for the ſhadow of the moon, which then ſhone, and ſo might have been caſt away before they perceived the danger. This they took to be Zanjibar, till by one of the natives they were informed it was Pemba, on ſight of which, they preſently tacked about, and at day-break ſtood in again with the ſhore, along which they ſteered for a harbour to anchor in. Meanwhile they ſent a gang with the pinnace to ſeek a convenient watering-place. The pinnace having got to ſhore, two or three of the inhabitants demanded in Portugueſe, who they were? And being told, Engliſhmen, they aſked again what they had to do there, ſince the iſland belonged to the king of Portugal? and were anſwered that they knew not ſo much, nor came with any deſign but to get water. As night came on, the boat returned. Next day it went on ſhore to the ſame place: but finding no people returned. Soon after the ſhip came to an anchor, about five or ſix in the afternoon, near two or three broken iſlands, cloſe by Pemba, in the height of five degrees 20 minutes. The pinnace went on ſhore on the 12th to the ſame place with Mr. Jordan, where he talked with ſome that ſpoke Portugueſe, but ſeemed not to be the ſame with

1609 the former: for they ſaid the king was a nobleman. Mr. Jordan told them, that although the ſhip was Engliſh, yet he was a Portugueſe merchant, and the goods were Portugueſe. Then they ſaid he ſhould want for nothing, and on this ſent a Moor with them to look for a convenient watering place, who, after ſome little ſearch, brought them to a ſmall hole at the bottom of a hill, between it and a ditch. They then carried the Moors on board, and next day going to watering, ſet him on ſhore. The report of his kind uſage brought down another, who could ſpeak a little Portugueſe, and ſaid he was one of the king's gentlemen. He alſo went on board, and was well treated. At his landing next day, he promiſed to bring him hens, cocoa-nuts and oranges, which he performed. Captain Coverte, with the maſter, Mr. Revet and others, went on ſhore, where they dined, and after dinner came two cavaliers, and a Moor ſlave, to the watering-place, where the men were filling the caſks, and aſked, whether any of the chief perſons of the ſhip were there? Edward Churchman made anſwer, That the maſter, and one of the merchants were on ſhore, whom, if they pleaſed, he would bring to ſpeak with them. At their meeting, they ſaluted each other after the Portugueſe faſhion. After ſome diſcourſe, the Moors demanded who they were? And being told Engliſhmen, that they were welcome, and that all which the iſland afforded was at their command. The Engliſh returned hearty thanks, but ſoon found how little acknowledgment they deſerved. They demanded in their turn, who the others were?

It was anſwered, that one of them was the king's brother, who inſtantly ſhewed them a ſilver ring, on which were engraved the number of villages and houſes in the iſland, and ſaid he was governor of all theſe places. Then the Engliſh aſked them whether there were any Portugueſe in the iſland? They ſaid, No; for that they had baniſhed them, becauſe they would have relief by force, and would make ſlaves of the people, which not being able to endure, they had continual war with them from the time of their firſt coming thither. In the mean time, the pinnace came to them, which had been at another place of the iſland for cattle, according to appointment, but was put off, till they could find an opportunity to execute their intended treachery. Thoſe in the pinnace told the reſt, that they had heard, at the place where they had been, that 15 ſail of Dutch had taken Mozambique, and put all the Portugueſe to the ſword. At this news (which came from Zanjibar) the cavaliers ſeemed to rejoice; which was another ſubtile train to bring them into the ſnare. When night drew on, they deſired the Moors to go on board, which they then declined, but promiſed they would the next day. Accordingly, December 17, the king's brother came with the two others, having had Thomas Cave, Gabriel Brooke, and Lawrence Pigot, their ſurgeon, for pledges. They were entertained very handſomely. Next morning the commander gave the chief two goats, with a cartridge of gun-powder, and ſome other trifles to the other two. Meſſrs. Revet, Jordan, Glaſſcock, and the author went on ſhore with them for the pledges; and at their landing with three or four more, ventured up to the houſes, where they found their pledges guarded by 50 or 60 men, armed with bows and arrows, ſwords and bucklers, darts and cutlaſſes; yet they were delivered to them; after which they immediately departed, accompanied with the king's brother, moſt of the Moors following them to the pinnace's ſide; and having viewed her, returned to the reſt. The Engliſh inſtantly entered the boat; and at their invitation, the king's brother went readily with them, where he was entertained with as much kindneſs as before. Towards night the maſter offered him a knife, with ſome other trifles, which he ſcornfully refuſed, and preſently went on ſhore in their boat, which gave them ſome ſuſpicion. On the 19th the long-boat went on ſhore very early in the morning for water; and having filled the caſks they ſaw the ſhip with her ſails out, being let down to dry: but the Moors imagining they were going away, the companion to the king's brother came to the boatſwain, and aſked the queſtion. The boatſwain, as well as he could, both by ſigns and otherwiſe, let him know, it was only to dry the ſails. While they ſtood talking, they perceived the pinnace coming, being then very well armed, and left off making any farther enquiry. Had not the pinnace appeared, it was believed they then intended to have cut off their men, and taken their boat; for two of them lay concealed about the watering-place, ready to have made the onſet, if the watch-word had been given. The pinnace being come on ſhore, and the men ſtanding upon their guard upon the ſands, the maſter ſent Nicholas White to tell thoſe of the iſland, that their merchants were landed. White paſſing by one of their houſes, perceived it to be full of people, and amongſt the reſt ſix Portugueſe. Preſently after, the companion of the king's brother came, and told Mr. Revet, that the merchants of the iſland were weary, and therefore deſired the Engliſh to go up to them, to ſee the cattle.——White only ſaw one bullock. But Mr. Revet deſired to be excuſed, and preſſed him to ſend down the bullock, ſaying, there were goods enough in the boat to pay for it. With this anſwer he was ſent away. The king's brother being then on the ſands, commanded a negro to gather cocoa-nuts to be ſent to the commander, and made choice of Edward Churchman to fetch them; whom they never ſaw nor heard of after. When they found none of the Engliſh would land, but ſtood upon their guard, they gave the watch-word; and ſounding a horn, preſently ſet upon their men at the watering-place, and killed John Harrington, the boatſwain's man, and much wounded Robert Buckler, whom they would have killed, but that being fired on by the ſhip, they retired. Buckler, though weak and faint, at length got up to the reſt, likewiſe two or three more of the men, by creeping and lying cloſe in the ditch, till they ſaw the boat, got alſo ſafe on board. The 20th in the morning, going on ſhore, with the pinnace and long-boat, very well armed, to fetch in their david, (which is a piece of wood or timber wherewith they haul up the anchor) a little beyond it, found Harrington's body naked, which they buried in a neighbouring iſland. At their coming to this iſland ſome of the natives made ſigns to them to beware of their throats, which they took no notice of at that time. The ſame day being the 12th, they ſet ſail, and about twelve at night, the ſhip was on the ſhoals of Melinda, or Pemba, which they were not appriſed of, but got off again. Next morning they purſued and took three ſmall boats, ſlightly built, called Pangayas, before another ſent from land could reach them. There were above 40 perſons on board the three, ſix of the chief of whom were judged to be Portugueſe, and the reſt known to be Moors. Theſe were pale and white, much differing from the colour of the Moors. Yet being aſked if they were Moors, they replied in the affirmative, and ſhewed their backs all written with characters. When the Engliſh inſiſted that they were Portugueſe, their anſwer was, That the Portugueſe were not circumciſed. As they could not ſtill be perſuaded to the contrary, ſome of the mariners ſpoke to them about the late treachery and murder of their men. This ſeeming to terrify them, they talked together in their own language, which made the Engliſh ſuſpect, they intended to make ſome deſperate attempt: for this reaſon the Engliſh looked carefully to the ſwords, which lying naked in the maſter's cabin, they alſo had their eyes upon them, they likewiſe took notice where Captain Coverte, and Mr. Glaſſcock had ſet their ſwords, ſtill expecting when the place ſhould be clear. This Captain Coverte perceiving, kept good watch; and being alone on the poop, they beckoned to him three or four times to come to them upon the ſpare deck, which he refuſed, for fear they ſhould have taken that opportunity to ſeize theſe weapons. The maſter, Philip de Grove, ſoon after coming upon the deck,

asked for their pilot, whom he took down into his cabin, and shewed his plat, which the pilot very earnestly viewed: but at his parting from the rest to go with the master, he spoke in the Moorish language, warning them (as the English thought) to be upon their guard, and make the assault as soon as he gave the watch-word. As it was supposed that the pilot had a knife about him, he was searched for it, but he nimbly conveyed it from one side to the other, and with it suddenly stabbed the master in the belly, and then cried out, which (possibly was the signal: for they immediadely began the onset on the deck, where the commander, Messrs. Glasscock, Tindal, and one or two more who happened to be there with them, had the good fortune to kill four or five of the Moors, and made such havock among the rest, that at length they had slain almost forty of them, and brought the rest in subjection; five or six of them however recovered a pangaya, by their exceeding swiftness, and escaped to shore; they swimming to windward faster than the pinnace could row after them. Glasscock, Tindal, and the master, were the only Englishmen hurt. The first had two wounds, of which one was deep in his back: Tindal having had nothing in his hand to defend himself, they aimed at his breast, but turning about, he received the stab in his arm; however they all recovered. On the 19th of January, they saw many islands, which the Portuguese called Almaisant, being nine in number. Next morning they sent their pinnace to one of them, to seek fresh water: but though they found none, they met with many land-turtles, and brought six on board. Then they sailed to another island, where they rode in twelve or thirteen fathoms water, and a tolerable good harbour, where they found refreshments.

On the 1st of February, they set sail with a fair wind till the 9th, when they passed the line: and on the 15th, betimes in the morning, came within sight of the coast of Melinda; next day, they came to an anchor, about nine in the morning in twelve fathoms water: and about two leagues from shore, they soon sent their pinnace to seek some refreshments, but they could by no means land: nor would the people of the country (being fearful) come within speech of them; therefore in the afternoon, the ship departed. On the 21st, betimes, they descried an island in the heighth of twelve degrees seventeen minutes, with four rocks or hillocks about three leagues off it. They had bore up a whole day and night to get to this island; but finding it barren and unpeopled, by sending their skiff on shore, they passed it, and the same day had sight of three islands more, about sun-set, standing in the heighth of twelve degrees twenty-nine minutes. Two were within a league asunder, and the third they found to be Socotra, which standing in twelve degrees twenty-four minutes. Here they arrived the 29th of March, 1609, and anchored in a fine bay the 30th, about ten in the morning. The islanders having on sight of them, made a fire; they sent their skiff on shore, but the people fled in great fear; having (possibly) been formerly some way injured by some who had passed that way. The men finding no likelihood of relief there, returned on board, and about five in the afternoon, the ship departed to find out the chief harbour. The next day, standing off to sea; the met with a Guzarat ship laden with cotton, calico, &c. bound for Aden. Hither they kept her company; because then it was a place of great trade. Arriving there on the 10th of April, those of the Guzarat ship who landed, told the governor, that an English ship was come to trade there. He sent his admiral to them, and the commander unadvisedly went on shore, where he and his attendants were received, four great horses waiting, and were carried before the governor with as much pomp as the town could afford. But the governor finding him to be a plain and simple man, put him in a house with a chiarus, or keeper, and many Janissaries or soldiers, to guard him; and kept him prisoner for six weeks. After this, the governor caused him to send on board for iron, tin, and cloth, to the value of 2500 dollars, promising to buy it; but when he had the goods on shore, he seized them for custom of the ship only. When he saw that he had got as much as he could, he sent the commander on board the 27th of May, and kept two of the merchants for 2000 dollars, which he said was for anchorage; but the whole company declaring against the payment, he sent the merchants up into the country, eight days journey, to a place called Sanaa, where the basha then lay. On the 28th, they were joined by the pinnace, whose master, John Lustkin, being dead; upon inquiry, the company told them, that he was knocked on the head with a mallet by Thomas Clark, with the consent of Francis Driver his mate, Andrew Evans, and Edward Hilles. These being asked upon what occasion they committed the murder, could assign no cause, except that they wanted a small quantity of Aqua Vitæ and Rosa Solis, which he was careful to preserve for the rest of the company, in case of necessity. On the 31st, a jury being called, the murderers were convicted, and Francis Driver and Thomas Clark were hanged in the pinnace. * 1609.

On the 3d of June, they weighed and sailed into the Red Sea, through the Streights of Mecca, which are about one league over, and about three in length, having eighteen fathoms water close to the island. Within the streights there lies a great shoal, some two leagues off shore, which ships must sail wide off. From thence there are about six leagues to Mecca, where is a good road and safe ground for vessels to ride in fourteen fathoms water. The port is never without shipping, it being a town of great trade, and frequented by caravans from Sanaa, Mecca, Grand Cario, and Alexandria. There is a great want of tin, iron, lead, cloth, sword blades, and all English commodities. It had a great bazar, or market, every day in the week. There is great plenty of fruit; as apricots, quinces, dates, grapes, peaches, lemons, and plantanes, which the author much wondered at, as the inhabitants told them they had no rain for seven years before, and yet there was very good corn at eighteen pence per bushel; besides plenty of cattle and fish. The town was governed by the Turks, and if an Arabian offended, he was severely punished, there being galleys for that purpose. They departed on the 18th of July, and passed the Streights, where they left two anchors; and from thence sailing to Socotra about the 5th of August, cast anchor over against the town of Siab, where the king resides. There one of the merchants went on shore, and gave him a present, desiring leave to buy water, goats, and other provisions, which he did not grant, because the women of the country were much afraid: but told him, if the English would go to a road five leagues off, they should have any thing the country afforded. Accordingly they went, and there bought goats, water, dragon's blood, Socotrine aloes, and other commodities

On the 18th, they set sail from Siab, with an anchor and a half, for Cambaya; and on the 28th, came to Moa, where one of the natives told them, that for twenty dollars, they might have a pilot to bring them to the bar of Surat; but this was refused. On the 29th, they set forward, thinking to hit the channel leading to the bar, but they came out of ten fathoms, first into seven, then afterwards into six and a half; then tacked about westward, and came into fifteen fathoms, the next tack brought them into five. Then some of the company asked, Whither the master would go? he answered, Let her go over the heighth and presently the ship struck: Captain Coverte immediatly went up and told him of it. Upon which turning about, he asked, Who durst say she struck? he

* The author observes that Edward Hilles was eaten by canibals at Madagascar, and the other died rotting where he lay.

1600 He had ſcarcely ſpoken, when ſhe ſtruck again, and with ſuch force, that the rudder broke off, which was loſt. Then they came to an anchor, and rode there two days; after which their ſkiff ſplit in pieces, ſo that they had only their long-boat to help themſelves with. However, they made ſuch ſhift, that they got the pieces of the former into the ſhip, and the carpenter fitting her up as well as he could, brought 16 men on ſhore. About ſix in the evening, on the 2d of September, the ſhip ſtruck, and began to founder: ſhe had preſently 26 inches water in the well. Then they plied the pump from ſeven to eleven, after which the water increaſed ſo faſt, that being no longer able to continue on board, they took to their boats. They left the ſhip without taking either meat or drink with them.* Between twelve and one in the morning they put off for the ſhore, which was at leaſt 20 leagues to the eaſtward. They ſailed all that night, and the next day without any ſuſtenance at all, till five or ſix in the evening, when they made a little iſland over the bar.

Our author ſays, "But juſt then a ſquall of wind taking them, broke the midſhip-thought of their long-boat, wherein were 55 perſons; yet they recovered their maſt, and the guſt ceaſing, went over the bar, and got into the river of Gandevee."

* The country people ſeeing ſo many men in two boats, they beat their drums, and ran to their arms, taking them for Portugueſe coming to attack ſome of their towns. This the Engliſh perceiving, and having, by chance, a Guzarat on board, they ſent him on ſhore to undeceive the inhabitants. As ſoon as they knew who they were, they directed them to the city of Gandeve, where a great man was governor, who, at their coming thither, ſeemed to be ſorry for their misfortunes, and gave them a very kind reception."—

Jones's Relation. Here Captain Coverte ends his account, we have extracted from the relation of Thomas Jones, beginning where the other ends his relation.—Being at Gandeve, they heard that their pinnace came into the ſame river before them, and was carried away by the Portugueſe, but that all the men had forſaken her, and were gone to Surat by land. The governor of this town was a Bannian.—The 7th they left Gandeve, to travel for Surat, about 40 miles diſtant, and the 19th came thither, where they were met by William Finch, who kept the factory; but Captain Hawkins, was gone to Agra, about 30 days journey diſtant, where the king reſided. The commander, and part of the reſt, having ſtaid till the end of September at Surat, then ſet out likewiſe for Agra, in order to return home by land, through Perſia: but the author not liking that courſe, ſtaid behind. While he debated with himſelf what method to take, he became acquainted with a Portugueſe Padre, of the order of St. Paul, juſt come from Cambaya, who propoſed to get him conveyed to England, or at leaſt to Portugal, which he punctually performed. Jones, Richard Mellis, John Elmor, and Robert Fox, departed from Surat the 7th of October, along with the Padre, and came to the ſtrong town and fortreſs of Daman, where once again, they ſaw the pinnace, called the Good Hope. From Daman they went to Chaul, and from thence to Goa, where they arrived the 18th of November. The 9thof January they embarked on board a carack, called Our Lady of Pity, being the admiral of a fleet of four ſail, upon the coaſt of India, and the 21ſt of March fell in with the land, in 33 deg. and an half, about five leagues to the eaſt of Cape Des Aguillas. Here they lay with contrary winds, till the 2d of Arpil, and then were encountered with a great ſtorm, at weſt ſouth-weſt, which blew ſo furiouſly, that they were forced to bear up ſix hours before the ſea, after which it ceaſed. The 4th of April they fell in with the land again, in 34 degrees, 40 minutes, and then lay driving backwards and forforwards with contrary winds in ſight of ſhore; ſo that they were twice within three or four leagues of the Cape of Good Hope, yet could not get about it till the 19th day of April, and then they doubled it, to their great comfort; for they were in great deſpair before, fearing they ſhould be forced to winter at Mozambique, which is a common thing among the Portugueſe. The 27th they paſſed the tropic of Capricorn, and the 9th of May they came to anchor at the iſland of St. Helena, which iſland ſtands in 15 degrees ſouth. Here they ſtaid till the 15th, watering, and then departing, paſſed the Line on the 2d of June. The 26th they were under the tropic of Cancer, with the wind at north-eaſt, which the Portugueſe call the General Wind; and the 16th of July ſuppoſed they paſſed by the weſterly iſlands (or Azores) the pilot not having ſeen any land ſince they left St. Helena. At length, they made the land of Portugal, being not above two leagues off the Rock of Liſbon, and the ſame day came to anchor in the road of Caſcaes. That day Jones went on ſhore in a boat, and ſo eſcaped the hands of the Portugueſe. He ſtaid in Liſbon ſecretly till the 13th, and then embarked in a ſhip bound for London, one Steed, maſter, which immediately ſetting ſail from the Bay of Wayers, they eſcaped; for the Portugueſe having had notice of their departure, ſent out a boat well manned, with a deſign to have taken the ſhip, and ſo carry them on ſhore: they got ſafe home the 17th of September, 1610, after an abſence of two years and ſix months from their native country.—

Arthor's account. In the mean time the Union, after being ſeparated from the Aſcenſion, in doubling the Cape of Good Hope, ſprang her main-maſt, and in the midſt of the ſtorm they were forced to fiſh it again. By this accident it ſeems they loſt the company of the admiral, and being at length out of hopes of meeting with either the ſhip or pinnace thereabouts, conſidering that the ſtorm continued, they ſhaped their courſe for the bay of St. Auguſtine, in Madagaſcar, in hopes of finding them there. In this, however, they were diſappointed. Therefore, after 20 days ſtay, in which time they refreſhed themſelves well, they ſet ſail for Zanjibar, in expectation of meeting their commander at that place. As ſoon as they arrived, they went on ſhore, and were kindly entertained; but at their next landing, ſeveral men broke out of ambuſh upon them, and killed the purſer, Richard Kenu, and one mariner, and took Richard Wickham, one of the merchants, priſoner: by great chance, however, the reſt got off the boat, and got on board. They put to ſea in the month of February, with the wind at north-eaſt and northerly, which was directly againſt them, as they deſigned to go for Socotra. Now having ſpent much time at ſea, without making any way, (and moſt of the men troubled very much with the ſcurvy) the captain went for the north part of St. Lawrence. His intentions was to put into the bay of Antongille, but they fell in with the weſt ſide of the iſland, where they entered an exceeding large bay, called by the natives Conquamorra, found the adjacent country fruitful and pleaſant. Here they propoſed to recover their men, and ſpend the unprofitable monſoon. They ſoon grew acquainted with the inhabitants, who at firſt appeared very friendly, and made them very kind profeſſions: on this the merchants often went on ſhore, and viſited the king, who was no leſs complaiſant. At length, Captain Rowles, accompanied with Mr. Richard, Reve, chief merchant, Jeffery Carlel, and three others, thought fit to go to the palace. Samuel Bradſhaw had often been

* About 10,000l pounds of merchandiſe lying between the main-maſt and the ſteerage, the commander bid the company take what they would. The author thinks they took among them 3000l. ſome having one hundred, ſome fifty, others forty pounds, ſome more, and ſome leſs.

† The people of this ſect are Pythogoreans, and honour the cow; they alſo obſerve the ancient cuſtom of burning the dead.

employed about buſineſs to the king: but at this time the captain having ſome other occaſion for him, he ſtaid on board, which proved happy for him; for as ſoon as they landed, they were betrayed to the inhabitants. By good fortune, the boats eſcaped: but they had ſcarcely got on board, when they ſaw a fleet of praws and large boats coming out of the river, rowing towards the ſhip. They made a very bold attack, coming up in the face of the ordnance, ſo that the Engliſh believed they would have taken them. The fight continued at leaſt two hours very deſperately; but the cannon being diligently plied by the gunner and his mates: at length half a dozen of their boats ſunk, which obliged the reſt to retire with ſpeed. They ſtaid in the bay 14 days after this, in hopes to recover their men again; but inſtead of that they loſt ſeven more, through a ſudden diſeaſe which happened to thoſe who worked ſo hard at the guns in the time of the action, and within two days they were all thrown over board. Theſe misfortunes coming together, they reſolved to make haſte away, and water ſomewhere elſe; but before they could depart, the enemy made another attempt, with ſtill greater numbers of boats, many of them very large, and crowded with men to a ſurpriſing degree. However, they liked the firſt entertainment ſo ill, that not caring to come near them a ſecond time, they returned on ſhore. The Engliſh perceiving their malice, and fearing ſome miſchief in the night, ſtood in for ſhore (where the Moors were) and gave them a whole broadſide for a farewel, the bullets entering among the thickeſt of them, and made ſuch lanes that they ſoon forſook their places, and got out of ſight as faſt as they could. They now put to ſea, and directed their courſe for Socotra; but for want of hulling-in betimes, the wind took them ſhort, ſo that they could not fetch it, but fell more to the eaſt, upon the coaſt of Arabia. This was about the fourth of June, and the winter monſoon being come, they durſt not attempt to go for Cambaya; neither could they find any good place in that road to harbour in, during the winter. Therefore, after hovering in ſight of the coaſt four days, not without danger of running on ſhore, they reſolved on ſome courſe for making their voyage. Upon this Griffin Maurice, the maſter, conſulting with the principal and moſt experienced men in the ſhip, they ſoon concluded to go for Achin, in hopes there to meet with ſome Guzarats, to barter their Engliſh commodities with. Therefore directing their courſe for that place, they arrived there the the 27th of July, and in ſeven days after had admittance to the king, to whom they gave a preſent. 1609
When Mr. Bradſhaw had been at court, and dealt a little with the merchants of Achin, he fell to trade with the Guzarats, giving them Engliſh cloth and lead in exchange for baſta's, black and white; which is the cloth they ſell in thoſe parts. After they had been here ſome ſmall time, they ſailed for Priaman, where they had a quick trade, which made ſome amends for the croſſes they met with before. They ſtaid and took in pepper, and at length laded their ſhip, which might have been done long before, if they had not been in diſputing among the company; for the ſailors would do as they pleaſed themſelves: but Mr. Bradſhaw uſed them with ſuch fair words, that at length they got what they came for. Here the maſter died. All buſineſs being ended, Mr. Bradſhaw ſent one Humphry Biddulph and Silveſter Smith, to Bantam, in a Chineſe junk, with ſome remainder of goods, which they could not ſell at Priaman nor Teku; and ſoon after Mr. Bradſhaw ſet ſail for England, in the Union, in the month of February.

By two letters, the one written by Bernard Cooper to his brother Hide, a merchant in London, (including one received from Bagget an Iriſhman) and the other by William Wilton, who appears to have been the maſter of a veſſel; it appears that the Union arrived in a miſerable condition off the coaſt of France, where the people of Odmen ſent off two boats to her. The crews found that ſhe was richly laden with pepper, and other India goods, but had only four men on board, (one of whom was an Indian) and three dead. The ſurvivors were ſcarcely able to ſpeak, but the boats brought the veſſel into the road of Odmen, from whence the advice was ſent to Marlaiſe, and forwarded by Hide to England. The letter-writer reſolved to viſit the ſhip in perſon with one George Robbins, but complained much of taking a journey at that time, and deſired a ſupply of money. However, he went as the other letter of Mr. Wilton relates: and it appears that there were ſaved from the plunder of the natives of Bretagne, about 200 tons of pepper, ſome benjamin, and ſome Chineſe ſilks, which they bought at Teku, in Sumatra, out of a ſhip of China; and on their return had met with Sir Henry Middleton, to whom they delivered ſome cheſts of ſilver.*

After the pepper and other goods were unloaded and dried, the veſſel being examined was found unfit for ſervice, therefore the guns, anchors, &c. were taken out, and the ſurvivors thus put an end to their unfortunate voyage.

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN DAVID MIDDLETON, TO JAVA AND BANDA.

ON the 24th of April, 1609, Captain Middleton ſet ſail from the Tower, in the expedition, of London, and got ſight of Forteventura on the 13th of May. By the 10th of Auguſt, he had reached Saldanna, (or Saldania) and as ſoon as he had watered, immediately ſailed for Bantam.

Arriving there on the 7th of December, the captain was as expeditious as poſſible in getting the iron he had with him on ſhore. He then left Mr. Henſworth in the factory, and in the evening ſet ſail for the Moluccas.

He came before the town of Boton on the 8th of January; but hearing that the king was gone to war, and that there were but few people in the place, he would not anchor, but the ſame day went through the ſtreights. On the 9th, however they fell in with the Boton fleet. The king came on board them, and many civilities paſſed between them; but the prince informed him that a loſs by fire had diſabled him from furniſhing the Engliſh with ſpices, a vaſt quantity of which in ſtore were deſtroyed by that accident.

He took his leave in ſorrow, and the captain ſteered for the iſland of Bangaya. There he found that the people were fled for fear of ſome enemies; but who thoſe enemies were, he could not learn with certainty; for he ſuppoſed they retired from the Dutch, but a Dutchman told him they were in fear of the king of Macaſſar. The man who told him this, lived in great

* It is mentioned that ten Engliſhmen and four natives of Guzarat were taken out of the ſhip by a boat of Briſtol, and a Scotch veſſel.

1610 ſtate had a great number of women, and received the duties of the king of Ternate. He was a pleaſant companion and ſeemed to affect the manners of the natives and would not be commanded by any other Dutchman. The Engliſh met with good refreſhment here, and were in better health than when they departed from England.

Having ſheathed the long-boat to preſerve its bottom from worms, they ſet ſail on the 9th of January; but contrary winds occaſioned them to alter their intended courſe for the Moluccas, and ſtand for Banda.

They had ſight of theſe iſlands on the 5th of February, and uſed all their endeavours to reach them before night. Coming near, the Captain ſent his ſkiff to get intelligence of ſome of the natives, who ſent him word, that the Dutch would not ſuffer any ſhip to enter the road: that they would take all he brought (if ſuch things as they ſtood in need of) and make payment at their own pleaſure. That if any junk came with commodities ſaleable in the country, they were not permitted to ſpeak to the people; but were carried to the back-ſide of the caſtle, within muſquet ſhot, ſo that not a man could ſet his foot on ſhore, but a bullet was ſent after him; and that they had fifteen great junks which were detained in that manner: yet he ſtood into the road with a flag and enſign, and at each yard-arm a pendant, making a very good figure. The governor of the caſtle thinking it had been a Dutch ſhip, ſent out a pinnace of thirty tons towards the Expedition, but coming near, ſtood into the road before her; ſo that after they had hailed the captain, he could have no farther ſpeech with him. As ſoon as he was athwart of Lantor, he ſaluted the town, and anchored within ſhot of their ſhips. Soon after there came a Dutch boat on board from the governor, requiring Middleton to enter the road, and then to land, and ſhew him his commiſſion. The captain anſwered, that he was but newly come, and would neither ſhew his commiſſion, nor impart his buſineſs to the governor or any man. They farther aſked, Whether he was a merchant, or a man of war? He replied, that he would pay for what he took. Then they threatened him; but he told them that he would ride there, let them do their worſt, and hoped he could defend himſelf, and they returned in a great rage to the caſtle. The Dutch were no ſooner gone, than a crowd of people of Lantor, came on board, and bade him welcome. From them he underſtood the whole affairs of the country, which would have been willing to deal with him, if he could have procured leave of the Dutch, for they were then friends: but Puloway and Pulotronu, were at war with them. The captain knowing that there was good fiſhing in troubled water, took the opportunity to talk privately with a native of Puloway, who happened to be among them: this perſon he engaged for a little money, to acquaint thoſe of the iſland, that he would give them either ſilver or commodities for all their ſpice: that the Dutch and he were likely to be enemies; and that they need not fear but that he would get their ſpice on board. In the mean time there came the ſame boat from the caſtle, and another from the vice-admiral, with peremptory orders from the governor to Captain Middleton to come in. After keeping them to dinner, he told them that he would ride there, and run the danger of the road: that he knew both nations were friends in Europe, and that for them to be enemies there among ſtrangers would be ſcandalous. But they told him plainly, that he muſt not ride there: and if he perſiſted, they would fetch him in by force. His anſwer was, that he would ride there till he found the inconvenience of the road, (for they ſaid it was foul ground) and then come into the beſt part of the harbour: adding, that neither of their princes gave authority to their ſubjects to hinder the other from riding or going, at their own peril. The Dutch replied, that the country was theirs; "Then may I (ſaid Middleton) the more boldly ride here, for we are friends." So they departed in diſpleaſure. The ſame evening, he was about to land guns upon the ſide of a hill, where he rode, and began to fit the ſhip to fight with any that ſhould moleſt him. He alſo ſent out ſome to ſearch the bottom; which indeed proved to be nothing but rocks. ſo that there was no poſſibility of riding there with ſafety. Therefore the captain gave over his deſign of landing guns; and next morning ſent his ſkiff with Mr. Spalding, and the principal perſons of the ſhip with a letter to the governor: ordering them to ſay nothing more than he had written, and make no ſtay, but bring an anſwer preſently: for they rode very badly. The copy of the letter is as follows.

"May it pleaſe your Worſhip,

"With patience to conſider, that whereas you have many enemies, (and few friends in this place) I being a chriſtian, if your worſhip ſtand in need of any thing that I have, I pray you make bold to demand it, and I will be as ready to perform it to my power; for whereas there is amity between our princes at home, I ſhould be unwilling, that we their ſubjects, ſhould be at enmity here. Farther, foraſmuch as you command me to come under the command of the caſtle, I hope I have the privilege that both princes allow their ſubjects to come and go at their own pleaſures, and ſtand to the danger of the road at their own peril. And whereas you demanded to ſee my commiſſion; I am a gentleman, and willing to ſhew it upon equal terms; for if you will meet me ſecurely, as I would do you, appoint your meeting upon the water, in our boats, equally manned; or in any convenient place, where I may be as near my force as you are to yours. And whereas it is reported that a contract is to be made with the inhabitants of Lantor and your worſhip, my deſire is, that you would uſe me as an Indian for my money. Then ſhould I think myſelf much beholden to your worſhip, and am more willing to deal with you, than with them. Furthermore, foraſmuch as you be at enmity with the iſlands of Puloway and Pulorin, my deſire is to be reſolved, whether I may have their ſpice without your hinderance. Thus deſiring your anſwer to theſe particulars, and the ſame to be returned by the bearers, I bid you farewel. From on board my ſhip, this 7th day of February, 1610.

Your's, in friendſhip,
DAVID MIDDLETON."

The Engliſh coming to the caſtle, were brought to the governor, who was ſitting in council, and delivered the letter, which was read openly: but they would ſend him no anſwer but by word of mouth. They had in the road three great ſhips, of 1000 tons, and three pinnaces of thirty tons each; one of the ſhips, called the Great Sun, being unfit for ſervice, they determined that they ſhould clap the Expedition on board, and there be ſet on fire: for this purpoſe, they had ſworn ſeveral perſons to make her faſt with chains, and had put into her thirty barrels of powder to blow her up. She was to be manned out of the caſtle, attended with all the ſhips and boats to receive the men when ſhe ſhould take fire. The Great Horn was to go and ride within muſquet-ſhot of the Engliſh, and batter them while the frigates plied round to keep them employed on all ſides. Thoſe who landed, perceiving the ſpeed they made to warp out the Great Sun, came away as faſt as they could, to acquaint Captain Middleton with what was going forward. Upon which he thought fit to go and ſpeak with the governor himſelf, before he came to a rupture: ſo taking his commiſſion, he went to the caſtle, and was met at landing by the governor, and all the principal men, both of the caſtle and ſhips, and conducted through a guard of ſmall ſhot of 300 ſoldiers, who ſaluted him with three volleys, and the caſtle with ſeven guns. At length

length he came to the governor's houſe, where he ſhewed the firſt line of his commiſſion, but no more, and little of conſequence was done at this meeting. He afterwards offered 1000 pounds to procure a loading, but ſucceeded no better. Having ſet this matter on foot, he told the governor, now they were ſatisfied that he was no man of war, he would bring in his ſhip. He replied with the reſt, that they were ready to oblige him as much as lay in his power. It drawing late, he took his leave, and at his going into the boat, the governor ordered all the guns in the caſtle to be fired. As he paſſed by the ſhips and frigates, they fired guns till he got on board.

Next day being the 8th of February, he brought the ſhip into the road, and rode between their ſhips and the caſtle, ſaluting with his guns; and was anſwered from the caſtle and ſhips. As ſoon as they came to anchor, the governor, with all the chiefs of the caſtle and ſhips, came on board, and accepted of a dinner, ſuch as they could provide. Afterwards he talked about the lading, but could neither by argument, nor the offer of gifts, obtain leave to buy a ſingle pound of ſpice; the governor telling him plainly, that to grant ſuch a liberty, was as much as his life was worth. The captain finding there was no good to be done, determined to take in water, and try his fortune; but they would not ſuffer his boat to go on ſhore for water, without a man of theirs, to ſee that they had no conference with the natives. After he had got in water, he ſent Mr. Spalding to acquaint the governor that he would be gone; who much wondered whither the captain intended to go, the winds being weſterly. Having warped till he got ſea-room, he ſet ſail, the governor ſending three pinnaces to go out with him, one of which ſent her boat on board, to command him in the governor's name, not to go near any of theſe iſlands. Captain Middleton ſent him word, he would not be at his command, for he was going to Puloway as faſt as he could; bidding him ſend his ſhips to force him away, for that he would quickly drive the frigates farther off. The boat returned on board one of the frigates; and the captain cauſed the men to prepare to fight with the Dutch ſhips that were already fitted with their ſails brought to the yard for that purpoſe. He then called all his company to know their minds, and told them that if they would ſtand by him, he intended to make his voyage at thoſe iſlands in ſpite of the Dutch: promiſing to give amongſt them what things belonged to him in the ſhip; and a maintainance during life, to every man who ſhould happen to be maimed. They unanimouſly declared they were willing to ſtand the teſt: but the pinnace ſeeing them bring up their ſmall ſhot, thought it would not be ſafe for themſelves to guard him any longer, and therefore bore up for the harbour. While they were warping out, the admiral and lieutenant-governor of the caſtle, had been twice on board the pinnaces: but what they did there, was unknown to the Engliſh. The winds being weſterly, and a ſtrong current ſetting to the eaſt-north-eaſt, they drove a great pace: and the captain ſent Mr. Spalding in the boat with money, beſides the purſer's mate, and five more, to aſſure the people of Puloway, that they had parted enemies with the Dutch, and that they were ſent to know, whether they would ſell him their ſpice; that he would pay him money for it, and that as ſoon as ſome place was found for the ſhip to ride in, he would come himſelf either in a ſhip, or a pinnace that he had on board ready to ſet up. While his boat was abſent, there came two praws from Lantor, to know why he went away. The captain told them that the current had ſet the ſhip off. That he would willingly have gone to Puloway, if the current had not hindered him, and had ſent a factor there to buy ſpice. They ſaid, they were glad that he had not left them altogether. Then he deſired them to tell the inhabitants of Lantor, that he would give them money or commodities for all the ſpice they had, if they would ſell it him, rather than the Dutch, who came to take their country from them. One of them ſaid, that he would go to the iſland and ſee the captain's people, and then would ſpeak to thoſe of Lantor. 1608

At Mr. Spalding's going on ſhore, the country people flocked about, and welcomed him, but would make no bargain about the price, till Captain Middleton came himſelf. However, they offered to deliver ſpice upon account in the mean time. Upon this he ordered Spalding to hire him a pilot (if he could) to harbour his ſhip near at hand. Accordingly, he ſpoke to the inhabitants for one, and they hired him two, to whom they gave twenty rials, and the captain as much. The pilots coming on board the ſame night, he bore up for Seran, and came to a place called Gelagula, a tolerable good road, about 30 leagues from Banda. As ſoon as poſſible they took a houſe, and brought their pinnace on ſhore to ſet up, which they never could find time to do before; becauſe the ſeaſon of the year ſlipped ſo faſt away, and the monſoon was at an end. After labouring all that night to get her diſpatched, he named her the Hopewell. The 27th of March, they ſailed for Puloway, and arrived there the 31ſt, in the night, but could not lade any ſpice till they had agreed with the natives.

After the price was fixed, they loaded the Hopewell with mace, and ſent her away; but being too ſmall for the purpoſe, containing only nine tons, the captain was forced to hire a great praw, which was loaded with nutmegs, and ſent to the ſhip, where ſhe was built higher, to make her 24 tons, and twelve of the ableſt ſailors put on board. She made but one voyage, and then they heard no news of her for three months. The Hopewell in two voyages bringing no account of her, they took it for granted that ſhe had ſunk in the ſtorm, which aroſe in the return with the Hopewell, on board of which the captain was. He was much grieved to ſee the ſeaſon paſs away, without being able to get his lading over to the ſhip, nor durſt he bring the ſhip over to the iſland, as there was no riding for her. Thus all hope being at an end for ſix months, he made inquiry for other veſſels; and hearing of an old junk that belonged to Lantor, and lay near the Dutch ſhips, he went and bought her, and got ſuch help as he could to trim her. The loſs of his twelve men occaſioned great difficulties and delays, for moſt of the reſt were diſabled with ſore legs. Thus he knew not what to do, the iſland being in every reſpect in danger of being taken by the Dutch, who alſo meant to aſſaſſinate him, offering large ſums of money to rogues, to effect it, either by poiſon or otherwiſe; but he had ſome friends upon the iſland, who gave him private notice, and warned him to beware of ſuch men-ſlaves, for that they came to do him a miſchief. Upon this, he was obliged to get all the iſlands to draw to an head, to fit out their caracals to keep the Dutch pinnaces from coming on board. After this they kept their diſtance, and the iſlanders landing ſecretly upon Nera, cut off ſeveral of the Dutch, inſomuch that they durſt not ſtir out of the caſtle, except when there were a great number of them together well armed. Theſe iſlanders built a fort upon the ſide of a hill, from whence they ſhot into the caſtle, which galled the Dutch very much, and effectually hindered the pinnaces from coming out to cut them off, as often as they attempted it.

Captain Middleton was obliged to get away the junk unrigged, which he had bought at Lantor; for the Dutch ſeeing men at work upon her, ſent one of their ſhips to batter her to pieces, when ſhe would be in order; ſo that the night ſhe weighed, ſhe wanted much help to launch her, and was carried away upon rollers. They did this in the dark, and getting her out of ſight by day, brought her to Puloway, where, being nothing but the bare hull, they were forced to buy ſails, and every thing elſe for her. The captain ſent alſo to the ſhip, by the Hopewell, to fetch ſome rigging, and Mr. John Davis to carry her over, fitting her, as well as he could,

could, with the aid of ſome carpenters of the country. Three weeks being paſt, without hearing of the pinnace, he began to fear ſome misfortune had befallen her, and what was worſe, he knew he might wait long enough before they on board the ſhip could hire any veſſel to ſend to him, the Dutch having ſeized all that they had taken carrying victuals to the Bandaneſe. Therefore it was pretty fair weather, and the ſkiff was then at Puloway. Captain Middleton determined to go over himſelf, and make ſome ſhift, rather than let the time paſs without doing any thing: for he could not hire men to carry the junk, if he could have loaded her with ſilver. He hired three blacks, not having a man of his own that could ſtand on his legs, and with them put to ſea.——Being out of ſight of land, there aroſe ſuch a ſtorm, that they were forced to ſpoon before the ſea; yet they got ſight of Seran, but coming near the ſhore, the ſea broke ſo violently, that they loſt all hope of getting ſafe to land. Night approaching, they ſtrove all they could to keep the veſſel above water till morning; but the ſtorm increaſing, they found themſelves compelled to hazard all to put into the breach over a ledge of rocks. In this, however, they ſucceeded; yet no man durſt forſake the boat, for fear of being beaten to pieces againſt the rocks.

The next day, they got her on ſhore, and emptied her, being full of water, and every thing they had in her waſhed over-board. The blacks now came and told them, that they muſt put to ſea directly, if they meant to ſave their lives. The captain aſking one of them the reaſon: he ſaid, it was the cannibals country; who, if they got ſight of them, would kill and eat them: That they never ranſomed any men they took; and that if they were chriſtians, they roaſted them alive, for the wrongs the Portugueſe had done them. On this they put off and ſoon got a-head a good pace, and by day were clear of their watches. As they proceeded, keeping cloſe along ſhore, they ſaw the hulk of a bark; and rowing near it, found it to be the Diligence, with two Engliſhmen in her; they told him, that having come to an anchor there, in the late ſtorm, the cable broke, and ſhe drove on ſhore; and that Mr. Herniman was gone to the town, to get men to haul her up. On this, the captain himſelf landed, to get the governor to bring ſome help to ſave her; the land being crowded with people, who came on purpoſe to have pillaged her, he ordered his men to fire now and then, which kept them from coming near. When the captain came to the town, Mr. Herniman was gone by land to the ſhip, which was 12 miles off. Having aſked the governor for aſſiſtance, he ſaid, he would raiſe the country in two or three days: captain Middleton told him, that if it blew, ſhe would be loſt within an hour. One belonging to Puloway, who knew the bark, and was earneſt with the governor to ſave her, being there, plainly told the captain that the chief wanted to have her bulged, that he might get the planks to build him a praw.—Finding there was no help to be expected, but what came from the ſhip, he hired guides to follow Mr. Herniman, and took one of his own men for company. Half way, they came to a great water, which they were to croſs. As his man could not ſwim, the captain ſent his cloaths back, all but a ſcarlet coat, which the blacks were to carry over. They told him the river was full of alligators, and that if he ſaw any, he muſt fight with them, as they would kill him: and, for that purpoſe, the black carried a knife in his mouth. Middleton being weary not having ſlept for two nights, took the water before the Indians, knowing they would be over before him. The river being broad, and the current made by the great rains that had fallen very ſwift, the Indians would have had him turn back, but as he was more than half-way, he was very unwilling. He who carried the coat having a great cane, ſtruck the captain on the ſide: who, ſuſpecting it had been an alligator, dived under water; where the curernt got ſuch hold of him, that before he could riſe again, he was carried into the ſea, and thrown by the waves againſt the beach. He was waſhed backward and forward ſeveral times, till the Indian came, and giving him hold of the end of the cane, pulled him out, within a little of being drowned, having his back and and ſhoulder much bruiſed. After he had reſted himſelf for ſome time, he got on board, to the ſurpriſe of his company: and that night, ſent all that were able, to ſave the bark; which they did, with much fatigue. As for the people of the country, not a man was ſuffered to lend a hand; expecting the Engliſh would forſake her, and that ſhe would be all their own.

The Hopewell arrived the next day with her lading of ſpice. She had been driven to the eaſtward of Banda 30 leagues, in a moſt violent ſtorm; which continued long, and cauſed them to have a tedious paſſage to get to windward. The captain went from Puloway in the boat, and landed preſently; and Mr. Davis was lading as faſt as he could with a lame crew, the ſound being all employed about the Diligence. They preſently unloaded the Hopewell; and that night, captain Middleton ſet ſail in her, to ſee if he could get to Puloway, before Mr. Davis came away: for, as they told him the junk was very leaky, he was willing that the Hopewell ſhould bear her company, for ſhe had not a nail in her; and becauſe ſmiths of the country could not make nails, they having had none of their own, ordered him they employed, to make iron pins, which they diſpoſed of in moſt needful places. The captain of the Hopewell ſtriving to reach Puloway, was turned aſide by the ſtream, in a great ſtorm; for the ſtronger the wind, the ſtronger the current. Being forced to leeward they were long before they could reach the ſhip; and were obliged to ſeek the Seran ſhore, otherwiſe they had been quite blown away. The captain having in the ſeveral trips he made, ſtill fallen to the leeward of the ſhip, cauſed Mr. Davis to ſearch for ſome harbour, that for the future the veſſels that were provided, might come from Puloway directly to the ſhip: becauſe, when deep laden, they could not ſo eaſily ply to windward with their oars.—During the captains long ſtay from Puloway, and the iſlands of Banda, the natives had intelligence, that the ſhip had weighed anchor; and were perſuaded, that he was gone for fear of the Dutch, who were determined to come and ſurpriſe him. For this reaſon, the country people would not deal with the Engliſh any more, nor ſell them victuals, but began to abuſe and rail at them; ſaying, he was gone in the ſhip, and had left them on the iſland, after the example of the Dutchmen; and would, like theſe, return with a fleet, and take their country from them, and they determined to ſeize upon the houſe, and keep the men priſoners, upon a high rock. With this view, they ſent for the Shah Bander, that by joint conſent, they might take poſſeſſion of all the goods. When the Shah Bander came, Mr. Spalding went to acquaint him of the hard uſage of the iſlanders, who began to take things out of the houſe by force. The Shah Bander ſaid, they would take care that the Engliſh ſhould not do as the Dutch had done, and were determined to lay them faſt, for that the ſhip was gone, and their meaning was not good. In ſhort, all that Mr. Spalding could ſay, would not perſuade them but that he and the reſt, were left there by deſign. Next day, calling a council in the church, they reſolved to ſend the men priſoners to the rock: but news coming, while they were ſitting, that captain Middleton was in ſight in the Hopewell, they broke up their conſultation. At his landing, Mr. Spalding told him of their hard uſage to them, and the fear they were in. As the chiefs of all the iſlands ſat before their door, waiting for his coming, he aſked them the reaſon, why they dealt ſo ill with his people, in his abſence? They told him plainly, that

if he had not come as he did, they would have taken the goods, and confined the men; he then let them know the reaſon for removing the ſhip; adding, that it was no wonder the Dutch had built a caſtle to defend themſelves, when they dealt ſo with them; and had not only left men amongſt them, with commodities which the country ſtood in need of, but had alſo made the Dutch, who were their enemies; and endeavoured by all the means he could contrive, to do the iſlands good, as they very well knew. To this they anſwered, that he ought not blame them for being jealous of chriſtians, ſince both the Portugueſe and Dutch, for many years, had done as he had done, that in the end, they found their deſign was to take their country from them. However, at length they apologiſed for what had happened, and became good friends again, and the trade for ſpice went on briſkly.——Captain Middleton, after lading his ſhip, having ſome ſtock left, thought he could not do better, than to lay it out in the ſame commodities. Accordingly, he laded 30 tons more in the junk, and bought another of 40 tons (on the ſtocks) with ſpice to lade her: leaving Mr. Spalding to come in her, and Mr. Chapman for maſter, with ten others. After this captain Middleton went and took his leave of all the country, in a moſt obliging manner; and beſtowed ſeveral gifts for a farewel, intreating them to help Mr. Spalding, if he ſhould ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance; for that in his abſence he muſt rely on them. This they promiſed to do; adding many expreſſions of kindneſs. He was forced to convey over the Hopewell himſelf, and ſet ſail the twenty-ſeventh of September from Puloway, with the junk, having ſtaid a conſiderable time longer in the country than any Engliſhman ever did before. He arrived at the ſhip on the 10th; and after he was wholly laden, they ſet ſail from Keiling Bay the ſame day, without topſails, which had been blown from the yard, (where they had been ever ſince the ſhip came into the country, for fear of the Dutch, or other treachery) in her paſſage from the place where ſhe rode before, ſeven leagues to the eaſtward; Mr. Davis having removed her by the captain's directions. Holding on his courſe on the 19th of October, he arrived at Bantam road; here he found that Mr. Henſworth, and Edward Neetles, both died, ſoon after he left them; ſo that all the goods remained, and not a yard of cloth having been diſpoſed of to the Chineſe. Moſt of the company being ſtill troubled with ſore legs, and many ſickly, he left the unſound on board, under the care of the ſurgeon, and manned the junks with thoſe who were in perfect health. There came in a ſmall ſhip, which after having been at China, Japan, Ternate, Macian, Coromandel, Patane and Jor, went to Amboyna and Banda, to ſeek for lading; but not getting any, was forced to repair to this port, to lade with pepper. This ſhip, when at Banda, ſailing near Puloway, fired her great guns at once, one of whoſe ſhot paſſed through an Indian's houſe, and two ſuckles of mace in the Engliſh houſe, ſtruck the purſer's mate upon the ſhin, and entering a cheſt of fine pintadoes, ſpoiled many of them: it did not break the mate's leg, but the man was lame for ſix months.

Captain Middleton contrived matters ſo well at Banda, as to ſecure his own lading firſt; but although the Dutch had two great ſhips half laden before his arrival, they could not get one ſingle pound of ſpice afterwards. At the ſame time they were ſtark mad to ſee the Engliſh paſs by them daily with that commodity: therefore they determined with their ſhips, to take the iſland, and ſeize the ſpice, which they knew the captain had bought, at ſuch a time as they might eaſily have done it. But, their deſign miſcarried; for it proved calm when they were out of the harbour, they could not get in again, and it being at the time of ſpring tide, the ebb ſet the ſhip to the ſouthward of the iſland; and the pinnaces were obliged to follow the ſhips, for fear the caricals ſhould have taken them. After labouring with all their power for two days, to come back, they were forced to proceed for Bantam, to lade pepper. Having been long becalmed by the way, they ſaw a ſhip right to leeward, which they thought, could be none elſe but Captain Middleton: therefore it was agreed in council, to take him and all his ſpice; but what they deſigned to have done with the ſhip and company, he could not learn. It proved to be the Province of Holland, a great ſhip that was bound to Banda; and had been at the Moluccas, but could not get any ſpice; and were informed by the other two, that they came from Banda with them to lade pepper: —Thus the Engliſh eſcaped them.

Eight Dutch ſhips came to Bantam for pepper: and becauſe they were to ſtay a year for lading, they took in planks, and materials for making flankers, and ſtrengthening their caſtles at Banda, and Ternate, whither they went after Captain Middleton's arrival. His lame company being very weak, fell ſick, and his gunner, and one of his quarter-maſter's died, and three more ſoon after. Therefore the ſhip being fitted, the weſtern monſoon come, and no proſpect of the junks arrival before May, he reſolved to return. But if one of the junks had come, he would have remained in the country, and fitted her to go for Saldanna. As they did not, he thought it moſt for the company's ſervice, to leave the Indies, in order to bring home the ſhip, in caſe Davis and Clayborne ſhould die by the way. Three days before he quitted Bantam, four ſail (part of a fleet of nine ſhips) entered the road. They brought a great number of women to inhabit the places they had conquered: they were ſo very weak, that the other ſhip's company were forced to fetch them in one by one. —Captain Middleton having left a proper perſon in charge of the houſe, and orders for Mr. Spalding, (when he arrived) to undertake a voyage to Borneo, for diamonds, accordingly he departed for Bantam the 16th of November, and had a very good paſſage to the road of Saldanna, where he caſt anchor on the 21ſt of January, and took in water. He found that his brother Sir Henry Middleton, had arrived there the 24th of July, and departed the 10th of Auguſt. There he found the copy of a letter which Sir Henry had written to the company, and ſent home by a Dutch veſſel the day after he came into the road.—This is all material that is recorded of the voyage in this relation.

THE VOYAGE OF SIR HENRY MIDDLETON TO THE RED SEA, AND SURAT, IN 1610.

IN this voyage three ſhips were employed: The Trade's Increaſe, of 1000 tons, the admiral, Sir Henry Middleton commander; the Pepper-Corn, of 250 tons, vice-admiral, Nicholas Dounton, captain, and the Darling, of 90 tons: The Bark Samuel, of 180 tons burthen followed as a victualler.

On the firſt of May, 1610, the fleet anchored in the road of Cape Verde, under an iſland, where they found a Frenchman of Dieppe fitting up a ſmall pinnace. Next day the carpenters of all the ſhips went about repairing the mainmaſt of the Trade's Increaſe. Pulling off the fiſhes they found it in a very bad condition, and above the upper deck, about three foot, wrung more than half aſunder. Had they met with any foul weather, it muſt have gone by the board. The 4th, they began to unlade the Samuel, and ſent carpenters to cut down trees, having obtained leave of the Alcayde, who came on board, and dined with the commander, Sir Henry gave him a piece of Roan cloth, (bought of the Frenchman) and ſome trifles beſides.

On the 15th, having made an end of watering, and ſtowed all their boats in the night, they prepared to depart next morning. (The author ſays, Cape Verde was the beſt place he knew for outward-bound ſhips, the road being excellent and good, and fit for the diſpatch of any buſineſs, and well ſtocked with fiſh; beſides, it lay in their courſe.) Having conſulted with Captain Dounton, and the maſters, what courſe was beſt, they reſolved to hold on till they had paſſed the line, and then to ſtretch over eaſterly. Here they diſmiſſed the Samuel. They entered the road of Saldanna, on the 24th of July, and ſaluted the Dutch admiral with five guns, which he returned. There were two other Dutch ſhips in the bay, which came to make train-oil of ſeals, and had filled 300 pipes. This day he landed, and found the names of Captain Keiling, and others, in their return in January, 1609, alſo his brother David Middleton's, who came out in Auguſt, 1609, beſides a letter buried under ground, according to agreement between them in England: but it was ſo damp, that no part of it was legible. The 26th, they ſet up a tent for the ſick, and had them all on ſhore to air the ſhips. From this day, till their departure, nothing material happened. The 6th of September, before night, they came to an anchor in St. Auguſtine's Bay, where they found the Union in diſtreſs for proviſion. The 7th, the commander went on ſhore in his pinnace, to look for freſh victuals, but could get none; ſo returned with wood and water. On the 10th, coaſting the ſhore with a good gale, ſouth-eaſt, they reckoned the ſhip ſhould have ſailed at leaſt 26 leagues, yet went but 22 north, by reaſon of the current's ſetting to the ſouthward. The 12th, they ſteered between north north-eaſt, and north-by-eaſt; their true way weſterly one third of a point, latitude nineteen degrees forty-eight minutes. The current, theſe laſt four-and-twenty-hours, ſet to the northward, wind variable. The 13th, they ſteered with little wind and calms, for the moſt part north-by-eaſt, the true way north, one third part weſt, the winds as the day before. She ſailed 15 leagues more than was expected, occaſioned by the current's ſetting to the north-weſt; latitude by obſervation 19 degrees 10 minutes. The 20th at noon, latude 11 degrees, 10 minutes, the wind veering eaſterly, with calms, variation 12 degrees 40 minutes. This afternoon they ſaw the iſlands of Querimba, which are low and dangerous, being environed with rocks and ſhoals. The firſt of October they ſteered north-eaſt-by-north, 27 degrees, the wind for the moſt part ſouth-eaſt.

Holding their courſe for many days on the 17th, early in the morning, they ſaw the Duas Hermanas, ſix leagues off, north by weſt, the wind at ſouth-weſt; variation 18 degrees, 55 minutes. The 18th at night, they arrived at Socotra, and anchored in a ſandy bay, latitude 12 degrees, 25 minutes. In the evening they took with their ſeine great plenty of fiſh; wind eaſt. The 21ſt they plied for the road of Tamerin, the chief place of the iſland; but the wind being at eaſt, and eaſt by ſouth, it was the 25th before they could get thither. The latitude of Tamerin 12 degrees 30 minutes; the variation 19 degrees 18 minutes. The town ſtands at the foot of high rugged hills. The road is open between the eaſt by north, and weſt-by-north, they anchored in ten fathoms water, good ground. The 25th, the commander ſent Mr. Femel, well accompanied on ſhore, with a veſt of cloth, a piece of plate, and a ſword-blade to the king, who promiſed to ſerve them in every thing.

On the 26th, Sir Henry landing with the chief merchants, and a guard of armed men, was conducted to the king's houſe. That prince met him at his chamber door. Being entered, and ſeated by him in a chair, there paſſed many compliments, after which the commander enquired concerning the trade of the Red-ſea. The king commended it highly, ſaying, the people of Aden and Mocha were good people, and would be glad to trade with him. He added, that the Aſcenſion had diſpoſed of her goods at high rates, and came ſo light into the place, that ſhe took in a great deal of ballaſt. This account pleaſed Sir Henry, who then deſired to ſet up his pinnace; the king refuſing that liberty in this road, granted it at the place where they firſt anchored: he was apprehenſive that if they ſtaid to ſet her up in Tamerin, the merchants of other nations would be afraid to come thither. He gave free leave alſo to take in water, but ſaid he muſt pay very dear for wood, if he had any; adding, that thoſe of all other countries who came thither, paid for their water, but of him he would demand nothing. He had ſent all his aloes to his father, the king of Fartaque, in Arabia Fælix, whoſe chief city and place of reſidence was called Cuſhem. He confirmed the loſs of the Aſcenſion and her pinnace. Sir Henry aſked if they had left any letter behind them? he ſaid, he had, but that his ſervant had loſt it. He diſſuaded the commander from ſeeking trade in the country of Fartaque, for that he believed his father would not permit it: but adviſed him to go for the Red-ſea. They all dined with the king that day.

On the 17th of November, as they ſteered weſt-by-ſouth, and weſt-ſouth-weſt along the coaſt, about ten o'clock they ſaw a high-land, which they imagined to be Aden: it roſe like Abba del Curia, and might be ſeen a great way off. In the evening about ſix, they anchored in twenty fathoms water, ſandy ground, before the town; which ſtands in a valley at the foot of a mountain, and makes a good appearance. It was encompaſſed with a ſtone wall, and defended by forts and bulwarks in many places; but how provided he knew not. This night a ſmall boat came out to view them: ſtanding in, (the wind at eaſt-ſouth-eaſt) they were carried to the eaſtward by the current at leaſt twenty leagues, to their ſurpriſe; for they thought it would have ſet to the weſt. A ſmall boat from the town came on board on the 8th, with three Arabs, who ſaid they were ſent by the lieutenant governor, to know what nation they were of, and their buſineſs thither: adding, if they were Engliſhmen, they were heartily welcome; and that the year before, Captain Sharpey had been there, and from thence went to Mocha, where he made ſale of all his goods. One of them being aſked the name and character of the baſha: he anſwered, "his name was Jaffer Baſha, and that his predeceſſor was very bad, this little better: and that all the Turks in general were good for little." Aſking if Mocha was a good place for trade? they anſwered, "that there was a man in the town, who could buy all his merchandiſe." Sir Henry ſent his pinnace on ſhore, and John Williams, one of his factors, who ſpoke the Arabic language: they were kindly entertained. Having ſent the pinnace to get a pilot for Mocha, the town would not let them have any, without leaving three of the chief merchants in pledge. However, ſeeing the ſhips under ſail, they entreated Sir Henry to leave one for that port, promiſing to buy all the goods; he thought fit to leave the Peppercorn there, and ſailed with the other two for Mocha, therefore they did what they could to get into the road again, but could not, being carried to leeward with the current. Having anchored to the ſouthward of the town, Mr. Fowler and John Williams,

Williams, were ſent on ſhore, to tell them he would leave one of the ſhips to trade, provided they would let him have a pilot; they ſeemed very glad, promiſing to ſend one next day. On the 12th, Sir Henry ſeeing no hope of any pilot, though often promiſed one, about noon ſet ſail along with the Darling, for Mocha; the wind eaſt-ſouth-eaſt. They coaſted the ſhore, ſometimes weſt-ſouth-weſt, and weſt-by-north, in twenty-eight and thirty fathoms, following a ſmall ſail till they loſt ſight of her. On the 13th, they held on their courſe along the ſhore all that night, ſteering between weſt-by-north, and moſt by ſouth; their true way weſt. The next day betimes, they ſaw the head-land going into the Red-ſea, riſing like an iſland thirty leagues from Aden. After they had paſſed the Streight of Babelmandel, Sir Henry ſent his pinnace for a pilot, to a village on the north-ſhore, in a ſandy bay, which returned with a couple of Arabs, who took upon them to be very ſkilful.

The depth in the Streight was between eight and eleven fathoms water. Coaſting the land north-by-weſt, and north-north-weſt, in between eighteen and twenty fathoms: about four o'clock they deſcried the town of Mocha, and about five luffed in: but the wind being high, they ſplit their main top ſail, and hoiſting their mizzen, it ſplit likewiſe. Here the pilots ran the Trade's Increaſe on ſhore upon a bank of ſand. As the wind blew hard, and the ſea ran ſomething high, they were all in fear ſhe could not be got off. This night there came a boat on board from the town, with a Turk, a handſome man, ſent by the governor to know what they were, and their buſineſs. Sir Henry told him, they were Engliſh merchants, who came to ſeek trade. He anſwered, If they were Engliſhmen, they were heartily welcome, and ſhould not fail of what they ſought; for that Alexander Sharpey had ſold all his goods there, and they might do the like. As for the ſhip's going on ſhore he made nothing of it; ſaying, that it was common for great ſhips of India to run aground, and yet that he never heard of any that ſuſtained harm thereby. He made haſte back to inform the aga who they were, promiſing to return next morning, with boats to lighten the ſhip.

On the 14th, early, he returned with three or four Turks more, of which two ſpoke Italian. They brought the commander a ſmall preſent from the aga, with compliments, and offers of any thing the country afforded; ſaying, he ſhould have as good and free trade as they had in Conſtantinople, Aleppo, or any part of the Turk's dominions. There came with them four or five lighters, in which the Engliſh put any thing that came firſt to hand, to lighten the ſhip; Mr. Femel went on ſhore in one of them, before Sir Henry was aware, carrying all he had in the ſhip with him. They ſent all their money, elephants teeth and ſhot, on board the Darling, and laying out their anchors to paſs, in the evening they tried to heave her off, but could not make her ſtir. On the 25th, they did what they could to lighten the ſhip, ſending ſome goods on ſhore, and ſome on board the Darling; Sir Henry had a letter from Mr. Femel, giving an account of his kind entertainment by the aga; and that he had agreed to pay five per cent. cuſtom, for all they ſhoul ſell; and that what they could not ſell, ſhould be returned on board cuſtom free. He likewiſe received from the aga himſelf, a letter under his hand and ſeal, offering himſelf, and whatever the country afforded at his ſervice. About five o'clock they began to heave at their capſtanes, and at length got the ſhip afloat again. On the 19th, two boats came from Mr. Femel for iron, which the commander ſent; but wrote word, that he would ſend no more goods till thoſe already landed were ſold. Femel, in anſwer, informed him, that if he intended to trade, he muſt come on ſhore according to the cuſtom of the place, otherwiſe they would not be perſuaded but that they were men of war. The aga likewiſe ſent the interpreter to tell him, that if he was a friend to to the great Turk, and a merchant who expected to trade, he entreated him to land; alledging, that Captain Sharpey, and all the Indian captains did ſo. On the 20th, Sir Henry landing, was received at the water-ſide by ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, and with muſic, brought to the aga's houſe, where all the principal men of the town were aſſembled. He was received with all the marks of friendſhip imaginable. He was ſeated cloſe to the aga (all the reſt ſtanding) who loaded him with compliments and welcomes. Sir Henry delivered the king's letter with a preſent to the baſha, which he deſired might be ſent up with all ſpeed. He likewiſe gave the aga a preſent, which he received very kindly, aſſuring him, that he ſhould not have the leaſt moleſtation in his trade; and that if any of the inhabitants offered him or his people wrong, he would ſee them ſeverely puniſhed. After this, he cauſed him to ſtand up, and one of his chief men put on him a veſt of crimſon ſilk and ſilver, ſaying, he needs not fear any evil, for that was the grand ſignior's protection. Having taken leave, he mounted a fine horſe with rich furniture, led by a man of rank, and ſo, with the muſic of the town was conveyed to the Engliſh houſe; where he dined, and preſently went on board. The aga was very importunate with him to ſtay on ſhore, which he yielded to, in order to ſee his pinnace conſtructed.

The aga every day ſent Sir Henry ſome ſmall preſent or other with compliments; to know if he wanted any thing. On the 28th, he ſent twice to deſire him to be chearful; and acquainted him, that as ſoon as their time of faſting was over (which was almoſt expired) he would have the commander ride abroad with him to his gardens, and other places of pleaſure. The ſame afternoon Mr. Pemberton having gone on ſhore for cocoa-nuts, Sir Henry made him ſtay to ſupper: after which, being ready to go on board, the Turks would not permit him; ſaying, it was too late, but that in the morning he might go as early as he pleaſed. The commander ſent to intreat leave for him, but they would not grant it. All this time they ſuſpected no harm, but imputed it to over-much caution in the officers; who they ſuppoſed had done it without order, of which, he deſigned to have complained to the aga. Next day, at ſun-ſet, Sir Henry cauſed ſtools (as was his cuſtom) to be placed at the door, where he ſat with Meſſrs. Femel and Pemberton, to take the freſh air. About eight there came a janiſſary from the aga, to deliver ſome meſſage to him; but not underſtanding him, the commander ſent his man to look for one of his company, who ſpoke the Turkiſh language. When his interpreter came, he learnt the purport of the meſſage: which was, that the aga had ſent his ſervice, deſiring him to be merry, for that he had received good news from the baſha. As he was about to go on, Sir Henry's man returned in a great fright, and told them they were all betrayed; for that the Turks and his people were fighting at the back of the houſe. The Turk who ſat by, being deſirous to know what the matter was, they told him: he roſe up, and aſked the ſervant to ſhew him where they were. Several of the Engliſh ran after them, to ſee what was the matter, and Sir Henry himſelf ran after the reſt, calling as loud as he could, to return back and make good their houſe. But while he was ſpeaking, he was knocked down by one behind him, and remained as dead, till the extreme pain, in tying his hands behind him, brought him to his ſenſes. As ſoon as they ſaw him ſtir, they lifted him up, and two led him between them to the aga's; where he found ſeveral of the company in the ſame condition. By the way the ſoldiers pillaged him of his money and three gold rings: when thoſe who had eſcaped with life in this maſſacre, were brought together, and put in irons: Sir Henry with ſeven more, were yoked by the neck in one chain, ſome were fettered by the hands, others by the feet, and two ſoldiers were left to guard them. Inquiring into the affair,

affair, he was informed, that Francis Slanny, John Lanſlot, and ſix more were killed; and fourteen of thoſe preſent were much wounded: that their houſe had been ſurrounded with armed ſoldiers, who, at the inſtant he was ſtruck down, fell upon the Engliſh, who were quite unarmed and defenceleſs.

The Turks thus having ſecured their perſons, their next deſign was to take their ſhips and goods; for this purpoſe, about ten o'clock, they armed three great boats with 150 ſoldiers in them to take the Darling, which rode near the ſhore. That they might paſs for Chriſtians, they took off their turbans, and boarding her altogether, entered moſt of their men. This was ſo ſudden, that three of the Darling's crew were killed before they could get down; the reſt got to their cloſe fights; but by miſtaking their captain's commands, the Turks leaped into the boat, cut the cables, and drove off with the current. By this time the Darling's men had got their weapons, the Turks ſtanding very thick in the waiſt, hollowing and claſhing their ſwords upon the deck. One of the company threw a large barrel of gun-powder amongſt them, and after it a firebrand, which took ſo good effect, that ſeveral were burned. The reſt, for more ſafety, (as they thought) retired to the half-deck and the poop, where they were annoyed with muſquet-ſhot, and another train of powder, which ſo terrified them, that ſome leaped into the ſea, others hung by the ſhip-ſide, imploring mercy, which was not to be found; for the ſailors killed all they could find, and the reſt were drowned: only one man was ſaved, who hid himſelf till the fury of the fight was over, and then received mercy. The boats returning, brought news that the ſhip was taken, for which there was great rejoicing, and the governor ſent off the boats again to bring her up to the town; but when they came to the place where ſhe uſed to ride, they found her ſtanding off under ſail. Returning, they told the aga, the ſhip had eſcaped, and that they believed the Emirſal Bahr, (lord of the ſea) and his ſoldiers were all taken priſoners. This was very diſagreeable news to him; however, ſome time before day, he ſent their interpreter to tell them, that the ſmall ſhip was taken, which Sir Henry believed to be true; and after ſun-riſe, ſending for him, he went along with his ſeven yoke-fellows, to the aga, who aſked him, How he durſt be ſo bold as to come into this port of Mocha? He anſwered, That the cauſe of his coming thither was not unknown to him, having long before acquainted him with it; and that he did not land, but at his deſire, and after many promiſes of kind uſage. The aga inſiſted that it was not lawful for any Chriſtian to come ſo near their holy city; this being the port or door for it: and that the baſha had expreſs orders from the Great Turk, to make ſlaves of all Chriſtians who ſhould enter thoſe ſeas, even although they ſhould have his own paſs. Sir Henry replied, That the fault was his, for not telling him ſo at firſt, but deluding him with fair promiſes. The aga then gave him a letter of Captain Dounton's to read, which came from Aden, dated long before: the purport was, that two of his merchants and the purſer were detained on ſhore, and that they would not be releaſed without landing of merchandiſe, or paying 1500 Venetianos for anchorage; withal deſiring Sir Henry to adviſe him what he had beſt to do.

After he had read the letter, the aga demanded to know the contents of it; which, being told to him, he ſaid, that ſince the writing of it, the ſhip had left Aden, and was coming to Mocha; but in the way ſtruck on a rock, and was loſt, with all the goods and men. The aga then deſired him to write a letter on board, to know how many Turks were in the ſmall ſhip. Sir Henry told him, that it would be needleſs, ſince ſhe was in his own poſſeſſion. He replied, that ſhe was once in their hands, but had been reſcued by the great ſhip. This made ſome amends for the other bad news. The aga then preſſed him to write to them on board the great ſhip, to yield her into his hands; ſaying, he would let them have the ſmall ſhip to carry them home. Sir Henry ſaid, it would be ridiculous to write any ſuch thing, for that they, who were on board, and had their liberty, were no ſuch folks as, upon his letter, to give up the ſhip, and come on ſhore to be ſlaves. His anſwer was, that he knew if their commander wrote to that effect, they durſt not diſobey him. Sir Henry then told him plainly, that he would write no ſuch letter.

He then enquired what quantity of money was in the ſhip; Sir Henry ſaid, there was but little; and that not to lay out in merchandiſe, but to buy victuals. He then aſked what ſtore of victuals and water was on board? The commander told him, enough for two years, which he would not believe: he urged them once more to write for them to come on ſhore, and yield the ſhip, threatening otherwiſe to cut off his head. Sir Henry bid him do ſo; ſaying, that it would be doing him a great pleaſure, for that he was weary of his life; but to write ſuch a letter he never would, upon this, being taken out of his chain and collar, in order to be ſeparated from the reſt, a great pair of fetters was put upon his legs, and mannacles upon his wriſts. He was lodged all that day in a dirty dog-kennel, under a pair of ſtairs: at night, at the intreaty of Shermall, conſul of the Bannians, he was taken out, and placed in a better room, with one of his ſailors, who ſpoke Turkiſh. However, ſays the author, his bed was the hard ground, and his pillow a ſtone. His companions were grief of heart, and a multitude of rats, which, if he chanced to fall aſleep, ſoon awakened him with running over him."

The aga's lieutenant, and their drugoman came at midnight, and intreated him in very ſoothing terms to write on board, to know how many Turks were priſoners, and what were their names; but by no means to mention any thing relating either to the loſs of his men, or his own hard uſage: on the contrary, he adviſed him to ſay, that they were detained in the aga's houſe, till farther orders came from the baſha; and that they wanted for nothing. Accordingly, Sir Henry wrote, to the ſame effect they deſired him; but at the ſame time adviſed them to look well to their ſhips, and not to ſuffer any of their men to venture on ſhore, for fear of treachery. This letter they afterwards ſhewed to two or three of the other priſoners, to ſee whether Sir Henry had written according to their inſtructions. However, it was not ſent at that time, becauſe they could not get any body to carry it: yet, at length, they met with a man who undertook to deliver it on board, provided the commander would write to them to uſe him well. This man was born in Tunis in Barbary, and ſpoke good Italian. Sir Henry wrote the letter as they deſired, which was peruſed like the former, and next day ſent on board. The purport of the anſwer was, that all the Turks were ſlain or drowned, excepting one, whoſe name was Ruſwan, a common ſoldier, and that they were glad to hear the commander was alive; for Ruſwan told them, he thought all the Engliſh were killed. Sir Henry and the reſt continued in this miſery till the 15th of December, not hearing any thing from the ſhips, nor the ſhips from them. The aga often came to him, ſometimes by threats, at other times by fair means, urging him to write for thoſe on board to come on ſhore, and deliver up the ſhips; Sir Henry ſtill anſwering him as he did at firſt. He was particularly inquiſitive about their proviſions, having been in hopes that for want of water and victuals, they muſt at laſt be ſurrendered to him, knowing that they could not have wind to carry them out of the ſtreights till May. He ſaid, he wondered how ſo great a charge could be borne with ſo ſmall a ſtock. Sir Henry anſwered, that his nation had factories in ſeveral parts of India, which had ſtock enough to load them in caſe they had brought no ſtock at all with them, and that the ſtock they had was ſufficient to load his ſhip with pepper.—Thoſe on ſhip-board fared but ill themſelves though at liberty, riding in an open and wide

road, the wind blowing continually hard at ſouth ſouth-eaſt, incloſed round with ſhoals, and their water beginning to fail; becauſe they had ſtaved 50 tons to lighten the ſhip at their coming on ground: beſides, having nothing from land, put them to their wits ends, as not knowing well what courſe to take. At length, one John Chambers offered to go on ſhore to ſee what was become of the reſt, chuſing rather to run all hazards, than ſee men living in ſuch perplexity. On the 15th of December before-mentioned, being ſent with a flag of truce upon a ſmall iſland, a little to the windward of the town, having one of their Indians with him for his interpreter. They were brought before the aga, who aſked him, How he durſt be ſo bold as to come on ſhore without leave? He anſwered, That he was a meſſenger, and came with a flag of truce, which was permitted among enemies. The aga aſked, what meſſage he had to deliver? He replied, a letter to the commander; and ſaid he ſhould be glad if he would give him leave to ſee how his countrymen did. They examined him and the Indian very ſtrictly, as to the quantity of victuals and water in the ſhips; and their anſwer agreed exactly with Sir Henry's. They then brought him to the commander's cell; and, coming out of the light, it was a great while before he could ſee. He delivered the letter with watery eyes. After acquainting him in what manner he came thither, Sir Henry told him, he thought they would not permit him to return on board; for that not many days before, they had detained one of the Pepper-corn's men, who came from Aden with a letter to him. He anſwered, That he came with a reſolution to ſhare his ſufferings, if ſuch were their reſolutions. But contrary to his expectations, the Turks let him and the Indian return to the boat, with Sir Henry's anſwer, with leave to come again if they had occaſion. Next day Chambers returned alone, for the Indian was ſo frightened, that he durſt not venture. The commander's man ſent ſeveral things by him to his maſter, but the aga was his receiver, and kept them for his own uſe. This honeſt man having done all in his power, returned on board, and left him to his miſery. But when the captives leaſt expected it, they met with ſome relief: for on the 18th of December, there came from Zenan an aga, captain or chief of the Chiaous, with orders to bring up the Engliſh. As ſoon as he alighted he was deſirous of ſeeing the commander and the reſt. On this occaſion, there were three chairs brought into his room, in which Rejib Aga, Iſmael Aga, (the meſſenger from the baſha) and Jaffer Aga ſeated themſelves. Rejib Aga began by aſking him, How he durſt be ſo bold as to come into that country ſo near the Holy City, without a paſs from the Grand Signior? Sir Henry anſwered, That the king his maſter, was in league and amity with the Grand Signior, and that in the articles of peace between them, free trade was allowed the Engliſh throughout his dominions, of which Mocha being a part, they needed no paſs. He anſwered, This was the door of their Holy City, and that therefore, it was not lawful for any Chriſtian to come thither. He likewiſe demanded, Whether he did not know that the Grand Signor's ſword was long? The commander replied, That they were not taken by the ſword, but by treachery; and that if he and his people were on board, he cared not for the length of his, nor all their ſwords. The aga ſaid, It was proudly ſpoken, and again urged him to write a letter, commanding all the men to come on ſhore and yield themſelves to the baſha, to which he received the former anſwer. Iſmael Aga broke off this idle diſcourſe, by telling Sir Henry, that he came from the baſha with expreſs orders to conduct him and his people to Zenan (or Senaa,) adviſing him to ſend on board for warm cloaths, for that they would find it very cold in the mountain country. The commander intreated, that if poſſible, his men might be ſuffered to go on board; and that he and a few more might be ſent up. But Iſmael ſaid it was not in his power to grant it, for that it was the baſha's order they ſhould all attend him. However, Rijib ſaid, he ſhould have his deſire in part, and that only five more ſhould go with him, the reſt remaining where they were till further orders. The 20th, Captain Dounton, in the Pepper-corn came into the road from Aden, to whom Sir Henry wrote what he thought proper.

The irons were knocked off the legs of the Engliſh; excepting the carpenters and ſmiths, and ſome ſick men, who were not able to travel. On the 22d of December, the carpenters and ſmiths were kept there to build up the pinnace. The commander and 34 more were appointed to go up for Zenan, the chief city of the kingdom, where the baſha reſides. About four o'clock, they ſet out of Mocha, all the company being mounted upon aſſes, except Sir Henry and Mr. Femel, who had horſes. About ten at night, being ten or twelve miles from Mocha. Mr. Pemberton ſlipped away from them. The company miſſed him preſently, but ſaid nothing, except praying for his eſcape. About one in the morning, when they came to their inn, at a town called Mowſſi, they counted them, but did not miſs him; but next day, about four in the afternoon, when they ſet out, they counted them again, and found one miſſing. The aga on this, inquired of Sir Henry, what number of them ſet out of Mocha? He anſwered, he could not well tell, but thought there were 34. The aga ſaid, there were 35, and that now there was one leſs; the other replied, it was more than he knew.——Mr. Pemberton was moved to this attempt by ſeeing ſo many of them carried up together manacled, with a captain and a guard of ſoldiers to conduct them; from whence he concluded nothing could enſue but ſlavery or death. Sir Henry however, found ſeveral friends among them. There was one Hamed Aga, who ſent him many preſents, and adviſed him not to be dejected, for that his cauſe was good. He alſo ſent him and his people proviſion of bread for their journey, and his letters to Abdalla Chelabi the Chiaous. The conſul of the Bannians viſited Sir Henry every day, and never failed daily to ſend each man (being 50 in number) two cakes of white bread, and a quantity of dates or plantanes. He ſet out from Mocha two days before them, promiſing, at his departure, to do them all the ſervice he could with the baſha, which promiſe he well performed.

They arrived at the city of Tayez (four days journey from Mocha) on Chriſtmas day, and were conducted into the city, two and two in rank, as they do at Conſtantinople with captives taken in the wars: Their aga rode in triumph as a great conqueror, being met a mile out of the town by the chief men of the city on horſeback; and the road, for that ſpace, was lined with multitudes of people, who ſtood gazing at them. Thus they made their entry into all the cities and towns through which they paſſed. A lad of Mr. Pemberton's falling ſick in this town, was left with the governor; and from this time forward, Sir Henry obſerved it was very cold all the way from thence to Zenan, their lodging being the bare ground. He bought the men who were but thinly cloathed, furred gowns, otherwiſe he believes they would have periſhed with with cold. He was but ill provided himſelf, becauſe he could not be perſuaded, when he was at Mocha, that it could be ſo cold as they ſaid it was: but he found the ground covered every morning with hoar froſt; and at Zenan, which lies within 16 degrees 55 minutes of the line, they had ice a finger thick in one night; which Sir Henry could not have credited if he had not been an eye-witneſs of it. They were 15 days on the road between Mocha and Zenan. The 5th of January, two hours before day, they came within two miles of the city, where they lay upon the ground till after ſun-riſe, being ſo benumbed with cold, that when they got up, they were ſcarce able to ſtand. About a mile on this ſide they were met by the ſubaſha, or ſheriff, and about 200 men with drums and trumpets. They cauſed the ſoldiers to lead the way, and the Engliſh to follow one by one, at ſome diſtance from each other, to make the better

ſhow. Their gowns being taken from them, they were forced to march on foot in their thin and ragged ſuits. The ſhip trumpeters were placed next, and ordered by the aga to ſound; but the commander, who came after with Mr. Femel on horſe-back, forbid them. Their aga brought up the rear, riding in triumph, with a ſpare horſe richly furniſhed, led before him. "In this order, (ſays the author) they marched through the city to the caſtle, all the way being ſo crowded with people, they could ſcarcely paſs. At the firſt gate there was a large guard of ſoldiers: the ſecond gate had before it two great guns ready mounted. Having paſſed it, they came into a ſpacious court, twice the length of the Royal Exchange in London. The ſoldiers at the gate fired their pieces, and then they placed themſelves on each ſide the way, among many others, who were there when they came; the commander, as ſoon as he entered into the court, alighted, and was placed on one ſide with the men, where they had not been long before he and Mr. Femel, were brought before the baſha. It was their divan or council day. At the farther end of the area, they went up ſtairs of twelve ſteps. At the top, two great men came and took Sir Henry by the wriſts, and holding him very hard, led him to the baſha, who ſat at the upper end of a long ſpacious gallery, many nobles ſtanding on each ſide of him; others ſtood on either ſide, from the lower part of the gallery to the upper end, which made a good appearance. The floor was covered over with Turkey carpets. Sir Henry being come within two yards of him, was ſtopped. Immediately the baſha, with a frowning and angry countenance, demanded what country he was of, and what brought him into thoſe parts? The commander anſwered, That he was an Engliſh merchant, and being friend to the Grand Signior, came to ſeek trade there." The baſha ſaid, "It was not lawful for any Chriſtian to put his foot in that country; and, that he had warned Captain Sharpey, to caution thoſe of his nation to come no more thither." Sir Henry replied, "That Captain Sharpey was caſt away upon the Coaſt of India, and arrived not in England to tell them; that had they known ſo much, they ſhould never have got into the trouble they were in: He added, that Rejib Aga was the man who had abuſed him, by telling him his nation was welcome into the country; and that they ſhould have as free trade, as they had in any part of Turkey; that he had made him many other fair promiſes, as to their ſecurity; yet that, contrary to his word, he had aſſaulted them with armed ſoldiers, murdered ſeveral of his men, and taken himſelf, and the reſt priſoners."

"The baſha anſwered, that Rejib was but his ſlave, and had no power to make any ſuch promiſes, without his leave; that what had befallen him and his people, was by his order, purſuant to one of the like nature from the Grand Signior to himſelf, commanding him to chaſtiſe all Chriſtians who ſhould come into thoſe parts. Sir Henry told him; they had received great damage: and that if it pleaſed him to let him return to their ſhips, it would be ſufficient warning to his nation againſt venturing thither for the future. The baſha replied, he could not let him depart; but that he ſhould ſtay there and write to the ambaſſador at Stambol, and that he would write himſelf likewiſe to the Grand Signior, to know his pleaſure concerning them; and whether he would permit them to trade there or not. Upon this he diſmiſſed Sir Henry for that time, bidding him to go to the lodging appointed for him, and take with him four or five more, ſuch as he thought fit. He, and thoſe he made choice of, were conveyed to the keeper of the priſon's houſe; and the reſt carried to the common jail, where they were clapped in weighty irons.

"When they were firſt brought before the baſha, one of the lads, thinking Sir Henry was ſo led to have his head ſtruck off, and that it would be his own turn not long after, fell into a ſwoon with fear: and upon that ſickening, ſhortly after died."

On the 6th of January, the baſha's chiaous, or lieutenant of the kingdom, ſent for Sir Henry to breakfaſt with him; which being over, the commander gave him a very particular account, how treacherouſly and vilely he had been uſed by Rejib Aga. This officer bade him be of good cheer, and not think of things paſt, which could not be remedied: ſaying, he doubted not but all would be well in a little time: and that his beſt endeavours to ſerve him ſhould not be wanting. Shermal, the Bannian of Mocha, had made this man his friend. Sir Henry then departed with his keeper to priſon, where he was in better ſpirits than before.

On the 7th the chiaous ſent for him to his garden, where he feaſted him and Mr. Femel, telling him, that ſhortly he and his people ſhould be ſet at liberty, and ſent to Mocha, where he ſhould have redreſs of all his wrongs. He promiſed likewiſe to be his friend, and before many great perſonages, (both Turks and Arabs) declared what kindneſs he did him, was purely for God's ſake; but Sir Henry concluded, it was in hopes of ſome great reward. Hamed Aga's letter did them great ſervice. The ſame day there came to town a Moor of Cairo, who was an old acquaintance of the baſha's, and had lent him large ſums of money at his coming from Conſtantinople, when he was but poor. This man was next neighbour to the Engliſh at Mocha, when they were betrayed; and had a ſhip in the road, bound for India, which he greatly feared their ſhips would have taken, in revenge of the wrongs offered them: but they let her depart quietly, contrary to his expectation; ſo that he became their ſtaunch friend. He wrote a letter in their behalf to the baſha, wherein he blamed him much for uſing them ſo hardly: ſaying, he went a way by ſuch meaſures to deſtroy the country and its trade. At his viſit to the baſha, he not only repeated what he had written, but ſaid a great deal more upon the occaſion, adviſing him to return the Engliſh all their goods, and ſend them away contented.

Mr. Fowler, and eighteen more of the company, who arrived from Aden on the 17th, were afterwards put into a common dungeon in irons, and fed on brown bread and water by the baſha's order; but Sir Henry found means to ſupply them better. Sir Henry having agreed to give 1500 venetianos to forward his buſineſs, was afterwards conveyed before the baſha, who was prepared for the reception.

In this laſt conference the baſha behaved with affability to Sir Henry, and bade him keep up his ſpirits, and aſſured him that he and his people ſhould ſhortly be ſet at liberty, and ſent to Mocha, there to remain with twenty-nine more (the reſt being ſent on board) till all the ſhips of India were come into the port, and the wind ſettled weſterly, after which they alſo ſhould be ſent on board, and ſuffered to proceed to India: but Sir Henry in vain petitioned to have his goods reſtored, the baſha informing him that they were placed to the account of the Grand Signior; but repeatedly aſſured him that as to his people, they ſhould be reſtored to a man, and that even if he had a Turkiſh ſlave, that ſlave ſhould not be detained. He received the Engliſh commander's thanks, and apologiſed on his own part for what had paſſed, at the ſame time he gave the Engliſh to underſtand, if any more of his countrymen came into thoſe parts to injure the trade of the baſhas of Cairo and Swaken, they might expect to have their ſhips and goods confiſcated, and to be ſlain or made ſlaves, which he hoped would ſerve for a warning to them and other nations. At another viſit they made this Turk, giving him joy of his dignity, (he being created a viſir) they were well received; promiſes were renewed, and Sir Henry and Mr. Femel were admitted to the honour of kiſſing his hand.

In the mean time many of the Engliſh falling ſick, their commander ceaſed not his ſolicitations till he got their deliverance out of priſon. He was now informed that Rejib Aga had deſired the captives might

might be ſent to Aden, by which means, he ſaid, his town of Mocha and ſuch veſſels as might paſs the Streights of Babelmandel would be ſecure againſt any attempts of the Engliſh. But their friend the chiaous contrived to render this ſcheme abortive.

When the commander again waited on the baſha, he received another ſolemn warning for his countrymen to come no more into thoſe ſeas. Sir Henry however, begged that in caſe any of them ſhould come thither before his advices ſhould be received, they might not be betrayed or ill-treated. He could obtain no promiſe of this kind; but on his begging the baſha would write to Rejib Aga in his favour, received aſſurances that the aga durſt not injure him, the baſha ſaying, with great pride, "Is not my *word* alone ſufficient to turn a whole city upſide down? If Rejib Aga wrongs you, I will pull his ſkin over his ears and give you his head, is he not my ſlave?" And with this anſwer Sir Henry was obliged to be contented. After this, he commanded the chiaous to write his diſpatch, who, in the laſt place demanded an anſwer to the king's letter, but he could not get any.

Being returned from the baſha's he begged the chiaous would get him permiſſion to purchaſe a ſword, that he might not ride down as a priſoner, as he had come up. The Turkiſh chief hearing of this, ſent him one of his own old ſwords; but the chiaous was more generous, and the ſame morning preſented his Engliſh friend with 100 pieces of gold, which, added to fifty he had ſent him before, was no contemptible gift to one in ſuch a ſituation.

The priſon dues being paid, and all things got in readineſs for the departure of the Engliſh, Sir Henry having breakfaſted with the chiaous at his garden, received his diſpatches, and the next day took his leave, and left the place.

The city of Zenan (or Senaa) is deſcribed as being about the ſize of Briſtol. The houſes they found built of lime and ſtone, and obſerved that water and wood being far fetched, were dear there. The baſha reſided at the caſtle on the eaſt ſide. The houſe of the keeper of the priſon where Sir Henry Middleton was confined, was contiguous to the city wall; at the foot of it was a yard, where a great number of people, moſtly women and children, were detained as pledges to inſure the loyalty of their parents and relations. While the boys were little, they ran about at liberty, but when grown big, were fettered and removed to a ſtrong tower, there to be kept during the tyrannical governor's pleaſure. The women and children who remained in the yard, lived in cottages. The latter went almoſt naked, and were as wild as mountaineers.

Sir Henry, previous to his departure, had procured a letter from the chiaous for the purpoſe of getting a boy of Mr. Pemberton's delivered up, who was ſaid to have turned Mahometan. However, when he came to Tayez he demanded him, and produced the letter in vain, as that officer had only written to the aga to deliver him in caſe he had not changed his religion. After all, the youth had only been inſtigated to this change by threats, and received the ſeal of their Mahometan faith by an act of violence; but to plead all this was of no avail, and Sir Henry was obliged to give up the point.

He arrived at Mocha on the 15th of March, about five in the morning, after a journey of ſixteen days. Here Sir Henry learned that Mr. Pemberton, whom he never expected to ſee more, had lighted on a canoe, and got on board. The Arabs here behaved very civilly, welcoming the Engliſh, whoſe hard treatment by the Turks had not been at all pleaſing to them. Sir Henry, Meſſrs. Femel and Fowler, were brought before the aga, who received them with great ſeeming kindneſs, excuſing himſelf for what had paſſed, obſerving, that he had done nothing but what he had in charge from his maſter. The Engliſh commander, found there was no other way but to meet his diſſembling with equal diſſimulation, and accordingly, liſtening to the Turk, anſwered him mildly, but gave ſmall credit to his proteſtations. He was invited to feaſts, and otherwiſe flattered, but though a handſome houſe had been taken for him by the water-ſide, the aga, fearful of his eſcaping, removed him to another in the middle of the town, where he was ſufficiently watched and guarded at night, by a company of ſoldiers. Theſe, and other circumſtances, made that commander plan the means of eſcaping, which after a diſappointment, occaſioned by his being more careful of others than of himſelf, was however at laſt, effected in the following manner:

The Darling being arrived on the 6th of April, and the baſha with all his chief men riding out to his pleaſure-garden on the 11th; Sir Henry, glad of this opportunity, reſolved to put his long-determined deſign of eſcaping, in practice; for Hamed Aga, and others, had told him, that the baſha would not perform his word, unleſs he was forced to it. Sir Henry wrote a letter to Mr. Pemberton, ſignifying that he deſigned the ſame day to make his eſcape on board, conveyed in a caſk, and therefore deſired him to ſend the boat, with all ſpeed, well manned, and with liquor, to make his keepers drunk, which was accordingly done. Before he acquainted Mr. Femel with his intention, he made him ſwear to be ſecret, and uſe no arguments to diſſuade him from what he had reſolved upon. After this, he ſhewed what he had written to Mr. Pemberton, and then directed him to walk out, with others, to a certain place, by the water-ſide, where he promiſed (in caſe he got ſafe to the boat himſelf) to come and take him in. Sir Henry had appointed the carpenters, and others, to repair to the ſouthward of the town, where lay a boat near the ſhore, with maſts and ſails ready to take them in, charging them at the ſame time, not to embark themſelves till they ſaw the ſhip's boat put off from the bridge.

Matters fell out to favour Sir Henry's attempt: the ſubaſha, (who was their guardian, and left in town only to watch him) fell to drinking moſt greedily.—All things being ready, and the keepers drunk, about twelve at noon the ſubaſha returned from drinking, and retired to his quarters, at one end of the houſe, parted from the Engliſh only by a wall, the better to guard them. Sir Henry now put his project in execution. He ordered the carpenters to take others with them, and to go by two and two in the beſt manner they could, to avoid ſuſpicion. He directed Mr. Femel, and thoſe he had appointed to be taken in to the leeward of the town, to go two or three in a company along the ſea-ſide to the place, and there wait his coming. After he had given theſe directions, he was incloſed in his tub, and ſafely conveyed into the boat, which being done, he forced out the head of the caſk, and came on board, ordering the men to bear up with the leeward point, where he took in eleven perſons. But Mr. Femel and others, being rather too dilatory in ſetting out, were taken before they could reach the boat. For by this time the town was raiſed, partly by the indiſcreet running of ſome of the Engliſh, and partly by ſeeing the boat bear up to leeward, contrary to cuſtom. He might however have eſcaped with his company, had he come by land to the point, and not taken water ſo ſoon as others behind him, who were ſick and weak. Sir Henry came to an anchor, and in waiting for them, brought the boat aſhore, which put them all in much danger. He likewiſe ordered men to leap over-board, to reſcue Femel: but before they could get a pike's length from the boat, he and thoſe were apprehended. Mr. Femel being cloſely purſued by one perſon, diſcharged a piſtol in his face, and mortally wounded him. Sir Henry finding the whole town in purſuit of him, and conſidering he had a very narrow and ſhoal channel to paſs, between a ſmall ſandy iſland and the main, ſaw it was folly to ſtay any longer, therefore ordering the men to put forward, they luckily hit on the right channel, which quickly brought them into the deep water, and out of danger of their enemies. Thoſe in the

the Darling kept good watch on the tops; and as ſoon as they ſaw the boat under ſail, let ſlip, and bore up to leeward, to relieve them in caſe of need. By the time they got on board, the boat in which the carpenters were, coming in ſight, Sir Henry ſent the ſhip's boat to bring them on board, one of them who was appointed to come with them, ſtayed ſo long behind, that the boat was put off before he came up, and he thinking to ſwim on board, was drowned. About two hours after, two poor Arabs appeared in a canoe, but were ſo fearful that they durſt not come nigh the ſhip: till at length, being won by fair words, one of them entered and delivered the commander a letter from Mr. Femel: intimating, that they were in great danger of being killed by thoſe who apprehended them, but that ſome of the ſoldiers, bearing them good will, ſaved them, and brought them to the aga's, where they waited his coming home.

On ſight of them he looked very pale, and ſaid they ſhould all loſe their heads; aſking how they durſt attempt an eſcape? They ſaid they came out of England under the general's command, and did nothing but by his orders, which they durſt not diſobey. He again threatened them with the loſs of their heads, and cauſed them to be chained by the necks: but they were ſoon releaſed at the entreaty of Nakhada Malech Amber, Nakhada Mohammed, of Cananor, and others, and permitted to remain in their former houſe: but under a ſtronger guard than before. This proceeded from fear of their ſhips in the road, which were then under Sir Henry's command: who returned an anſwer, and ſent the aga word, that if he did not immediately ſend him all his people, and the ſhip-furniture, which he detained contrary to the baſha's order, he would fire the ſhips in the road, and endeavour to batter the town. He likewiſe ſent word to the Nakhadas, that he would not ſuffer any boat to go to their ſhips, without firſt coming on board his, to acquaint him with their buſineſs: nor let any thing be carried out of them, but by his leave and order.

After his eſcape, there was no ſmall diſturbance in the town. The aga not knowing what anſwer to make to the baſha, feared it would coſt him the loſs of his head. The ſubaſha, who had been Sir Henry's keeper, knew not whether he had beſt ſtay or fly for his life. The Emir al Bahr (or lord of the ſea) was in the ſame terror, being accuſed of conſenting to his eſcape: one of their porters took ſanctuary in a church, and would not come out till he had got his pardon. Moſt of the Nakhada's and merchants, in great fear of loſing their ſhips and goods, ſent preſents of victuals to Mr. Femel and the reſt, whom before they ſcorned to ſpeak to. At night Sir Henry ſent the boat well manned to carry the news to their ſhips, with orders likewiſe to come over with all ſpeed. He plied to windward in the Darling, when the tide ſerved, and rode a little without the great ſhip, ſo that he had her, and all the reſt, under the command of his guns.

On the 12th Nakhada Mohammed of Cananor came on board with letters, telling Sir Henry, that he was ſorry he went away in that manner, for that he was determined, within a few days, to have ſet him at liberty, and all his people: That he would deliver the furniture belonging to the ſhips, which were on ſhore, but could not ſend his people without an order from the baſha: That he had intreated fifteen days reſpite; and if, in that time, all his men were not put on board, they deſired no favour. The commander told him, that he likewiſe expected to have his pinnace reſtored, for that he would not leave the road without her. The Nakhada ſaid, "He would acquaint the aga with his demand, and doubted not but ſhe would be delivered up. Sir Henry yielded to his requeſt, upon his promiſe, that he ſhould have both men and pinnace within the time limited. He durſt not demand reſtitution or ſatisfaction for his goods, till he had recovered all his men from ſhore. Mohammed having acquainted the aga with the conditions, upon which he had obtained fifteen days truce, he was very angry, that Sir Henry had inſiſted on having the pinnace; and ſending for Mr. Femel and John Williams, aſked what the commander meant by demanding her, ſince ſhe was the baſha's by agreement with him? ſaying, "He might as well demand the goods as the pinnace; both which were put to the account of the Grand Signior." They made anſwer, That he could not well proceed on his voyage without the pinnace; but that for the goods, they aſſured him, he would never demand them. In the mean time, the Darling's cables, anchors, pitch, tar, and other materials, were brought from ſhore; and few days paſſed, but Sir Henry had ſome preſents of refreſhments from the aga, the dabutian, and others.

That morning early, a boat going from ſhore on board the innermoſt ſhip, the commander cauſed two guns to be fired at her, which brought her on board him. On threatening to hang them and burn their ſhips if they did ſo any more, they durſt not attempt the like afterwards.

On the 13th, near night, the Increaſe and Peppercorn came to anchor in ſight of the road, not able to get in, becauſe the leeward tide was againſt them. But next morning entering the ſame, Sir Henry went on board the Increaſe, where he was received with great joy.

The 18th, there arrived a ſhip of Diu, belonging to Shermal the ſhah bander, laden with Indian commodities, which Sir Henry ordered to ride near him; but next day, at the intreaty of Shermal, he licenced all the people (excepting ſome few to look to the ſhip) to go on ſhore. On the 21ſt, Mr. Femel wrote him word, that they had all been chained by the neck. The 25th, Nakhada Mohammed came on board, and informed Sir Henry, that the baſha had given order for the releaſe of his men and pinnace, promiſing to bring them next day; the Increaſe firing three guns at his departure. One day all the Engliſh at land were chained by the neck, and the next day releaſed: The cauſe of which uſage they could not learn.

Mohammed returned on the 26th, ſaying, the pinnace was launched: but the aga would neither deliver her nor the men, till Sir Henry had given him a writing ſigned by himſelf, and four or five more of the principal perſons in the ſhips, importing, that he would maintain perfect peace with the Turks (the aga's ſubjects) and Indians: that he would not meddle with any ſhips either in that ſea, or elſewhere, in revenge for what had paſſed; nor demand reſtitution or ſatisfaction for goods taken from him: which engagement was to be confirmed by oath. Sir Henry told him, That he was ſurpriſed to find he came every day with new demands; that as he had the day before promiſed abſolutely to bring him the pinnace and all his men, he took it for granted it would have been done; but that ſince he had not kept his word, he intended for better ſecurity, to detain him, and thoſe that were with him as hoſtages, till he had performed his engagement; deſiring him to acquaint the aga with it. Mohammed alledged, That he having undertaken this affair of his own accord, ſhould reap much diſcredit, and be laughed at for his forwardneſs, if he ſhould write to that purpoſe, and therefore declared plainly, that he would not write ſuch a letter, let what would happen, but promiſed, if Sir Henry would give him ſuch a writing as he demanded, and ſend him on ſhore, he would bring all his people on board before night. The commander, finding he could obtain nothing by compulſion, thought it beſt to yield to him in appearance, and give him ſome writing, though of a different nature from what he deſired. In effect, he cauſed a memorandum to be drawn up in Engliſh, containing a brief relation of the treacherous uſage he had met with in this country, and nothing elſe; which was ſigned by him and five more, as witneſſes of the truth of it, and he ſent advice to Mr. Femel, how he ſhould interpret it. Sir Henry thus delivered him the writing, but

refuſed

refuſed to ſwear; ſaying, his word ſhould be truer than a Turk's oath at all times.

Then Mohammed went on ſhore, leaving ſome of the better ſort of his company for pledges; and bade the commander hang them, in caſe he did not bring him all his company on board that night. Accordingly, he returned in the evening with Mr. Femel and nine others; Femel, Williams, and Cunningham were cloathed with paltry veſts. Another was ſent to Sir Henry, which they ſaid came from the aga. The nachada would have put it on his back, deſiring he would wear it as a favour from that thief; but the commander refuſed it, telling him, "That he ſcorned to wear any thing which came from ſo unconſcionable a dog, and his enemy, by whoſe order he had received ſo much wrong." Mohammed finding he would not take it, left it with his man, and ſo departed; carrying with him the Turk taken in the Darling, (who had remained on board the Increaſe till then) and promiſed to return in the morning with the pinnace. Accordingly on the 27th, he brought the pinnace, and aſked, If all he had promiſed was performed? The commander replied, No; for that he ſtill wanted a boy, whom they detained at Tayes, and had forced to change his religion: declaring, that he ſhould be delivered to him before he would releaſe the ſhips. Mohammed replied, that he would tell the aga, and return with his anſwer.

On the 28th, a writing was ſent the commander from the aga, whereby Nachada Mohammed and Shermal Shah Bander, bound themſelves under forfeiture of ſhips and goods, that the boy ſhould be delivered in twelve days, provided he would releaſe the veſſels. On which he gave them leave to unlade the ſhip of Diu, and viſit the other ſhips at their pleaſure. This night Mr. Femel died either of a calenture, or of poiſon given him by the Turks.

On the 1ſt of June, three boats laden with cotton were diſcharged out of the ſhip. This evening a ſtrong ſquall from ſhore broke their land-cable. The wind was ſo hot they could hardly endure it, and it obliged Sir Henry to fly to his cabin. Theſe hot winds are common in thoſe parts. He wrote a letter to the baſha in Italian, demanding reſtitution of his goods, and ſatisfaction for damages. He was anſwered afterwards as to his demand: but the letter was not underſtood, for want of an interpreter. He again laid an embargo on the ſhip of Diu, and would not ſuffer them to unlade any more goods out of her, till the baſha had ſatisfied him to the value of 70,000 rials of eight. The boy alſo was reſtored: but all this was not accompliſhed till ſeveral angry meſſages had paſſed between him and the aga.

This being ſettled, the Shah Bander demanded the 1000 venetianos promiſed the baſha's chiaous: but Sir Henry would by no means pay it, although he urged him much with his promiſe, and ſaid he ſhould be forced otherwiſe to pay it himſelf, for that he had paſſed his word for that ſum. The commander told him the officer had not performed his promiſe made him, to ſet him and his people at liberry: how the chiaous and he will agree (ſays Sir Henry) I know not, but I doubt he will be forced to pay it. Towards night the Shah Bander and the reſt having taken their leave, the commander cauſed three guns to be fired for his farewel.

On the 3d of July in the afternoon, the ſhips warped out of the road, and that night ſet ſail towards Aſſab, but could not get thither till the 5th, in the morning. On the 6th, Sir Henry landing, cauſed all the wells to be emptied and cleaned; for he had been often told at Mocha, that the Turks practiſed with the people of Aſſab to poiſon the wells. They were employed till the 13th, in watering and buying proviſions: nothing happening in the mean time worth notice. This day the king of the country, ſent three of his chief ſervants, attended by thirty ſoldiers, with a letter and preſent of refreſhments to him. The purport of his letter was, to congratulate the commander on his eſcape from his enemies, and welcomed him into his dominions; offering to ſupply him with whatever his country afforded; Sir Henry having feaſted and rewarded the meſſengers, ſent the king a preſent; conſiſting of a veſt of broad cloath, and a fine looking glaſs.

On the 17th, there came a veſſel from Mocha, wherein was Tokorſi the Shah Bander's man, and another Bannian; who brought ſome proviſions Sir Henry had beſpoken, and the money due to him; but a writing he had demanded to ratify the peace, was not brought. Tokorſi's excuſe was, that the baſha was ſo buſy in the wars, that he had not time to write; from whence it was manifeſt, that he intended to keep no meaſures with the Engliſh.

On the 24th, the fleet ſet ſail out of Aſſab road, to put in practice what Sir Henry had long before determined, which was to ply to the windward as high as the iſland of Comorin; and there wait for a great ſhip that comes every year, about this time, from Suez, richly laden for Mocha. By theſe means he propoſed to be ſufficiently revenged on the Turks. He was the more deſirous to meet with her, becauſe he underſtood that the baſha, and Rejib Aga had conſiderable ventures in her. From hence, to the laſt of this month, they plied to the windward, and the wind being contrary, they ſailed by day, and commonly lay at anchor all night. In this cruiſe they ran many hazzards for want of a pilot, and often narrowly eſcaped running on ground, which would have riſqued the loſs of all: at laſt the ſhip eſcaped them in the night; as they found on their return.

They ſet ſail on the 9th of Auguſt in the morning, and about eight in the evening, anchored three leagues ſhort of Babalmandel. On the 10th, the Darling and Releaſe, went out by the weſtern channel, which they found to be three leagues over from the Coaſt of Abyſſinia, to the iſland of Babalmandel. One third of the way from the iſland, they had no ground at forty fathoms, the channel being clear without dangers, and full of ſhoals and rocks, which rendered it unnavigable, as all the Turks and Indians reported, in order to make them believe there was no other paſſage, but through the eaſtern channel, which might be ſo fortified, that no ſhipping could paſs without being in danger. Between the Arabian ſhore and the iſle, is not a mile and a half: and on the land ſide, there lie ſhoals reaching a good way off.

The Increaſe and Pepper-corn, ſailed through the narrow channel. About four in the afternoon, they all met without the Streights, in nineteen fathoms, being about four miles from the Arabian ſhore. All this night they ſailed along the land.

From the 12th till the 27th, they had much wind, often contrary, and ſometimes calm, with a current ſetting ſouth-weſt, about four miles an hour: ſo that during this time, what they got when they had a favourable gale, they loſt, and more, when it fell calm, being carried back by the current.

The monſoon being far ſpent, Sir Henry deſired the nachada of Diu to help him with his boats and people, to take in ballaſt and water; which he, with others, moſt readily granted; proffering him all the water out of his ſhip: and employed his people alſo to fetch ſome from ſhore. The commander often ſpoke to the king to ſell him his aloes: but for a long time could bring him to no reaſonable terms. At length, with much trouble he bargained with him for all, paying dearer for it than Captain Keeling did for his. The Indians were alſo treating for it, which made him raiſe his price. The commander left letters with the king, which he promiſed to deliver to the firſt Engliſh who ſhould arrive there.

On the 3d of September, Sir Henry having finiſhed his buſineſs, the ſhips plied out of the road; having with much ado got a perſon out of the Diu ſhip, who took upon him to be a good coaſter, to pilot him to India. The 26th, between nine and ten o'clock, with a fair gale, they entered the road of Surat, and anchored by three Indian ſhips in ſeven fathoms. A mile from them rode ſeven ſail of Portugueſe frigates,

and thirteen more were within the river of Surat. Long before Sir Henry's arrival, the Portugueſe had intelligence that he was in the Red Sea, and bound for this place; ſo that their frigates were purpoſely ſent to hinder them from trading at Surat, or any where elſe upon the coaſt. A ſmall frigate came on the 29th from the admiral of the Armada, (as they termed it) in which was one Portugueſe and his boy; who brought an anſwer from the captain major to the commander's letter, ſent the day before; the purport of which, after ſome compliments, was, that he was glad the commander belonged to a king who was a friend; and that he and his would be ready to ſerve him to the beſt of his power, provided he brought a letter, or order, either from the king of Spain, or the vice-roy, for trading in thoſe parts; that otherwiſe, he was obliged to guard the port he had in charge, where the king his maſter kept a factory. Sir Henry returned anſwer by word of mouth, that he had a letter neither from the king of Spain, nor vice-roy, nor had any need thereof: for that he was ſent by the king of England, with letters and with preſents to the Great Mogul, in order to eſtabliſh the trade begun in thoſe parts: he likewiſe deſired, or rather demanded, that the Engliſh in thoſe parts might come on board. He beſtowed a veſt of broad-cloth upon the meſſenger, who promiſed to return the next day. Finding it was not poſſible, without a pilot, to croſs the bar (where the commander went to diſcover in the Darling) he returned in the evening, and anchored in the road. Going on board the Increaſe, he found letters from Nicholas Bangham at Surat (formerly a joiner in the Hector) who informed him, that the Engliſh had no factory there, and that he was thither from the aga by Captain Hawkins, to recover ſome debts; likewiſe, that he had letters from the captain, but durſt not ſend them on board, leſt they ſhould be intercepted by the Portugueſe. He made no mention of what became of the factors and goods. Sir Henry wrote to him, to ſend thoſe letters and farther particulars concerning their buſineſs.

The 3d of October, Chojah Naſſan, governor of Surat, and the governor's brother of Cambaya, ſent a meſſage to the commander with a preſent of refreſhments, offering to do him all the kindneſs they could, adding, that, for their part, they deſired to trade with the Engliſh, but could ſee no poſſibility of doing it, as long as the Portugueſe armada rode ſo near their fleet. He therefore adviſed him to go for Gago. But Sir Henry could not as yet determine which courſe to take. On the 5th the interpreter (who was a Bramin, or a prieſt of the Banians) came in a boat with a letter from Nicholas Bangham, and Captain Hawkins's letter from Agra, dated in April before, relating the manner of his being taken into, and put out of favour, by the Great Mogul; that monarch's fickleneſs in granting their trade, and afterwards denying it them, in favour of the Portugueſe. The ſame meſſenger alſo brought two letters, adviſing ſuch commanders not to land any goods, or hope for trade in thoſe parts.

Though Sir Henry had ſo little encouragement, yet he reſolved to try his utmoſt. By Bangham's letters he underſtood that Captain Sharpey, John Jourdaine, and others, were coming from Cambaya to Surat, to go along with him; and therefore determined at leaſt to get them on board. The proper Monſoon being paſt, the Indian ſhips, which rode by him, had given over their voyage to the ſouthward. The Bramin deſired leave to bring their ſhips into the river, but this the admiral would by no means grant. On the contrary, he deſired them to tell the governor, and the reſt of the owners, that their ſhips ſhould not depart till he and all the Engliſhmen at Cambaya and Surat were on board.

On the 22d of this month the Portugueſe had laid an ambuſh for the Engliſh that were ſent on ſhore, and when they thought they ſaw a fair opportunity, broke out from their hiding-place, running forward with impetuoſity, but in crowds and without order. There were about 300 in all who diſcharged their ſhot. The fire was returned by the Engliſh on ſhore, as alſo by the frigate, which being cloſe to the land, they retired on board. The enemy having received ſome damage, retired behind the hills, and ſwam from thence to their ſhips, in order to eſcape the danger. After this, when the Engliſh went in their frigate and boats on board their ſhips to Deadner, the Portugueſe came to anchor where they were before, and Sir Henry having taken the opinion of Captain Dounton (of whom mention will be made hereafter) as well as of others, the reſult of the conſultation was, that they ſhould ſtay no longer there, but return to Surat road, where the Trade's Increaſe then lay.

The viceroy's ſon now came into the river with 100 ſail of veſſels, ſome filled were, but the greater part of them merchantmen. At night Sir Henry ordered the ſhips that rode within, to come and anchor by him, leſt he might be endangered by the enemy, of whoſe force he was ignorant. At this time arrived Nicholas Bangham, who brought with him ſome refreſhments from Surat. On the 9th the ſhips riding without the land, Chojah Naſſan came down to the ſea-ſide, Sir Henry went to him with his frigate and boats, and the former promiſed to bring goods to trade with him within two or three days at fartheſt; as alſo to order the country people to bring in proviſions which they ſtood in need of.

The commander received a letter from Bangham on the 18th, intimating that there was little trade to be expected here; and this circumſtance, joined to Chojah Naſſan's breach of promiſe, naturally led the Engliſh commander to conclude all their former propoſals meant nothing, and that they durſt not allow him the liberty of trading, for fear of the Portugueſe. For this reaſon he wiſhed to abide by the reſolve that was made of going away as ſoon as poſſible. To this purpoſe he wrote to Bangham to come to him, but he could not get permiſſion from Chojah Naſſan, whoſe vigilance, however, at length he eluded, and eſcaped. As ſoon as he was miſſed, the chief, judging that he was gone to the ſhips, ſent one Jaddah, a broker, after him, with a letter from himſelf, and another from Mokrib Chan, in which both promiſed to come ſoon to ſee the Engliſh commander, who could have but little dependence on what was written, yet he thought proper to wait ſome time the event of theſe profeſſions. After ſome interruption from the Portugueſe at the landing place, who were obliged to retire, the Engliſh got their boat, and prepared to depart, as they had determined.

But on Sunday the 24th, Jaddah the broker came on board, and told Sir Harry, that Mokrib Chin was on the road. And ſoon after dinner, going to the ſhore-ſide with his frigate, he found Chojah Naſſan there, who ſent to let him know that Mokrib Chan would likewiſe come there preſently. The admiral in conſequence went on ſhore again with a proper preſent, and found the Chan waiting for him, together with Chojah Naſſan and a great company. They embraced each other at their meeting, and while the Engliſh ſhips ſaluted, which the Indian ſeemed to take very kindly. Afterwards they ſate down to talk together on carpets ſpread on the ground. Afterwards Mokrib Chan came on board, and ſtaid all night, which apparent confidence induced the Engliſh commander to think that he ſhould ſettle a treaty of trade to advantage. The Chan however ſeemed rather diſpoſed to conſult his own intereſt than any thing elſe, after he had buſied himſelf in buying knives and toys, he urged the general to open his cheſts, aſking for whatever there was in them that pleaſed him, and even taking away from other quarters of the ſhip, ſuch things as he liked beſt, without offering to pay for them. He behaved in the ſame manner on board the other ſhips which he viſited, and the commander then thought proper to comply with his humour.

After all this courteſy ſhewn by the Engliſh, they attempted to eſtabliſh a trade, but met with little ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, although ſamples of goods were ſhewn with the prices marked on them. The Indians were very full of tricks and evaſions. Chojah Naſſan managed the markets, and did every thing to ſpoil the ſail of the new comers commodities.

However Mokrib Chan came down again on the 8th of December, and after many ſalutations proceeded to make overtures towards trading, but Chojah Naſſan who conducted the buſineſs, rendered it of little advantage to the Engliſh. In the mean time, Mokrib Chan received diſpatches from his king, which it ſeems contained an order for him to reſign his government of Cambaya, (as Chojah Naſſan had loſt that of Surat.) Nothing now remained to the former but the cuſtoms of the laſt-mentioned city.

The new governor of Surat and Haſſan Ali came on board the Pepper-corn on the 10th, and afterwards went to ſee the Trade's Increaſe. By this time the lead was nearly landed, which was a principal article of trade, but the natives of Surat, who weighed all with their own weights, proved deceitful. And at length Chojah Naſſan inſiſted on having half the worth for his commodities in money, and the other half in goods.

As it is a cuſtom in ſome Indian countries that any bargain may be revoked provided it be done in 24 hours, Sir Henry had obtained a promiſe of Chojah Naſſan that he would abſolutely ſtand to his bargain. But ſtill doubting the ſincerity of this man's profeſſions, the commander thought to keep thoſe on board for pledges, till the agreements entered into were performed. Thoſe pledges were Chojah Naſſan and the Shah Bander, on board the Pepper-corn.

On the 24th the whole buſineſs was concluded, and in conſequence the pledges were releaſed. Three days afterwards a Jew came on board who brought a letter from Maſſulipatam, which was ſent by Peter Floris, a native of Dantzick, employed by the company, giving an account of his ſetting out in February, his ſafe and ſpeedy paſſage, and his arrival in the beginning of September. Mokrib Chan who had been out of town, returned on the 7th. Before he left the place he had confirmed the promiſes he made to the factory. But now he ſent for Mr. Jourdaine, and with a frown on his brow, aſked, What he did there, and why the Engliſh were not departed. He was anſwered, that he ſtaid, depending on his promiſe that a factory ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and that otherwiſe he ſhould not have been there. But the Indian replied, They ſhould not have any factory there, and added, that by their long ſtay he had been a very great loſer in regard to the cuſtoms; for which reaſon he ordered them in the king's name to quit Surat, and they departed accordingly.

They warped out with the Increaſe on the 9th of February, the weather being calm; and on the 11th in the morning ſet ſail for Surat road, and anchored there in the afternooon, by a new ſhip of that place, which was lately launched, and came out of the river, bound for the Red Sea. They weighed on the 12th, and, driving to the ſouthward, anchored again near a ſhip of Calicut, bound for Surat, out of which Sir Henry Middleton took a pilot for Dabul, whither he ſteered his courſe, and arrived in the road on the 16th, about ſix in the evening. The pilot was now ſent on ſhore in a fiſhing boat, with a letter to the governor. The letter was to intreat him to uſe the commander kindly, and trade with him. In the afternoon he received a ſmall preſent of refreſhments, both from the governor and Malech Amber, with many compliments, offering him any thing the country afforded, and promiſing to deal with him if he would ſend on ſhore. On this he ſent two merchants with a good preſent, who were bid welcome, and kindly entertained while they ſtaid there.

On the 24th, Sir Henry called a council, and propoſed the queſtion, Whether to go from thence directly for Priaman, Bantam, &c. or return to the Red Sea, to trade with the Indian ſhips bound thither? He alledged, that ſince they would not deal with them at their own doors, to which they had brought from far commodities proper for their country, and no where elſe vendible, he thought they ſhould do themſelves but juſtice, and them no wrong, in compelling them to barter, and give their indicoes, and other goods in exchange. It was the unanimous opinion, that they ſhould return to the Red Sea, for ſeveral reaſons: Firſt, in order to put off the Engliſh goods, and get others in lieu fit for their own country. Secondly, to take ſome revenge of the great and unſufferable injuries done Sir Henry, by the Turks, at Mocha; and, laſtly, To ſave the ſhip, which they heard (by the way of Maſſulipatam) was bound that way; judging, that otherwiſe ſhe could not poſſibly eſcape being betrayed. From this day to the 27th, they employed their time in getting freſh-water on board.

The Indians had bought all the red-lead, and it was actually delivered on ſhore, but afterwards diſliking it, they returned it.——In the evening, the Engliſh ſaw a ſhip in the offing. Two or three Malabars which made near them, told them ſhe was a Portugueſe veſſel, of Cochin, bound for Chaul; therefore the commander ſent the Pepper-corn, Darling, and frigate, to fetch her in, which they did on the 28th. Thoſe in the frigate having pillaged the mariners, he took their plunder from them, and returned it to the owners. Her lading was cocoa-nuts, and little elſe. This day was ſpent in ſearching her, but the commander could find no bills of lading. Some ſmall matters he took from her, on account of the injuries offered him by the captain, at the bar of Surat, in ſeizing his goods, and hindering his trade. That he ſuſtained no farther damage from them, was not owing to their good will, but for want of power, as appeared by the viceroy's letters, &c. before-mentioned. Sir Henry took an account of the things he had out of her, from under the hands of the principal men who were on board.

On the 25th of March they had ſight of the iſland of Socotra, and at four in the afternoon the point of Deliſſa, bore ſouth ſouth-weſt, ſix leagues off; variation ſixteen degrees. From the 24th at noon, till this day at noon, they ſteered north-weſt and weſt, and weſt-north-weſt, and weſt all night, thinking by day-light to have been near the weſternmoſt part of the iſland; but contrary to their expectation, they found they had gone but little a-head, though they had a freſh gale, as they had a great current againſt them. From noon, till four the next morning, they ſailed along the coaſt with a ſmall wind, and then it falling calm, the current carried them directly upon a peak, which lies four or five leagues from the weſtern part of Socotra. They were forced to anchor till they had a gale to carry them from it, which ſpringing up from the eaſt, about two hours after, they ſtoood to the weſtward, and at noon were four leagues from the rock, where they found a current ſetting to the northward. The 27th, ſhaping their courſe, weſt-ſouth-weſt, they met with a current ſetting to the northward. In the morning they were oppoſite Abba del Curia, and before night had ſight of Cape Gardafui, about ſeven leagues diſtant. From yeſterday noon, till this night, they ſtood in till midnight, and hauled cloſe of a wind to the ſouthward. The 28th, by eight o'clock, they were near the ſhore, midway between the two capes of Guardefui and Felix.

On the 22d of April, Mr. Pemberton came on board, and told the commander that he had been at Socotra, and that the king had ſhewn him a writing left there by Captain John Saris, (who was the commander of three ſhips) wherein an account was given of the time he left England, his places of refreſhing by the way, his arrival there, and proceeded from thence to the Red Sea, to ſeek trade. It was alſo mentioned, that he had peruſed a writing left there by Sir Henry, with reaſons to diſſuade him from going thither. Yet that having the Grand Signior's

paſs,

paſs, he hoped to meet with better entertainment than Sir Henry had done. The commander having heard this unexpected news, called a council, who reſolved to proceed as formerly they had determined; and indeed they had no other way left, for they could not get back till the weſterly winds came on, which could not be till the middle of May; thereupon the commander left Captain Dounton in the Pepper-corn, to to ſtay thereabouts, till the 5th of this month, in order to obſerve the ports of Aden, whilſt himſelf, with the Trade's Increaſe and Darling, went to watch the two-fold entrance of Babalmandel.——They ſteered from thence with the head of Aden, being about ſeven leagues off. About four they were in with Aden. From four o'clock this day, till the 3d in the morning, they had little wind: they ſteered along the channel, weſt by north, and weſt north-weſt. Towards the heat of the day, it began to blow, and they continued their courſe as before. About ſunſet they anchored in 20 fathoms, four leagues off the ſtreights, where they rode till next morning. The 4th, about eight in the morning, they ſet ſail, and about ten, anchored within Babalmandel, between Arabia and the iſland, in eight fathoms water. The channel is half a league over. As ſoon as they had anchored, there came a boat from ſhore on board the Trade's Increaſe, wherein was a Turk, and three or four Arabian ſoldiers. This Turk was chief of the place, ſent by the aga of Mocha to guard it. He promiſed the commander, if in caſe he thought fit to write a letter thither, to ſend it away by a foot-poſt, who ſhould return in three days, with an anſwer; upon that he wrote a letter to Captain Saris, to acquaint him with his reaſon for coming, and what he intended to do.

On the 6th there came in a veſſel of Zeyla, a place within the ſtreights on the Abyſſinian coaſt, bound for Mocha; her lading was mats. Sir Henry bought of her 12 ſheep, and ſo permitted them to depart. This day they had much rain. The 17th, before day, there came in a ſhip from Baſanor, which the commander cauſed to anchor by him. The ſame morning Richard Wickham, one of Captain Saris's merchants, brought ſellers from him; the purport of which he omitted ſetting down in his journal. He kept Wickham with him, on account of the commander's ſtopping the Indian ſhips, and returned an anſwer by a Turk who came in his company. The 8th in the afternoon, there arrived a ſhip of Diu, bound for Mocha. The commander ſent off his frigate to fetch her to anchor by him. She proved to be the ſame ſhip he had detained the year bear before in Mocha road. This day they rumaged theſe two ſhips, and took out ſuch goods as were fit for their purpoſe, which were brought on board the Trade's Increaſe. The 9th came in a ſmall frigate which was laden with Ollibanum, of which they bought part, and paid for it to their content in rials. They continued rumaging the Indian ſhips for more goods.—The 11th, the commander detained a ſmall bark of India. The 14th Captain Saris came into the road about eight in the morning, anchored with his three ſhips by Sir Henry. Having ſaluted each other with their guns, Captain Saris, Captain Towerſon, and Mr. Cox, (their chief merchant) came on board the Trade's Increaſe, where they ſpent all that day together. Captain Saris at parting, invited Sir Henry and others the next day to dinner with him. The 15th, Sir Henry and the reſt going on board the Clove, the captain ſhewed him the Grand Signior's paſs, and read it. They had a good deal of converſation on this occaſion. At laſt, by an agreement in writing, Captain Saris was to have one third part of what ſhould be taken, paying for it only as Sir Henry did, for the ſervice of his three ſhips in action; and leaving the diſpoſing of the ſhips afterwards to him, who had ſuffered the wrongs.

On the 16th, the ſhips coming in, Sir Henry ſent his frigate, and brought them to anchor; one was loaded with rice, bound to Mocha; the other was of Carapatan, near Dabul, and ſubject to the ſame prince, laden with pepper, which ſhip came from Achen, and was bound for Aden, but being chaced by Captain Dounton to leeward of the place, they propoſed to go for Mocha.

A ſhip of Cananor came in on the 18th: ſhe had been at Achen, and was bound for Mocha, laden for the moſt part with pepper. Next day there arrived two more from Surat, one called the Haſſani, belonging to Abdal Haſſan, bound for Joddah; the the other a ſmall ſhip of Sir Henry's old friend, Chojah Naſſan, bound for Mocha. They were brought to an anchor near the commander, who ordered their ſails to be taken from their yards, and kept ſome of the chief men on board himſelf. By them he underſtood, that the Great Mogul's mother's ſhip, called the Rhemi, would ſoon be there. The 20th, there came a great ſhip of Diu, laden with Indian commodities, bound for Mocha, and preſently after another of Dabul; ſhe paſſed by, but the pinnace fetched her back. Next day, Sir Henry ſent away paſſengers out of the Surat ſhips. About noon there arrived a ſmall veſſel from Calicutt, bound for Mocha, which was ſtopped with the reſt. At length, on the 23d, the Rhemi of Surat, the queen mother's ſhip, arrived: ſhe was bound for Joddah, and ſtopped with the reſt: in this veſſel there were 1500 perſons. In the afternoon Sir Henry delivered the ſhips their ſails, and ordered them to be ready betimes the next morning, to ſail with him for the road of Aſſab. The 24th, they all ſet ſail from the ſtreights, only the Thomas and Darling were left to ply up the Streights. They arrived at Crab Iſland about five o'clock, and came to an anchor in 12 fathoms water, where they rode all night, the wind at ſouth ſouth-weſt. Next morning, they ſtood in for the road of Aſſab, and about one o'clock caſt anchor in ſeven fathoms and an half.——The 27th, they fetched a large quantity of indico out of the ſhips of Surat and Diu. The Clove plying where the fleet was, Sir Henry cauſed a gun to be fired, which ſhe anſwered with another, and bore up for the road preſently after.

This relation ending here, we ſhall give a part of Captain Dounton's account, by way of ſupplement to the voyage.

"The firſt of April (ſays he) from midnight, till ſix o'clock, we ſteered weſt by ſouth, five leagues, at which time, by eſtimation, they were 18 leagues ſhort of Aden.

This day the commander ſent for Captain Dounton, Meſſrs. Lawſe and Fowler, to conſult about their ſeparation: at length it was concluded, that the Pepper-corn ſhould ply before the port of Aden, to keep all Indian ſhips from entering or ſtaying there. and put them by towards the Red Sea; whither the commander was to repair with the Trade's Increaſe.

"On the 2d, from midnight to ſix o'clock in the morning, when they ſhould have ſeparated, about eight leagues eaſtward of Aden, they found the Darling at anchor; ſhe had got before them by reaſon of their lingering for her four days: ſhe had done her buſineſs at Socotra, and left that iſland before the commander paſſed it; and got a day before him in her paſſage by the Saboyna, Abba del Curia and Mount Fœlix, where he lingered for her. She brought from thence the copy of a letter left with the king by Captain John Saris, who had under his command the Clove, the Hector, and the Thomas, ſignifying, that notwithſtanding the account Sir Henry gave in his letter, of the villainous treatment received in the Red Sea, yet with his ſhips was gone thither. Immediately, the commander, with the Trade's Increaſe, and Darling, departed towards the Streights, leaving Captain Dounton at an anchor, to execute the order before given him.

"The third, at one in the morning, they ſet ſail, and ſtood ſouthward, the better to diſcover; and thus all day kept up to windward of Aden. In the morning were ſeen three ſail, which were bound for

Aden, but ſtood away for him; ſo that he could not come near them all night. The wind blowing hard, he did not anchor, but lay a hull, to try how much the ſhip drove, which he found to be three leagues in ten hours, running thus far in. And the 4th, about ſeven in the morning, he anchored in 12 fathoms, three or four miles from the town of Aden. The 12th, in the morning, a little after midnight, they ſet ſail to croſs a veſſel they ſaw, and in the morning ſaw her riding at anchor, three miles to the ſouthward of them. She ſeeing them prepare to bear up with her, preſently was under ſail, and ſtood in with Aden; but between nine and ten o'clock, the Pepper-corn firing a gun at her, thoſe on board ſtruck their topſails, and ſent in her boat. They told the captain they were bound for Aden, and that their ſhip belonged to the Samorin, or king of Calicut, from whence they had been out 40 days; that they paſſed near Socotra, and touched at Mount Fœlix, where they ſaw the letter left there by the commander, for the Darling; as alſo a ſhip of Dabul, which came from Achen. The nachada of this ſhip, was called Abraham Abba Zeinda, her burden was 140 tons, and the cargo, according to their information, as follows: tameric, three tons, rice, 2300 quintals, jagaza, or brown ſugar, 40 bales, cardamum, ſeven bahars; dry ginger four quintals and a half; pepper, a ton and a half; cloth 31 packs, each pack containing five or ſix maunds. She had in her 73 perſons, for the uſes following: 20 to bale water, and other buſineſſes below; eight for the helm; four for the top and yard and other buſineſſes aloft; 20 boys for dreſſing ſeveral mens victuals; the reſt merchants and pilgrims.—— They being of the place whoſe inhabitants never wronged the Engliſh, the captain diſmiſſed them, without taking any of her goods, excepting two tons of water, which they ſpared him. However, as he would by no means permit them to go to Aden, they were very uneaſy; ſo that he was obliged to tell them, if they offered to attempt it, he would ſink their ſhip, and leave them only their boat to ſave their lives. Yet their unwillingneſs to depart, made him threaten them farther, that if they did not get away before any other ſail came in view, he ſhould be forced to ſink their ſhip to prevent their dealing with the Turks, his enemies. Upon this they ſet ſail, and ſtood ſomewhat off the land, but to leeward; ſo that he was under the neceſſity to keep plying off and on all day and night, for fear in the dark they ſhould ſlip into Aden. It muſt be obſerved, that as ſoon as any ſhip from the eaſtward or elſewhere, came in view, ſhe had notice given her by the governor of the town, of Captain Dounton's being on the coaſt, before he could come to ſpeak with her, and when he had the Malabar under command, the governor ſent a boat on board with ſeveral Turks, and two Turkiſh ſoldiers of the town, who had been formerly ſome of the inſtruments employed by Abdal Rahman Aga, to bind and torture the captain's men, then in their hands. Theſe, doubtleſs, came as ſpies to ſee what ſhip ſhe was, and ſo to colour their deſign, brought ſome fruit to ſell. As ſoon as they ſaw who their viſitants were, (for they knew them immediately) they would have put off their boat, and have gone; but the captain would not permit them, being come on board, he cauſed them to be put in mind of their cruel treatment of his people, but without uſing any harſh language; and when he thought they were ſufficiently terrified by the conviction of their own minds, he ordered them to be told, that they ſhould, notwithſtanding, ſee how far his nation exceeded the Turks in lenity; for that, although they had moſt cruelly handled his men, after inviting them on ſhore, under the moſt ſolemn promiſes of friendſhip and ſecurity; and, although he knew they themſelves had been concerned in afflicting them, yet he would let them go without doing them any injury. Therefore they departed, promiſing next day to bring more refreſhments. Next morning they ſent a boat with good fiſh, and promiſed to come again with better proviſions, which they were providing; but the Pepper-corn being under ſail, to put the Malabar to leeward, ſtood off too far for them to row to her. Had that ſhip ſtaid, the aga might have permitted them to perform their promiſes.

On the 14th in the morning, the wind at eaſt, they ſaw another ſhip of like burthen, bound to Aden. Having forced her to anchor, about ten o'clock, the captain ſent on board to ſearch her, and bring away ſome of her men, while he ordered his boat to be hoiſted out. By them he underſtood they were of Pormean, a town which was then tributary to the Great Mogul, who had abuſed the Engliſh nation, and who deſpiſed their king: the Nachada being a Bannian, Captain Dounton being at anchor with his ſhip, two miles from Aden, and finding by the Malabars working the day before, that if any other ſail, of ever ſo much importance, ſhould approach before he could finiſh his buſineſs with her, he muſt leave one or other of them, to go where ſhe thought fit; he therefore judged it better to ſend his own people to ſearch what he had in her, than examine thoſe who belonged to her. Thus, with great labour in rummaging before night fell, they had out of her 14 packs of coarſe dutty, of ſix corges a pack, and 36 ballets, containing ſo many of the like number of dutties; one ſmall ballet of candakinſmill, or ſmall blue pieces of calico, with 30 or more white baſtas, a little butter and lamp-oil. Theſe were all fit for them. The reſt of her lading were packs of cotton, which, next day, they propoſed to examine.

This day Maharim, Aga of Aden, ſent to the captain a preſent of hen-eggs, limes and plantains, which he would not look upon as ſuch, ſending word by the meſſenger, That the manifold injuries done his friends and nation at Aden the year before, had brought him there again to revenge himſelf, by diſturbing the Turks. And that his coming was not to merit favours at their hands, ſo he reſolved to receive none of their diſſembling courteſies: for ſince they cut the throats of the Engliſh, when they came to them in friendſhip, they could expect no real kindneſs from them now, that they came to put all the Turks in thoſe parts to a defiance. He added, with regard to the preſent, that as it was ſent, his people ſhould take them for their own uſe, giving as much as the things were worth. There likewiſe came on board, a fiſhing-boat with ſome freſh-fiſh, which the captain ordered to be bought for ſupper, always making the bringer eat part of what he brought."

On the 6th, in the morning, they deſcried a ſail to the ſouth of Aden, plying to the eaſtward. In the afternoon the pinnace being ſent to fetch her, brought her near. She was a jelba of Shaher, bound home, laden with grain, opium, and other commodities; beſides many pilgrims from Mecca, as paſſengers. Next morning they ſaw a jelba plying to the eaſtward between them and the ſhore; the pinnace being ſent to fetch her off, ſhe proved to be the ſame that had paſſed by the 17th and 22d. Of thoſe on board, for a trial, they bought nine pounds and a half of opium; and ſo again diſmiſſed them.

On the 28th, in the morning, they ſet ſail, plying off and on to windward of Aden, with the wind at eaſt. Next day in the afternoon, having deſcried two ſail ſtanding towards Aden, the captain ſent his pinnace well-manned, to bring them in; which by four o'clock on the 30th, was effected. They both belonged to a place on the Abyſſinian Coaſt, called Bandar Zeada. One was only laden with mats, the other with ſome mats and ſixty-eight ſheep with great rumps, which they bought, and ſo diſmiſſed them. They preſently ſailed into Aden; the wind at eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, and eaſt-north-eaſt.

On the 8th, with an eaſy gale of wind at north-eaſt-by-eaſt, they continued plying towards the Streights. At ten o'clock they deſcried the land on the Abyſſinian ſide, which appeared like an iſland, till

till they drew nearer. From thence they ſteered north-weſt towards the Streights, then, by eſtimation, ten leagues diſtant, which, towards four in the afternoon, they had ſight of. Here they lingered off and on, to ſpend the night. Daylight appearing, they ſtood in towards the Streights, at the entrance thereof, they perceived a ſmall ſail a-ſtern of them: therefore the captain ſtruck his top-ſails to ſtay for her, and ſent off his pinnace which brought the nachada and Malim on board. They were ſubjects to the Great Mogul, and belonged to a place called Larree, at the mouth of the River of Sindi. He bore up with them in a bay on the eaſt-ſide, and anchoring in ſeven fathoms; ſent his merchants to ſearch what ſhe was laden with. They found ſeveral packs of cloth, and many ſorts of ſeeds, beſides leather, jars of butter, and a great quantity of oil, ſome for eating and ſome for burning in lamps. As the captain could not keep her for want of water, ſhe having no paſſengers, and was uncertain of a wind, he reſolved to take out the packs of cloth fitteſt for their purpoſe, with ſome butter and oil for uſe in the ſhip, and ſo let them go on to Mocha. They had ſcarce ſet about this work, when, towards three in the afternoon, they ſaw opening the eaſt-land of the Streights, a veſſel of 200 tons; and immediately following her, a large ſhip, whoſe main yard was forty-three yards long. Theſe ſhips being very near, before they could be ſeen for the land, the great one, by the aſſiſtance of wind and tide, had got a-head of the Pepper-corn, before the captain could get out of the bay to croſs her; ſo that ſhe was brought to a ſtern chace: but drawing nearer, they knew her by her maſts and tops, to be the Mahmudi of Dabul, their friend: ſo that they were diſappointed in their expectations of a prize: yet the captain, knowing the pride of the nachada, would gladly have exerciſed his authority over him, becauſe he would never vouchſafe to viſit the commander, either in the road of Mocha or at Dabul: but finding the veſſel gain ground of him, he gave them one ſhot, and ſtood again with the other ſhip. This latter ſeeing the Engliſh follow the great one, ſtruck a-hull, thinking to loſe them by the darkneſs of the approaching night. Captain Dounton took her to be a ſhip of Diu, but when they came up with her, the men ſaid they were of Cuts Nagone, a place not far from the river of Sindi. She was laden with cotton, a few packs of calico, ſome butter and oil. The Captain having got ſome of the principal men on board him, cauſed them to edge up with him into ſhoal water on the Arabian Coaſt: where by lights he endeavoured to find out the Larree ſhip, in which he had left five men; and at night they anchored in twelve fathoms, four leagues within the Streights. Here the next two days, they took out of the Larree ſhip, ſixty-ſix bundles of calico (which, becauſe they were otherwiſe furniſhed for all their Engliſh commodities and needed it not, was delivered to them, with part of the butter and oil: only eight gorges of baſtas, for which they were paid). Theſe things being taken out, the captain put on board her paſſengers and pilgrims of the cotton ſhip, and ſent a letter by them to Sir Henry Middleton, in caſe they ſhould find him in the road of Mocha: but before they departed, the Engliſh ſaw a veſſel coming towards them, and becauſe the wind was not good, they ſent a canoe before, for expedition. The maſter informed the captain, that he belonged to Bandar Zeada, a town on the Abyſſinan Coaſt, half a day's journey weſtward from Bandar Caſſum; that he was bound to Mocha with mats: that going on ſhore, as he paſſed the Streights, he was told by one, who ſaid he had a letter for Captain Dounton, that his countrymen were gone to Aſſab, with eight or nine Indian ſhips: but that he who had the letter would not ſend it by him, becauſe he expected a reward, in caſe the captain ſhould be put back to the Streights. Upon this advice, the captain ſet ſail the ſame afternoon, but the wind not proving favourable, he was obliged again to come to an anchor.

It was about this time that Sir Henry, after many delays received the compoſition money already mentioned, and the Engliſh veſſels departed.

After paſſing Aden, Captain Dounton ſays, the ſhips came to Tekoa, where the Darling was, which had buried three merchants and three ſailors; and had moſt of their men ſick. ——

"Here (ſays the captain) they likewiſe heard of Captain David Middleton; of the four ſhips of the ninth voyage, whereof two were already arrived at Bantam: and of Captain Caſtleton's man of war: this gentleman, who had been here a little before, gave an account of fifteen ſail of Dutch already come, or near at hand, laden with ammunition: and of two ſhips of New-Haven, in France, come alſo to trade. Which news took away all hopes of repairing their tired-out, croſſed, and decayed voyage.

"On the 22d, Sir Henry Middleton finding ſuch little encouragement at this place, ſet ſail the night following in the Pepper-corn, towards Bantam, leaving Captain Dounton in the Trade's Increaſe, to remain till the 16th of next month. On the 2d of November, all the men of every kind, in Tekoa, went to the wars with Raja Buneſi, till whoſe return, no buſineſs was to be done on land. This day in taking up the wine, they found a conſiderable quantity run out, the caſks being rotten.

"On the 20th they fetched the remainder of the pepper weighed the day before, in which they diſcovered much deceit; for in ſome of the ſacks there were ſmall ſacks of paddy; in, ſome rice, and in ſome great ſtones: alſo rotten and wet pepper put into new dry ſacks; yet there was no remedy. Having got every thing on board, they ſet ſail near midnight, by the moon-ſhine, the wind at north-eaſt off the ſhore. They took care to avoid the two known rocks, three leagues from the iſland, one ſouth by weſt, the other ſouth by eaſt, having 26 fathoms between them, oozy ground; and for better ſecurity, ſteered back the courſe they ſtood the ſame day they came. As they ſtood off, the wind ſomewhat ſhrunk on them, yet they lay firſt weſt, then weſt by ſouth, and weſt ſouth-weſt, and laſt of all ſouth-weſt by weſt; the current ſet them ſomething ſouthward, their depths proportionably from 14 to 27 fathoms, all oozy ground. The next caſt they had four fathoms, and the ſhip ſet faſt upon a rock. Sounding, they found a-ſtern four fathoms, and on the ſtarboard midſhip, a quarter leſs than three fathoms, under the head three fathoms, and a ſhip's length off, five fathoms; on the larboard bow, a ſhip's length diſtant, they had ſix feet, in the midſhip 16 foot, under the larboard gallery 20 feet; and round about within a cable's length, deep water. She remained upon the rock from a little after three, till five o'clock, but the wind ſoon grew calm, and the ſea ſmooth; likewiſe the ſet or motion of the ſhip, (conſidering the place) was very eaſy. The water had ſo increaſed in the hold, that both their chain-pumps though plied hard, could not, for a long time, gain on it: but their main endeavour was, with the utmoſt expedition, to get out a ſtern anchor, which was let fall in twenty-ſix fathoms right a-ſtern, two thirds of a cable diſtant, in order to heave her off: which had ſo good effect, that before they could, with the capſtan, bring the cable tight, the ſhip was of her own accord ſet into deep water. This was no ſooner done, but they had a weſterly gale, which put them off a mile from the rock, where they anchored to wait for the boat, which brought their kedge after them; and though it was a clear day, they could not diſcern where the rock ſtood.

"At length the captain, after a conſultation, judged it proper to return to Tekoa, there to endeavour to ſtop ſuch part of the leak as they found to be in their ſtern. Accordingly they ſet ſail for the iſland, and at ſun-ſet anchored in the ſame place, which for their turns they deſired. This day, for a long time they kept both pumps going, but the water ſtill increaſed when the chain chanced to break, which often happened.

happened. The two pumps at once employed twelve men, and the labour was ſo extreme, that without ſhifting hands it could not long be continued: but the water being once brought low, one pump at a time has always been ſufficient to diſcharge it; and yet it tires all the people by often ſhifting: ſo that the captain found it required more than ordinary addreſs to appeaſe their murmurings and clamours.

"On the 22d, and the two ſucceeding days, they landed indico, cinnamon, and other things, endeavouring to lighten the ſtern, where they knew the leak was. They were thus employed, till the 8th of December, in ſtopping the leaks, which done, they ſet ſail from Tekoa, and, with the boats a-head, got over the bar, having four fathoms at low water. They got without the iſland by the help of a freſh gale at north-north-eaſt, north-north-weſt and north-weſt, which as the ſun got high, both dulled, and at laſt ſhrunk upon them: ſo that their courſe lying but ſouth-ſouth-weſt and ſouth-by-weſt, they came by eſtimation, near the rock which they had formerly ſtruck upon. They made diligent ſearch with boats a-head, and could diſcern no ſigns of it, the ſea being ſmooth; they then ſet away to the ſouthward, ſouth-by-weſt and ſouth, from ſun-ſet to ſun-riſing, the 9th day with a ſmall gale north-weſt-by-weſt. Afterwards, having ſteered ſouth-weſt-by-ſouth ten leagues, with the wind at weſt-north-weſt and weſt, they deſcried ſome part of a great iſland bearing ſouth-weſterly, and then ſteered away ſouth. This night they had much rain in guſts, with thunder and lightning, the wind was fickle, ſhrinking to the ſouth-weſt and ſouth-ſouth-weſt: it continued not long in that point, ſhifting to the ſouth-eaſt, eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, and eaſt; and again to ſouth-eaſt, they ſailed about eight leagues to ſun-riſe, at which time that part of the iſland which they ſaw the night before, bore ſouth-eaſt eight leagues off. Alſo to the eaſtward they had ſight of the high land of Sumatra, near twenty leagues diſtant. At noon they were in two degrees eleven minutes ſouth latitude. The northermoſt part of theſe iſlands, lies nine leagues ſouth-eaſt from the ſound they came through between the weſtern iſlands.

On the 20th, they arrived at Pulo Panian, the Pepper-corn having been fitted there. Sir Henry Middleton called a council to adviſe about the damages which the Trade's Increaſe had received upon the rock: the reſult was, that ſhe muſt be now ſtrengthened and careened, before ſhe could return home; (this commander died in this voyage at Machian, on the 24th of May, as was thought of grief, for the ſhip's being on ſhore, and the loſs of his men) and as this required ſo much time, that ſhe could not ſet forward this year; it was concluded to diſpatch the Pepper-corn immediately for England, to give ſome ſatisfaction to the adventurers."

The Pepper-corn being laden, on the 4th of February ſet ſail, and arrived on the 10th of May in the road of Saldanna, where Captain Dounton expected to have found all the ſhips, which formerly departed homewards; but he there met with only the Hector, and Thomas, two ſhips of the eight voyagers, and Captain Newport, in the expedition, employed in the 12th voyage, by help of whoſe men and coopers the Pepper-corn in four days took in all her water, intending not to ſtay to refreſh her men, in order to have the company homewards of the Thomas and Hector, which were to depart the next day. Accordingly, the 15th, at nine in the morning, they ſet ſail, with the wind ſoutherly, but being out of the bay, they were much delayed by contrary winds, which drove them ſouthwardly. This night the Expectation doubled the Cape of Good Hope, ſhaping her courſe towards Perſia, there to land Sir Robert Shirley, and his Perſian lady, with Sir Thomas Powel, and his Engliſh lady, all paſſengers, who were bound thither.

Towards evening the next day, the Thomas was fallen far aſtern; but the Hector with lofty ſail bore away. This nigt the Pepper-corn loſt their company, which, to recover, the captain ſtood to the ſouthward. He knew they could not run him out of ſight, and although he thought it againſt reaſon to ſtand in upon a lee ſhore, yet he bore up towards land, in order to ſeek them. Not ſeeing them, he delayed the time for them till the 19th, during which time the men were employed in repairing their weak and decayed ſails.

This day at ſun-riſing, Saldanna bore half a degree eaſt, diſtant 17 leagues, the weather being cloudy and dark, which continued the three following days. The 26th of June, as they came about the north-eaſt point, opening the road, and luffed in, with their anchors ready to let fall, they obſerved two caracks in the road, whoſe neighbourhood did not pleaſe Captain Dounton, neither durſt he venture to anchor by them, on account of their uſual treachery; therefore he ſtood off again by a wind, to deliberate for a while what to do. His intention was to have ſtood in again, to try whether they would be gone, concluding they might, upon a ſuppoſition, that he had more company near hand; but he found the current ſet the ſhip ſo faſt to the leeward, that he could hardly recover the road by two o'clock in the afternoon. Finding there was no other remedy, he ordered the ſailors to bear up the helm for England; his hopes being thus fruſtrated, both of refreſhing his weak and ſickly people, and regaining the company of the Hector and Thomas. The 15th and 16th, they had many ſhowers of rain; and the 18th they croſſed the line.

The 10th of September, they had a very ſtrong gale of wind, and a hollow ſea; but being unable to get into any part of the ſouth of England, they ſtood on their courſe, north-eaſt, in hopes to fetch Milford Haven in Wales, the ſooner to ſend letters to the company. The 11th, at five o'clock in the afternoon, they diſcovered the coaſt of Wales to windward, and the coaſt of Ireland to leeward, being a high hill between Wexford and Waterford. This night they ſpent with their head to the ſouthward, and next morning, finding it was not poſſible to fetch Milford Haven, the winds being contrary, he ſtood in towards the firſt coaſt, chuſing to go to Waterford, rather than any other harbour. The 13th in the morning, they diſcovered the tower of Whooke, the only mark for the river of Waterford, about three leagues diſtant. At eight o'clock they perceived a ſmall boat coming out of the river, which, being waſted, bound to Wexford, whom the captain hired to return, and give notice of his coming, to the lieutenant of the port of Dungannon, to prevent his ſtopping there, becauſe of the channel being narrow in that place, the ſhip might be endangered in winding up at anchor. At noon they got up into the river, ſo high as Paſſage. Here he found Mr. Stephen Bonner of Lime, being come with his bark to fiſh, who laying aſide his own buſineſs, was very diligent to provide for the eaſe and relief of the weak and ſick.

On the 18th, the captain ſent Mr. Bonner towards London, with letters to the company, to give them an account of his arrival and wants, deſiring they might be ſupplied. The 20th, Dr. Lancaſter, biſhop of Waterford, very kindly viſited Captain Dounton, bringing down with him his good cheer, and preached a ſermon on board. The 21ſt, Captain John Burrel came to ſee him alſo, and having proffered to lend him money to ſupply his wants, provided he could ſend ſomebody to Cork for it; he, on the 11th, ſent Mr. Mollineux along with the captain thither. The 22d Anthony Stratford, lieutenant of the fort of Dungannon, having hired a villainous fellow (whom, for his miſbehaviour, Captain Dounton had cauſed to be impriſoned in Waterford) to ſay what muſt bring him and his men within the ſtatute of piracy, obtained a warrant from the Earl of Ormond, and came to Paſſage, where he ſent to deſire the captain to ſend his boat well manned, to fetch him and ſeveral other gentlemen on board to ſee the ſhip. The boat's crew apprehended

hended the men, and preſently came on board; where, having arreſted the captain and his ſhip for piracy, he committed him priſoner to the fort of Dungannon, giving ſtrict charge that none ſhould have acceſs to him, without his warrant; and would have obliged thoſe, who by his permiſſion viſited the captain, to declare on oath, what diſcourſe paſſed between them. His man was ſworn not to carry letters between him and any one: they alſo examined ſeveral of the people this night upon oath, omitting nothing that might induce them to accuſe him. He continued in priſon till the 16th in the morning, at which time Stratford brought him a letter from Sir Laurence Eſmond his captain, inviting him to meet him (the knight) at Paſſage. They went together; and there the captain met Sir Laurence, accompanied with the biſhop of Waterford, come from the Earl of Ormond, to replace him in his charge; which, after much intreaty and perſuaſions, he yielded to. The 23d Mr. Mollineux, having ſent the captain's letters to the company, to acquaint them with the aforementioned affair, returned from Cork with money.

On the 25th Mr. Benjamin Joſeph, in a ſmall ſhip of Briſtol, came, and brought with him both men, money, and proviſions, to ſupply the captain's wants; which he took in with all ſpeed in order to be gone. The 6th of October he departed from the river of Waterford, the 12th in the morning he was abreaſt of Beachy; and by eight at night anchored in Dover road. The 13th in the morning he left Dover road, and at ten o'clock anchored in the Downs, near the Aſſurance man of war, ſaluting her with five pieces of ordnance. Immediately Mr. Cocket, the maſter, came on board, and again ſtopped his ſhip till farther order from the lord admiral: Upon this Captain Dounton ſent Mr. Mollineux to London, with letters to inform the company of it. The 17th Mr. Aderſly came from them with a letter for the captain, a releaſe for the ſhip; and Mr. Punniat, a pilot, to bring her about, the 18th in the morning, they ſet ſail; and at ſix o'clock at night anchored at Tilbury. The 20th, in the morning, they departed; and at ten o'clock came up to Blackwall. In the afternoon the deputy, and ſevetal of the committee, coming down, Captain Dounton delivered up his charge.—And thus ended the voyage to the Red Sea and Surat.

A VOYAGE to THE CANARIES, CAPE VERDE ISLANDS and BARBADOES, by CAPTAIN ROBERTS.

THE Engliſh, who had ſucceſsfully followed the track of the Portugueſe in the Eaſt, were early diſpoſed to ſail to the weſtern hemiſphere. The Canaries and Cape Verde iſlands, which the Portugueſe claimed the honour of diſcovering, though ſome of them were probably known to the ancients, under the name of the Fortunate Iſlands or Heſperides, were viſited by the Engliſh, who alſo founded ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies.

The voyage we are about to relate is one of thoſe which abounded in croſs adventures to the undertaker, but at the ſame time is ſuch as muſt, by its variety, prove entertaining to moſt of our readers.—

On the 14th of September, 1721, Captain Roberts contracted with ſome merchants of London to go to Virginia; and there, after taking poſſeſſion of a ſloop called the Dolphin, to buy a cargo to ſlave with on the coaſt of Guinea, from whence to proceed to Virginia or Barbadoes, as he judged moſt for the owners advantage. Captain Scott, one of the owners, being bound for Virginia in the King Sagamore, a ſhip of 22 guns, Roberts went on board him for ſo much of the voyage, and accordingly they ſet ſail from London: But being driven into Plymouth by contrary winds, they happened to be there when Lord Belhaven, who was going governor to Barbadoes in the Royal Ann galley, had put into that port. The wind ſoon after preſenting fair (though not likely to ſtand, the weather looking very unſettled) the Royal Ann ſailed, but had not been long out before ſhe met with hard and contrary gales of wind; and (as was ſuppoſed through the raſhneſs of the lieutenant) was caſt away upon the Stagg Rocks off the Lizard, wherein his lordſhip, and moſt of the crew periſhed. Captain Scott, with the author, ſtaid there near a month wind bound, and then ſailed, till they arrived at the iſle Du Sal. Here not meeting with any of the inhabitants, they made ſail about eight at night, and next day about ten arrived at Bona Viſta; where it had been reſolved upon to take in a cargo of ſalt: they anchored in the Engliſh road under the little iſland within the ſunken rock. Next day they went on ſhore to agree with the inhabitants for their aſſiſtance to bring ſalt from the ſalt-pans down to the water-ſide; as alſo to ſettle prices of goods, and of the iſland horſes and aſſes, which they were to take in after the ſalt. This done, they ſet all hands to work at making ſalt.

From hence they ſailed to the iſle of May, where they met with five ſail laden with ſalt-petre, for the Eaſt country up the Baltic, among whom they got ſome water, and alſo tobacco, which proved very convenient. Hence they made for St. Jago, and coming the length of Port Villa de Praya with all their ſails out, they could not luff into the bay, but were driven by the ſea to the leeward of the road: into which they did not go for three days, and by this means they left ſeveral of the aſſes. Being arrived at Barbadoes the latter part of March, 1722, their horſes and aſſes were in very bad plight, they could ſell but very few of the latter only; and had not a country gentleman given the feeding gratis, the cheaper way would have been to have knocked them all on the head, for it would have coſt more to have fitted them for a market than they would ſell for. Alſo the Canary wine they brought from the Teneriffe was ſold under the price of common Madeira: this being the wine the people were uſed to, though theirs coſt double and was twice as good. Meeting with theſe diſappointments Captain Scott reſolved not to proceed to Virginia, according to his orders, which Roberts not liking, he was diſcharged, at his own deſire, by the captain, the 24th of April; who, in lieu of wages and ſome money lent, bought a ſloop called the Margaret, for Roberts to trade with, promiſing a bill of ſale to hold part in her proportionable to the debt. In this ſloop the author, taking a cargo here for the coaſt of Guinea about Rio Grande, and the Cape de Verde Iſlands, ſet ſail about the middle of July, 1722, in company of Captain Scott, for fear of ſome pirates they heard lay at the Caribbees: However, he loſt ſight of Scott in a ſquall of wind three days after. In this paſſage, being confined to his bed by ſickneſs for ten days, they miſſed their way, either by ignorance or careleſneſs of the mate, ſo that wandering backwards and forwards a great while, at laſt they arrived at the iſland of du Sal,

about the middle of October. He came to anchor in the northermoſt bay of Palmera: and it being green turtle ſeaſon, ſent his boat to bring one on board, if there were any freſh caught. On this occaſion Captain Roberts obſerves, that the French often make a turtle voyage thither, ſalting them on ſhore, and drying them much after the ſame manner as they do cod at Newfoundland in the Weſt Indies. The ſhell they ſave for the French market, where it generally yields a better price than in England; eſpecially that of the turtle caught about theſe iſlands, which is of the thinneſt ſort, and extraordinary clear, as well as finely clouded. Beſides, ambergreaſe is often found in greater quantities at this iſland than any other of the Cape de Verdes, and did not the wild cats eat it, (as does alſo the green turtle) much more would be found than there is. In about two hours the boat returned, bringing a green turtle of between two and three hundred weight, and with it a black native of St. Nicholas, who told him, that the turtle was ſent as a preſent by his companions, of whom there were about 60, all natives of the ſame iſland, brought thither to catch and cure turtle, by a captain of a ſhip who, ten weeks before, ſailed to Bona Viſta for ſalt; but as he ſtaid ſo long away, they had no hopes of ſeeing him again, and therefore offered Roberts half their turtle, oil, ſhell, ambergreaſe, &c. to carry them, with the other half to St. Nicholas. Roberts being bound thither, promiſed to give them a paſſage for nothing, refuſing to meddle with the effects till he knew the right of the matter. This black ſaid he was an Engliſhman; but ſeveral places in England being named, knew none of them; at laſt Roberts named Bermudas, and then the negro told him he was of that iſland. Next day, about ſeven in the afternoon, he ſet ſail for St. Nicholas, carrying along with him ſix men, two women, and a ſucking child; but nothing more of theirs, than what was neceſſary for the voyage. They anchored by nine the night following, in Trefall road, in about ſix fathoms water. In the morning, the prieſt (who was a Portugueſe) came to him and ſaid, he had ſent the before-mentioned ſloop to the Iſle du Sal, with the blacks, to catch turtle; that ſome were his own ſlaves, and the reſt were hired, ſome at two, ſome at three or four dollars per month, and, that all the turtle, oil, ſhell, &c. was entirely his; but as he was afraid the ſloop was loſt, he agreed next day with Roberts, to fetch home the men and effects for 100 dollars, and a ſtout man ſlave, to be paid and delivered at his return, and before any of the goods were landed. Next morning he went from Trefall, which lies fifteen or eighteen miles from the town, along a ſteep rocky way, and anchored at Paraghiſi in the old road, being nearer the town than Trefall, and, for the moſt part, a level way; his intent being to truck with him for ſome of his corn, rice, &c. for cotton cloth; likewiſe for ambergreaſe, dragon's blood, &c. The black alſo that he brought from Sal, told him that all theſe windward iſlands of the Cape de Verde were in great want of proviſions, and that the famine had raged ſo in St. Nicholas, in particular, that within the laſt twelve months, there died 500 people merely for want of food, of which good part of his cargo conſiſted.—— However, he did not ſtay here, but reſolved to lay hold of the prieſt's offer, for fear his ſloop ſhould come, being ſatisfied he ſhould have time enough to make his market at St. Nicholas, after his return from du Sal, which, accidents excepted, would not take up above a week; nor did he fear any veſſel to ſpoil his market, it being the wrong time of the year, viz. the ſhifting wind ſeaſon. And though Captain Scott had been there, (as he heard) but ten days before, yet they could be ſupplied with very little proviſion by him.

The next morning, he turned up Curriſal, to recruit his wood and water; that being very commodious for this laſt, which runs there down to the ſea; but the wood was a long way to reach, over ſteep rocks; ſo that had it not been for four blacks aſſiſtance, (who were come on board with the prieſt) to go with him to du Sal, he thought his own men would never have found it, or got it down when found. The laſt turn was got on board at eleven o'clock at night; and it proving calm in the road, he could not weigh anchor as he deſigned; upon which, the prieſt, with his four blacks, being ſea-ſick, lay on ſhore. Next morning he roſe about day-break, as was his uſual cuſtom, but it continuing ſtill calm, as the day broke, looking out, he ſaw three ſail of ſhips off the bay, and making one of them plain with his glaſs, ſhe ſeemed to be full built, and laden; he took the reſt to be the ſame, and of her company, imagining they wanted water. He ſaw them bring to, then edging away, but could not perceive any ſignal made by them, all which confirmed him in his firſt opinion. But as ſoon as the weather cleared up, they made his ſhip, the middlemoſt ſtanding right in towards her; and as the ſun roſe, the wind increaſed, and backed more to the eaſtward, as is uſual there, after calm nights. As ſhe drew nearer he found her, by his glaſs, to be a ſchooner, full of hands, all in white ſhirts; and ſeeing likewiſe a great number of guns, he began then to be alarmed; but it was now too late to eſcape them; eſpecially as it held a calm within the bay, and they came in with the day-breeze as faſt as the wind would permit, carrying an Engliſh enſign, jack, and pendant. As ſoon as Roberts ſaw them, he hoiſted his enſign alſo. The other had eight guns, ſix pateraroes, and 70 men, and ſtretched a-head, hailed him, which Roberts anſwered. Then he aſked where the ſhip belonged to, and whence ſhe came? Roberts told him, ſhe was of London, and came from Barbadoes. He ſaid, Very well, he knew that, and ſo bringing too a-head of him, bade him ſend his boat on board of him, which accordingly Roberts did, with two hands in her.

The captain of the ſchooner, whoſe name was John Lopez, as he was told afterwards, but then went by the name of John Ruſſel, (pretending he was born in the northern parts of England) aſked the people, who came in the boat, where the maſter of the ſloop was? They anſwered, he was on board, and ſent them with the boat to know what he wanted. He aſked which was the maſter? They ſhewed him Roberts walking the deck, whom he treated with much abuſive language, and afterwards, completely pillaged the veſſel.

The prieſt and blacks were by this time got up the rocks, in order to eſcape into the mountains, which the pirates obſerving, Ruſſel aſked, if he knew who thoſe perſons were? Roberts acquainted him with their intended voyage to Du Sal; upon which he ſaid, the prieſt would never ſee his ſloop more, for they had taken her; but that her own gang, whom they had put on board her, had ran away with her, and 800 pounds in caſh, beſides other goods. He added, that the information he had received about the Author, and the probability of finding him at this iſland, joined to another, concerning 1600 dollars, which the prieſt and governor of St. Nicholas had hoarded up, was the only occaſion of their coming thither, having otherwiſe intended to go to Bona Viſta. Roberts having aſked from whom he had the intelligence, he named Captain Scott; and on his inquiring how it was with the captain? they told him, But indifferent; that they had burnt his ſhip, and put him on ſhore at Bona Viſta.

Ruſſel reſolving at any rate, to have the prieſt, determined to ſail down to Paraghiſi, to catch him from thence, and made Roberts pilot him thither, in his ſloop. The pirates on board her ſlipping her cable, left both that and the anchor behind, becauſe they would not be at the trouble to weigh. The other ſhips ſtill lay to in the offing: but as ſoon as they ſaw them make ſail down to leeward, the Roſe-Pink, which mounted thirty-ſix carriage-guns, commanded by Edmund Loe, who was their commodore, edged in towards them. Upon this, they doing the like, Ruſſel gave him an account of what

had paſſed, and of his deſign of landing that evening to take the prieſt and governor, if he approved of it, the commodore agreed; and, in his launch ſent ſome of the ſhip's company to reinforce the ſchooner's crew. Then they hauled in for ſhore again: and coming the length of Porto Lappa (which is a road or bay, lying about the middle beween Curriſal and Paraghiſi) one of the ſchooner's company ſwore, that to his knowledge, this was the beſt place to land at, and neareſt to the town. Upon this, Ruſſel ordered them to ſtand in for the bay; and when they were got within half a league of the land, went on ſhore in the boat, at the head of thirty-five men, ordering their veſſel to keep on their courſe, and anchor in the old road of Paraghiſi. Next day, Ruſſel and his company came down to them, with their prieſt, the old governor's ſon, and five or ſix negro men, their priſoners. They all immediately came on board, and weighing, ſtood off to the ſhips which were then lying too in the offing; and coming within call of the commander, he hailed them, and aſked, How all fared, and what luck? Ruſſel anſwered, he would wait on him on board, and give him a particular account. Accordingly the prieſt and the reſt of the priſoners, were put on board the launch, (Roberts alſo being ordered along with them, to pay his reſpects to Captain Loe, the commodore) and Ruſſel followed them in his own boat. When he entered the Pink, the company welcomed him on board, and ſaid, they were ſorry for his loſs; but told him he muſt pay his reſpects to the Captain, who was in the cabin; and waited for him. He was uſhered in by an officer, (the gunner, he thought) who acted with proper deportment as maſter of the ceremonies: though he did not remember ſuch an officer, or office; nor knew whether they were always ſo formal on board on ſuch occaſions. When they entered the cabin, the gentleman uſher, making a low reverence to the commodore, preſented Roberts, and then withdrew, leaving thoſe two alone. Captain Loe, with the uſual compliments, welcomed him on board, and told him, "He was very ſorry for his loſs: that it was not his deſire to meet any of his countrymen, (but rather foreigners) excepting ſome few, whom he wanted to chaſtiſe for their roguiſhneſs:" "But however, ſays he, ſince fortune has ordered it ſo, that you have fallen into our hands, I would have you be of good chear, and not be caſt down." Roberts replied, "He was alſo very ſorry that he had chanced to fall in their way; but ſtill encouraged himſelf with hopes, that he was in the hands of gentlemen of honour and generoſity: it being ſtill in their power to make this capture turn out no misfortune to him." The other ſaid, "It did not lie ſingly in his breaſt, for that all buſineſs of that nature was to be ſettled by a majority of votes in the whole company: and although neither he, nor he believed, any of the reſt, deſired to meet with any of their own nation, except ſome few perſons, for the reaſon above mentioned, yet when they did, it could not well be avoided, to take as their own what providence ſent them: and as they were gentlemen who depended upon fortune, they durſt not be ſo ungrateful to her, as to refuſe any thing which ſhe put in their way, for if they ſhould deſpiſe any of her favours, though ever ſo mean, they might offend, and cauſe her to withdraw her hand from them, who might thus, perhaps, periſh for want of thoſe things, which, in their raſh folly, they had ſlighted." Afterwards he made him drink with him, and renewed his proteſtations.

As it was now known that the quarter-maſter general Ruſſel was come on board with his priſoners, he was ordered to attend, and with the prieſt and the governor's ſon of St. Nicholas, entered the cabin. They were followed by the officers, and ſome of the moſt ſignaliſed villains among them, who ſtood faireſt for preferment. The cabin thus filled, Loe, after the neceſſary compliments, bade Ruſſel and the priſoners ſit down; and then aſked what news? On which, Ruſſel gave him an account of the whole affair: which was as follows. After landing thirty-five men, they immediately ſeized two of the natives: who were ſent by the governor to enquire (as uſual) whence, and upon what account they came. Theſe fellows they made their guides to the town; which, night coming on, and the road being uneven and rocky, they could not otherwiſe have reached that night. They got thither about nine o'clock, it being about twelve miles, by eſtimation, from the landing place; by this means they prevented any notice of their coming: and ſo were aſſured there was no booty but what they found. They went firſt to the governor's houſe, where leaving a guard, they paſſed along to the prieſt's, who they found had not been long returned from Curriſal. But though he had not the leaſt thought of this their ſudden arrival, till his own eyes confirmed it, yet he did not ſeem much ſurpriſed. He ordered what victuals he had, and wine enough, to be ſet on the table; telling them, he could not entertain them as he would, at ſuch an unſeaſonable time of night: but that they were welcome to what they found; and if they ſtaid till to-morrow, they ſhould be ſupplied plentifully with whatever the iſland afforded: Ruſſel thanked him, and told him, he came of an errand, and muſt perform it: which was that having poſitive information from very good hands, that both he and the governor had a quantity of dollars as well as gold hoarded up; that they were come to ſhare it with them, it being one great branch of their trade, not to let money lie moulding in old bags or cheſts, but to make it move and circulate whenever they could come at it. To this the prieſt without any apparent concern, replied, That whoever gave them that information, it was falſe. They ſaid, Seeing and feeling muſt prove whether it was true. The prieſt told him he was very welcome to make uſe of thoſe ſenſes for his ſatisfaction; and immediately ordered wax candles to be lighted; for they had no other, and thoſe were all conſecrated.

With theſe they ſearched every corner about the houſe, but found nothing, only twenty dollars, which he did not think worth while to take. From hence they went to the governor's houſe, and ſearched that as narrowly, but found ſtill leſs there. "After this, ſays Ruſſel, I diſpoſed of my men as I thought moſt convenient for refreſhing them after their fatiguing journey: but yet with due regard to our own ſecurity, by ſetting a watch, ordering the reſt to repoſe as well as they could, but not one of them to ſtir out of the governor's houſe: I gave them withal a ſtrict charge to be ready with their arms at a moment's warning, and not lay them out of their hands, or unſling their piſtols: which was punctually performed. Next morning, as we had not lighted on the booty according to information, which therefore was deemed falſe, we concluded to ſeize and bring on board, the governor, the prieſt, and four or five of the principal inhabitants for your ample ſatisfaction." Here Captain Loe, who ſat as demure and attentive all the while; on a ſudden ſtarted, as it were out of deep ſtudy, and interrupted Ruſſel in his ſtory: and a diſpute enſued about the money expected, in which Ruſſel ſeemed to have the advantage.

"He afterwards ſent to the prieſt to come to him at the governor's houſe: but the prieſt was fled with all his ſlaves, only an old woman, who told them this ſtory. Upon this Ruſſel ordered the governor, who was an ancient negro, to bring him in two hours time. The governor ſaid, he would do his utmoſt, but that it was impoſſible to be done in ſo ſhort a time, in caſe the prieſt was gone to the mountains, as he heard he was, it being very eaſy for him to remain there ſeveral months undiſcovered, notwithſtanding the moſt diligent ſearch. Ruſſel, without regarding his excuſes, aſſured him he would burn their town to aſhes. The governor anſwered, That he lay at their mercy; but hoped the innocent ſhould not ſuffer with the guilty, if his endeavours ſhould prove

fruitleſs. Ruſſel told him, The time was ſet, and the doom would not be deferred a moment after the expiration: but promiſed the prieſt ſhould not be killed or abuſed, provided he ſurrendered himſelf within the time limited. The governor having ſent immediately ſeveral parties of blacks on the hunt. Ruſſel in the mean time, ordered him to kill an ox, and dreſs it as ſoon as he could, and broach a pipe of wine for his men. In about two hours ſome of the blacks brought word, that they had found the prieſt, and that he had ſent them to let him know, he was coming to throw himſelf intirely upon his mercy: accordingly he came, and very ſubmiſſively aſked Ruſſel's pardon, ſaying, He repented that he ſhould be ſo fooliſh, as to ſneak away and abſcond, having no reaſon, as he believed, to do ſo, but his own groundleſs apprehenſions. The pirate bade him chear up, but told him, he had like to have ruined the whole iſland by his unadviſed flight; for that if he had not come as he did, he was reſolved, as ſoon as his men had filled their bellies, to have burnt the town to aſhes, church and all. The prieſt ſaid, He thanked God that he was come time enough to ſave them, and the captain for his clemency in deferring his vengeance ſo long: the more effectually to appeaſe whoſe wrath, he ſent to his houſe for wine, fowls, and an anker of rum. With this good cheer they made very merry, and kept open houſe, treating all the natives that came to them at the parſon's expence. When they had ſufficiently caroufed, Ruſſel told the prieſt and governor, that they and ſix more, whom he would chuſe, muſt go on board the commodore, The prieſt ſeemed much ſurpriſed at this news, and ſaid, He hoped he would not carry them away from the iſland, nor make ſlaves of them. Upon which Ruſſel told him, That he was a member of the Church of Rome as well as himſelf, and that no harm ſhould be done him, or any of his company: his intention being no more than to have the commodore ſatisfied by their own teſtimony, that the information he had received of their having ſo much money, was falſe. At this he ſeemed very well contented, and they went on board accordingly.

Captain Loe ſaid, he had behaved very well, and aſked the prieſt ſeveral queſtions, after which he directed the captives to be put on ſhore in the ſchooner, but Roberts was ordered to remain on board the commodore till his own and ſloops fate ſhould be decreed by the company. Mean while Loe ordered him a hammock with bedding, and told him, in the moſt generous obliging manner, that every thing in the ſhip was at his command, and deſired him not to go out of his uſual courſe as to hours, drinking, or company.

Next morning about eight, as he was walking the deck, one of the company came up to him, and bidding him good morrow, ſaid, he was ſorry for his misfortunes; adding, "I believe you do not know me?" which was true, for the author could not then call him to mind, or that he had ever ſeen him before. The man ſmiled, and ſaid, "He once belonged to him, when he commanded the Suſannah, (a frigate-built ſhip of 300 tons) in 1718. By this time there came up two more, who alſo declared that they belonged to the Suſannah at the ſame time; Roberts thought he did remember ſomething of them. They expreſſed ſorrow for his ill-luck, and promiſed to do all that lay in their power to ſerve him: they ſaid, "They had among them about forty or fifty pieces of white linnen, and ſix or eight of ſilk, beſides ſome other things; and that they would make what intereſt they could with their conſorts and intimates for gathering for him of what they could, and put all on board as ſoon as the company had decreed him his ſloop again." Upon this they looked about, as if they had ſomething to ſay in private; and ſeeing the deck clear, which is very rare in theſe ſhips, they told him with much ſeeming concern, "That if he did not take very great care, he would be forced to ſtay with them; for his mate had informed them, that he was very well acquainted with the Coaſt of Braſil, and they deſigned to ſtretch over thither; after ſcouring that of Guinea; but they had not a man among them who had ever been at the former. They ſaid there was but one way for him to eſcape being forced.

On this, injoining him to ſecrecy, ſince the diſcovery was as much as their lives were worth) they told him, that they had been at cloſe conſultation, whether they ſhould oblige him to go with them, not as one of the company, but as a forced priſoner, in order to be their pilot on the coaſt of Braſil, and that his mate had offered to enter with them; but deſired to defer it till they had determined his (Roberts's) caſe; that the mate being aſked whether he (the author) was married, ſaid he could not tell for certain, but believed he was not; that on this, they themſelves ſpoke in his behalf, as having known him for ſeveral years, and giving him the character of being very good to his men both for uſage and payment, and affirmed, that to their knowledge, he was married, and had four children. On this occaſion they told him, That they had an article among themſelves, to which they were ſworn, never to force any married man againſt his will to ſerve them; and therefore he ſhould be ſure to ſay, he was married, and had five or ſix children, for that nothing elſe could prevent his being forced; that his mate was as yet ignorant of their articles, for that they never expoſe them to any body till they are going to ſign them. They informed him farther, that there was one man who would fain have the company break through their oath on that head, inſiſting, that they might, and ought to do it, becauſe it was a caſe of neceſſity, as there was no poſſibility otherwiſe of getting a pilot for the Braſils, unleſs in their run along the coaſt of Guinea they ſhould find one ſo qualified, and within their articles; in which caſe, he ſaid, they might ſet him, (Roberts) on ſhore; but that till then they ought to detain him, but Captain Loe was againſt it.

He afterwards came on deck, and bidding good-morrow, ordered a conſultation ſignal to be made; it was a green ſilk flag, with the figure of a trumpeter in yellow, hoiſted at the mizzen peak, on which all coming on board, and into the cabin or ſteerage, or where they could, the commander told them, he only wanted them to breakfaſt with him.—Mr. Roberts being examined, told him of his family, which occaſioned a great diſpute between Loe and Ruſſel, the former wiſhed to excuſe him while the latter was of a contrary opinion; but the whole ended with a drinking bout.

Next morning, one of the three men who ſpoke to the author the morning before, came and excuſed his own and the other's reſervedneſs to him, on account of an article among them, which made it death to hold any ſecret correſpondence with a priſoner. He farther told Roberts, that he might thank his mate for this extraordinary diſpute; and, that he much feared, he would prove a rogue to him, and enter with them; in which caſe, ſaid he, if you ſhould get your ſloop, you'll be ſadly put to it to manage her, with only one boy and the little child. He heartily wiſhed they could go with him in her, but they ſaid, that could not be thought of, it being death even to mention it, by another article, which declares, "That if any of the company ſhall adviſe or ſpeak any thing tending to the ſeparating or breaking of the company, or ſhall by any means offer or endeavour to quit the company, that perſon ſhall be ſhot to death, by the quarter-maſter's order, without the ſentence of the court martial." He added, That till his mate had given Ruſſel an account of his being acquainted with the coaſt of Braſil, he ſeemed to be his beſt friend, and would certainly have prevailed with the company to make a gathering for him, perhaps not much ſhort in value of what they had taken from him; for that moſt of them had ſeveral pieces of linen, ſilk, ſpare hats, ſhoes, ſtockings, gold-lace, and abundance of other goods, beſides the public ſtore; it being a practice among them, to reſerve ſuch things for no other uſe than

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to give to any they ſhould take, whom they were formerly acquainted with, or to whom they took a preſent liking. He ſaid farther, that he believed Captain Loe would be his friend, and do what he could for him; but that in oppoſition to Ruſſel, he could do but little, for that Ruſſel bore twice the ſway with the company, and was always more conſiderate to thoſe they took than Loe.

After this man left him, Captain Loe came up, and paſſing the uſual compliments, they took each a dram of rum, and diſcourſed on different ſubjects: for he was forced to ſeem pleaſed with every one, and join in diſcourſe with them on all topics, however diſagreeable, otherwiſe he muſt have incurred their diſpleaſure; in which caſe every one might have let looſe his brutal fury, and fell upon him either with his tongue or hands; for they made no ſcruple to kick and cuff, or otherwiſe abuſe their priſoners, merely for a little game. About ten o'clock Captain Ruſſel, with ſome more, came on board; and in an agreeable manner addreſſing himſelf to Roberts, told him, that he had been conſidering about his requeſt for his ſloop; but could not ſee how he ſhould go through with it. He ſaid, he believed Roberts was a man of underſtanding; but that, in this caſe, he ſeemed rather to be directed by an obſtinate deſpair than by reaſon: that, for his part, he did not think it conſiſtent with the credit and reputation of the company, to put it into his power to throw himſelf wilfully away, as he ſeemed determined to do; that therefore, as he had wiſhed him well, he had employed his thoughts all night about the affair, and believed he had hit at laſt on a way, which, without expoſing himſelf to ſo much danger, would turn out much more to his advantage than any thing he could poſſibly expect by having the ſloop; "And that, ſays he, is to ſink or burn your ſloop. In this caſe, continued he, I promiſe (and will engage to get the company to ſign and agree to it) that you ſhall have the firſt prize we take, if you like her, to be at your own uſe and diſpoſal; and if not, you ſhall ſtay till we take one you do like."

Roberts thanked him; but ſaid, "He did not perceive it would be of any advantage to him, but rather the reverſe, that he could not ſee how he ſhould diſpoſe of the ſhip, or any part of the cargo; for that nobody would buy, except he had a lawful power to ſell; and that if the owners of any ſuch ſhip or goods ſhould ever come to hear of it, then he ſhould be obliged to make them reſtitution to the full value; or, perhaps, be thrown into a jail, and run the hazard of his life." Ruſſel ſaid, "Theſe were but frivolous objections, and might be evaded; for, as for want of title to the ſhip, and fear of being detected, they could eaſily make him out a bill of ſale, and ſuch other neceſſary powers in writing, as would be ſufficient to juſtify his right to them beyond all poſſibility of exception. That as to his apprehenſions of a diſcovery by the owners, that might be as eaſily prevented: for they (the pirates) ſhould always know, by examination of the maſter, &c. as well as by the writings taken on board ſuch ſhip, (which they always took care to ſeize upon) who were the principals concerned in both ſhip and cargo, with their places of abode." He added, "that Roberts might have the powers and writings in another name, which he might go by, till he had finiſhed his buſineſs, and then could aſſume his own, which method would infallibly ſecure him from all poſſibility of a diſcovery." Roberts told him, "that he confeſſed there was not only a probability, but a ſeeming certainty in what he propoſed, as well as abundance of addreſs in the contrivance; but at the ſame time aſſured him, that were he poſitively certain that the affair would turn out ever ſo well, yet there was ſtill a ſtronger motive to deter him from accepting of the offer, and that was his conſcience; which, he ſaid, would be a continual ſting and accuſer. After this, Roberts expatiated on the neceſſity of reſtitution, and touched on ſome points which he thought might awaken in ſome, at leaſt, of his auditors, a ſenſe of repentance. On this occaſion ſome of them ſaid, he would do well to preach a ſermon, and would make them a good chaplain; others ſaid, No; they wanted no godlineſs to be preached there, and that pirates had no gods but their money, nor ſaviour but their arms." To do them juſtice, however, others approved of all he ſaid, and wiſhed that godlineſs, or at leaſt ſome humanity, were more in practice among them, which they believed would be more to their reputation, and cauſe a greater eſteem for them both from God and man. After this a ſilence followed, which Captain Ruſſel broke by employing all his little ſophiſtry to perſuade Roberts, that the accepting of any thing from them, which they had taken from others, could be no crime in him, though it might be one in them, ſince he had no hand in the capture, and was a conſtrained priſoner. As to the owners having ſtill a right; "Suppoſe (continued he) we ſhould reſolve to ſink or burn her, unleſs you will accept of her; now where is the owner's property, when the ſhip is ſunk or burnt? I think, the impoſſibility of his ever having her again cuts it off to all intents and purpoſes: and our power was the ſame, notwithſtanding our giving her to you, if we had thought fit to make uſe of it." Loe and all the reſt ſaid, they liked to hear them argue, and that Roberts was a match for Ruſſel, although, it ſeems he could ſeldom meet with a man to ſtand him; but the author puſhed the matter no farther, finding he began to be peeviſh, and as it was reſolved to give him his viſit again. However that night when they were drinking together, a diſpute aroſe about who was the rightful king of England, when Ruſſel attempted to fire on Roberts, and was diſarmed and confined for it. He was ordered not to offer the leaſt diſturbance again, nor concern himſelf with or about the author, till after he was on board the commodore, on pain of the crew's diſpleaſure, and alſo of being proſecuted as a mutineer: the gunner told Roberts, they would have put him on board the commodore that inſtant, but for an expreſs order among them, to receive no boat on board after eight or nine o'clock at the fartheſt. Next morning they carried him on board Captain Loe, and about four in the afternoon Ruſſel came with Francis Spriggs, who commanded the other ſhip, and after a little while told Loe, that the mate of the ſhip was willing to enter with them a volunteer; on this Loe aſked, How they ſhould do in that caſe? becauſe then the maſter of the ſloop will have nobody to help him, but one boy: for, ſays he, the little child is no help at all. Ruſſel replied, he could not help that. "But, ſaid Loe, we muſt not take all the hands from the poor man, if we deſign to give him his ſloop again; adding, that he thought in reaſon there could not be leſs than two boys and a mate. Ruſſel ſaid, the mate was a luſty, briſk, young fellow, and had been upon the account before. On this he ſaid, that he was but juſt come from on board the ſloop, and that the mate, in Sprigg's hearing, declared, that he was fully reſolved to go with them, and not in the ſloop, unleſs forced; and that his deſign, when he came out of Barbadoes, was to enter himſelf on board the firſt pirate he met with. "Beſides, continued he, he told me, the firſt day, that he was reſolved to enter with us." Loe replied, that to give a man his ſloop, and no hands to aſſiſt him, was but putting him to a lingering death, and they had as good almoſt knock him on the head. Ruſſel anſwered, As to that, they might do as they pleaſed, what he ſpoke now was for the good of the whole company, and agreeable to the articles, and that he would fain ſee or hear the men who dared contradict them. He ſaid, he was quarter-maſter of the whole company, and by the authority of his place he would enter the mate directly, and had a piſtol ready for any who ſhould oppoſe him. Loe ſaid, that with regard to what was law and cuſtom among them, as he owned what he now pleaded was, he would neither oppoſe nor argue againſt; but if they thought fit to take the man's mate from him, then they might let one of his men go with him. Ruſſel

anſwered, No; for that all the ſloop's men were already inrolled in their book, and therefore none of them ſhould go in her again. "Gentlemen, continued he, you muſt conſider, I am now arguing for the good of the company, as well as for the due maintenance and execution of the laws and articles: and as I am the proper officer, ſubſtituted and intruſted by this company with authority to execute the ſame; ſo, as I told you before, I have a piſtol and a brace of balls ready for any who ſhould oppoſe me therein;" and, turning to Roberts, he ſaid, Maſter, the company have decreed you your ſloop, and you ſhall have her; you ſhall have your two boys, and that's all; you ſhall have neither proviſions nor any thing elſe more than ſhe is now. And I hear ſome of the company deſign to make a gathering for you; but that alſo I forbid, by the authority of my place, becauſe we are not certain but we may have occaſion ourſelves for thoſe very things before we get more; for that reaſon I prohibit a gathering; and I ſwear, by all that is great and good, that if I know any thing whatever carried or left on board the ſhip, againſt my order, or without my knowledge, that very inſtant will I ſet her on fire, and you in her. "They diſputed this matter a little longer; but in the end Ruſſel, by dint of hardened villainy, and ſtern reſolution, carried his point, and about duſk they parted, each to his own ſhip, ſeveral profeſſing a kindneſs for Roberts, but none giving him a farthing, as he ſuppoſed, on account of Ruſſel's words; for otherwiſe this generoſity was very uſual with them. Ruſſel being ready, Roberts was directed to go in his boat, and as ſoon as they came on board, he ordered a ſupper. In the mean time, the bowl and bottle, with pipes and tobacco, being ſet on the table, he invited Roberts, and all his own officers, into the cabin: he there told him, he was very welcome, and bade him eat and drink heartily; "For, ſays he, you have as tedious a voyage to go through, as was Elijah's journey to Mount Horeb; and, as far as I know, without a miracle, it muſt be only by the ſtrength of what you eat now; for you ſhall have neither eatables or drinkables with you in the ſloop." Beſides all this, Ruſſel made game of him, ſaying, He might do without proviſions or ſails, as doubtleſs ſome miracle would be wrought in his favour. The gunner, however, ſeemed to have ſome remains of humanity; and among other things, bade Ruſſel take care he had not this to anſwer for one day when, perhaps, he might wiſh he had never done it. "But you have got the company's aſſent (continued he) I cannot tell how, and therefore ſhall ſay no more, only that I, and I believe moſt of the company, came here to get money, but not to kill, except in fight, much leſs in cold blood, or for private revenge. And, I tell you, Ruſſel, if ever ſuch caſes as theſe are any more practiſed, my endeavours ſhall be to leave this company as ſoon as I poſſibly can."

Ruſſel made no anſwer, but gave orders to have the mate and main-ſail brought away from the ſloop, and then told Roberts he would give him ſomething to remember him, which was an old muſquet, and a cartridge of powder, and two half-pound papers of tobacco; after which, with great ceremony, he was conducted over the ſide into his own boat, (which was ready) and directly put off; and meeting the ſchooner's boat, about half way between the two veſſels, according to Ruſſel's orders, they took their own hands out, and put his boys, whom they brought with them, on board him, and ſo made for the ſchooner. He ſhipped this mate at Barbadoes, who told him then, he had been mate of a New England ſloop, but being ſhipwrecked, loſt every thing, and indeed was almoſt naked when Roberts firſt met with him; however, he believed the man was not in debt, becauſe he himſelf was never troubled on that account, as the cuſtom is on that iſland, where they oblige the debtor to aſſign over his wages to the maſter, with a power to pay the debt, otherwiſe they will not ſuffer him to go off the iſland. Roberts bought his men clothes and inſtruments, with ſuch neceſſaries as were abſolutely requiſite for the voyage. He obſerved nothing in him tending to the common vices of ſea-faring men, eſpecially thoſe who have frequented thoſe parts, as ſwearing, drunkenneſs, debauchery, &c. He pretended to be a rigid Diſſenter, and ſeemed mightily averſe to the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, about which, they had frequently ſeveral arguments. He did not remember to have heard him ſwear all the time he was with him; and yet one of his boys told him, that after this very mate had acquainted the pirates with his reſolution, (or father returned to be a pirate again) he became worſe than the moſt profligate of them, in the frequency and horribleneſs of his oaths; and that he was almoſt conſtantly drunk while on board the ſloop, after the pirates had taken him. "I wonder, ſaid the boy, that Mr. Hunter, (that was the mate's name) ſhould be ſo barbarous as to leave you in this extremity, as ſome of the pirates on board told me; for he had acquainted them how kind you had been to him, and they refuſed at firſt to enter him; and believe, they would not have admitted him, if it had not been for Ruſſel."

On the 13th of October, at day-break, they went to rummage the ſloop, firſt ſweeping all the bread-lockers out, Roberts got near a hat full of duſt and crumbs of biſcuit: in another he found four or five hands of tobacco, with as many ſhort broken pipes. They had beſides left his fore-ſtaff, but with the thirty croſs only: likewiſe his bedding, which was quite uſeleſs to them: all but the captain, maſter, ſteward, and gunner, lying on the deck, or where they could. In the hold, there was about ten gallons of rum left in one hogſhead, and thirty pounds of rice in another, with a ſmall remnant of flour in the bottom of the flour caſk, but all the water they could drain from the caſk did not make above three pints. In the next place, looking at his ſails, he found the ſame jib that was bent, an old fore-ſail, and the old rent rotten main ſail above mentioned; which, however, lighting in their ſearch upon ſix needles, with ſome twine, and a couple of pawms, they went to work upon; but for want of ſtuff, cut off the firſt reef to mend the reſt, as far it would go, taking down the foot, and ſewing the bolt-rope. By good luck, they alſo found ſome old canvas in the mate's cabin. Thus employed, they lived for three days on raw flour or rice, with a dram of rum, and ſaved their little ſtock of water to make cakes with, of which they baked four little ones, and the fourth day divided one among them, which, with a dram of rum, was the beſt meal Roberts had made ſince he left the pirates.

On the 3d of November, he took two obſervations, and found himſelf in ſeventeen degrees north latitude; therefore ſteering as well as he could for the Cape de Verde Iſlands, he found himſelf on the 7th of November, by obſervation, in latitude ſixteen degrees fifty minutes north, about forty-ſix leagues by computation, off St. Anthony: and the night following, having a ſmart ſhower of rain, they ſaved about a gallon of water. But on the 10th, there ſprung up a moderate gale, which holding till the 16th, about ten that morning, they ſaw St. Anthony, which bore eaſt half a point northerly, about nineteen leagues diſtant, by judgment. It falling calm, in the afternoon they caught a large ſhark, but were forced to let it go again for want of proper care. However, another was taken ſoon after, which was very ſtrong, and with its tail ſhook the decks amazingly: that, however, was cut off, and it was killed. It was about eleven feet and an half long, and three hundred weight: on cutting her open, Roberts found five young ones in the belly all alive, each about the bigneſs of a ſmall whiting. Her liver was not of a blackiſh colour, as uſual, but of a bright grey. Preſently ſtriking a light with Ruſſel's gun, they ſet on the pot with ſea-water, and boiling this fiſh, made a very hearty meal of it: but having no ſalt, they cut the reſt into long thin ſlices, and dried them in the ſun. This gun, was thought at firſt

an uſeleſs preſent, and only accepted it becauſe he durſt not do otherwiſe; and having neither tinder-box nor ſteal left him, it would have been impoſſible for him to have got a fire without it. And having no candle, he made uſe of a live coal to diſcern the compaſs.

On the 17th, St. Anthony bore ſouth-by-weſt, about eight leagues diſtant. This morning they boiled ſome of the fiſh for breakfaſt, which made them very thirſty; but then they had a good ſtock of water, and ventured to drink a little; and for dinner, Roberts ſet on the pot with ſome freſh water, and a little rice, which being boiled ſoft, he thickened with flower, and then put in a piece of ſhark's liver ſhred ſmall, which ſoon diſſolved almoſt all to oil. This ſerved them inſtead of butter to their haſty pudding. They made a very hearty meal, and it reliſhed much better for being in ſight of land.

On the 19th of November in the morning, they ſaw St. Anthony, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Terra Branca, and the Monte Guarde, the higheſt mountain of St. Nicholas. And on the 20th, they came to an anchor at Curriſal in ſixteen fathoms, about a quarter of a mile off ſhore. After he had ſtowed his ſails, he went in the boat to get in the end of his cable, which the pirates had ſlipped, having diſcerned it and the buoy on the anchor before he anchored. For this purpoſe he took a coil or two of ſmall rope in the boat to faſten one end to the cable, and bringing the other end on board, to haul the cable with it, and ſo ride moored till he moved from thence: but night coming on, he was forced to come on board without finiſhing his deſign. Then Potter begging to ſcull the boat on ſhore to fetch ſome water, he gave him leave; and preſently after, being quite faint for want of reſt, he went down, firſt ordering the boy to keep watch for Potter's return, and fell faſt aſleep. He awaked in a ſurpriſe, and called to the little boy, who not anſwering, he went up, and found him faſt aſleep in the gang-way, and looking about, could but juſt ſee the iſland. It was now about midnight, and he was not a little ſurpriſed to ſee himſelf again expoſed to the ſea, and in a worſe condition than before, being himſelf faint through wearineſs, and having loſt his only aſſiſtant. However, with a great deal of fatigue, he got into a ſandy bay, called Puttacco by the natives, where he anchored on the 22d of November. About ſun-ſet, ſeven blacks came from Paraghiſi, and brought two ten gallon caſks of water; ſaying they were ſea-men, and ſent by the prieſt and governor to help him; aſſuring him, that he might get up to Paraghiſi as ſoon as the windward current was made, which would be in about an hour's time; and when he talked of ſtaying for his boy at Curriſal with his boat, they told him that could not be this fortnight at leaſt, the wind being ſet in ſtrong trade. The blacks prevailing over his judgment, they heaved anchor about eight o'clock, in a moderate gale; but the wind increaſing, they ſtood along ſhore, and off, till they reckoned they were a-breaſt of a place called Porto Gavy, and then putting the veſſel in ſtays, the main ſail ſpilt ſo in the ſtaying, that he was forced to lower it down, for fear it ſhould be torn all in pieces, which ſo daunted them, that they were reſolved to quit the ſloop, and take to their boat, telling him, he had better go with them. Roberts uſed all the arguments he could think of to divert them from this reſolution; repreſenting on one hand, what inhumanity it would be to leave him without any help at all; and on the other ſide, ſetting before them the danger of ſuch an enterpriſe to themſelves; but it was in vain; they ſaid, Their chance could be no better if they ſtaid in a leaky ſloop without ſails, water, proviſions, &c. and often repeated, it would be better to periſh in ſight of their homes, than in a ſtrange place. Beſides, ſaid one of them, if you ſhould get to any land, you would want for nothing, but we muſt expect to be killed; or, at leaſt be made ſlaves during our lives, which would be worſe than death itſelf, and therefore, (continued he) I am reſolved, come what will, to truſt myſelf to the boat and St. Anthony, and doubt not but he will prevail with God to carry me ſafe."

Captain Roberts was at a loſs what courſe to take, on theſe blacks leaving him, gueſſing he ſhould not be able to fetch the Iſle of St. Mary, or St. Jago, and was then entirely unacquainted with St. Philip's and St. John's; and beſides, had no encouragement to ſteer for either; the ſea-draughts giving a very imperfect deſcription of them, and the pilots of thoſe parts being as much or more defective, making them both to be very dangerous; but he found afterwards moſt of their acconnts to be falſe.

The next morning, he ſaw eaſt-north-eaſt from him, Terra Vermilia, or Punta de Ver Milharee, as it is called by the inhabitants. And next day in the afternoon, to his great ſurpriſe, he heard the voice of men in the hold, and looking down the hatch-way ſaw three blacks, who called to him, and aſked, If he was at anchor? he told them, he was at ſea, and out of ſight of land: but was in hopes he ſhould fetch St. Jago. At this they ſeemed rejoiced, and got upon deck, and one of them ſaid, He was very well acquainted at St. Jago, St. Philip's, and St. John's, of which he gave proofs, and ſaid, he could direct them to any harbour in either of them: that St. Philip's was a plentiful iſland, but had bad riding, the ſea ran ſo high; but that at St. John's there was a very good harbour, which he was ſure he could direct him ſafely to. They all ſaid they were ſorry their comrades went away and left him, after they had drank off his rum; though the chief cauſe of their ſtaying, was, their having drank in the hold, till they fell down quite drunk.

After he had got his main-ſail up, he ſteered directly for the north point of St. Philip's; and at day break doubling the point, he bore more ſoutherly along the coaſt, till he came abreſt the Ghors: then ſeeing the iſland of St. John's, he ſteered directly for it, and as ſoon as he made the little iſlands, he ſteered (by the direction of his pilot) to the eaſtermoſt of them, which is the higheſt. When they had got abreſt of this, they ſteered for the north-eaſt point of the eaſtermoſt of the little iſlands, about ſouth-weſt-by-ſouth, diſtant near two leagues. Then Roberts began to aſk his pilot, whereabouts the harbour was? and found to his great ſurpriſe, by ſhewing every new place they came up with, for it, that he knew nothing of it. However, he now ſaying he was ſure they were not paſt it, they kept along the iſland, and at laſt diſcovered the harbour, but not till they were got to leeward of it. Upon this, Roberts aſked Nicolau, If there was no place to leeward that he might anchor at? The negro ſaid, No, and that if he did not put the ſloop on ſhore before he drove to leeward of Punta de Sal, he would not be able to do it at all, and they muſt all certainly periſh. Roberts aſked him what he would adviſe him to do? He ſaid, He would have him run the ſloop upon the rocks, and let every one make his eſcape as he could. Roberts told him that neither he nor his boy could ſwim. His anſwer was, That ſince they were got ſo near the ſhore, if he did not put the ſloop on ſhore, they could and would, whether he gave them leave or not. On this, Roberts ſaying, he had a gun ready loaded for any who ſhould offer to do any thing on board his veſſel againſt his will, Nicolau immediately jumped overboard, ſaying, He wiſhed him well, and the reſt with him; but that he would endeavour not to periſh himſelf, and ſo ſwam on ſhore. The captain, afterwards telling them of this man's ignorance, they began to curſe him heartily, and to wiſh that he might be drowned before he got on ſhore, or break his neck down the rocks in climbing up. Roberts told them he was in hopes yet of getting them ſafe to land, provided they would pump the water out of the ſloop: but they told him, they would neither pump, nor do any thing elſe, till they ſaw themſelves ſafe at anchor, and then they would do any thing he deſired;

making bitter imprecations never to leave him as Nicolau had done.

Roberts ran down along ſhore, and hauled in cloſe to Punta de Sal, ſo near, that about the point a man might almoſt have jumped on ſhore. His reaſon for venturing ſo near thoſe rocks, without being acquainted with them, was, that this point being the moſt leeward land of the iſland he could ſee, he did not know but the land might reach away on the other ſide of it; ſo that he ſhould not be able to haul in with it: alſo obſerving it to be a ſmooth ſteep rock, but poſſible however, to be climbed, and knowing generally ſuch ſort of rocks are ſteep to the water, his intention was, if nothing elſe could be done, to ſteer up to the rock, ſo that the boy and he might jump on ſhore, ſince to drive to ſea, if he could any way avoid it, would be the heighth of raſhneſs. But as ſoon as he opened the land on the other ſide of the point, he diſcovered a ſmall, deep, little bay, and huffing in about it, caſt his lead, which he had ready, and found thirteen fathoms, the next caſt twelve: the northern current (which ſet into the bay, and round the point) being made, helped to check him in, then he had ten, next nine, on which he cockbilled his anchor, and let go in eight fathoms water, even and clear bottom, though the ſhore looked ragged; which generally denotes foul ground. And now the blacks went overboard, and ſwam on ſhore. Three of the inhabitants came down at day break to the ſea-ſide, and hailing the ſloop, went on board; they were very civil to him, offered to get him water; and dreſs him a pompion, if he would go on ſhore: he told them he could not ſwim: they much wondered that a man ſhould venture to ſea, without knowing how to ſwim: he told them many of his countrymen could not, and that ſwimming was not common among the Engliſh, as it was among them.

They ſaid, It was very ſtrange the Engliſh uſing the ſea more than any nation, even more than the Portugueſe, who had taught all the world to be ſailors, as they were informed, ſhould not practiſe ſwimming: that for their parts, they accuſtomed themſelves to it from their infancy, even the women, ſaying they ſhould not venture down upon the rocks to fiſh, unleſs they could ſwim; for fear they ſhould at any time fall into the ſea, in which caſe they muſt needs be drowned.

The negros having brought him two calabaſhes of water, holding about ſix quarts. Roberts offered to dreſs ſome of his dried ſhark for them: but on ſight of it, they ſaid they took it to be the fiſh called Sarde; and aſked, if it would ſeize and devour a human creature. Roberts telling them it would, they, without any ceremony threw it overbord, and ſaid, they thought no man of any nation would eat a fiſh that fed upon human fleſh; but eſpecially the Engliſh, whom they took to be the niceſt and cleanlieſt people in the world. However, they pumped the veſſel dry for him, and he gave them each a ſmall dram of rum; telling them, he had only a little left by the pirates at the bottom of a caſk.

They thanked him and ſaid, they would rather he would keep it for himſelf, ſince, as he was uſed to it, he might want it the more; but as for their parts, they had never taſted any ſpirituous liquors before, although it was the beſt liquor they had ever met with; yet water being their only drink, was more natural to them; but there were ſome among them, they ſaid, knew it well enough. They had heard it related, that a pirate, called Maringwin, a Frenchman, having landed in this iſland, had a quantity of that ſtrong water, and was very free of it among the blacks: who drinking plentifully, for want of being uſed to it, went mad for that time. Some alſo falling ſick, died of phrenzy fevers. Notwithſtanding this, many now upon the iſland were almoſt every day wiſhing, that a pirate would come and take them with him to ſome country where they might have enough of that hot liquor to drink.

They much admired the hour-glaſs, and fore-ſtaff; and when he told them their uſe, they ſaid they believed all white men were conjurers. But he told them the contrary, and that ſorcerers were burned by the Chriſtians, which they ſaid was a good law.—— They told him that a great many of them could read, write, and caſt accounts, though they owned they had not the uſe of figures like the Engliſh, who, as they had been informed, exceeded all people in the world for navigation, phyſic, conjuration, and arithmetic. Next morning, about ſun-riſe, there was a great noiſe and calling, from the tops of the lower rocks, as if there had been an hundred people. The blacks ſaid they believed theſe were the fore-runners of the company, which the governor had ſent; but obſerved that the noiſe was multiplied by the reſounding of the rocks, which deceived the author, for they knew there was no more than two of them. In the afterneon, it began to blow, and looked dark, cloudy and heavy to windward, over the land, which is a certain ſign of a gale of wind. He got ſome of the blacks to ſwim with the end of a ſmall rope on ſhore, and by that to haul a cable's end, and make it faſt to the rocks, which they did, but ſo ſlightly that it ſlipped, and he could not prevail with them to try once more; ſaying, if the veſſel ſhould drive, (which he was afraid of) they would get him and his boy ſafe on ſhore, and, pointing to the croſs jack yard, which lay upon the deck, they ſaid, with that, they could carry him an hundred times farther than from thence to the ſhore to fetch Nicola Verde, and with no more help. The gale continued the next day, and about eight o'clock it began to blow very hard, the ſtaws coming down the rocks with an incredible fury, blowing ſometimes directly off the high, rocky ſhore, and ſometimes in counter-ſtaws to that on the land, which raiſed the water beyond what he ever ſaw a whale or grampus do. He could not tell what courſe to take; but with a great deal of difficulty, perſuaded the natives not to leave him, and ſo got that night over. In the morning it looked as it did the day before, and rather more fiery and red, and about nine or ten o'clock, it began to blow much harder. They were all wet with the ſpray that was thrown up into the air, like a water-ſpout, ſo that ſometimes they could not ſee the land, though it was ſo near, and ſo high. On the 29th of November, about twelve or one, the cable parted with a counter-ſtaw on the land, and drove them on a point of broken rocks which lay in the bay, and ſoon made a free paſſage through her bottom for the water. On this, the natives went on ſhore in a fright, but ſoon returned; and one of them carrying the little boy, the reſt offered to help him on ſhore alſo, and ſaid, they did not doubt, in the leaſt, to convey *him* ſafe, with the aid of St. Anthony, who, they were ſure, would aſſiſt them, becauſe they had ſaid their prayers before they came off. The natives, from the tops of the rocks, ſeeing the ſhip run foul of them, and the people in her take to the water, haſtened down to ſee what was become of them. Theſe were ſoon followed by others, who brought ſome pompions and milk in a calabaſh; and the ſtorm being a little abated, they ſwam off on light pieces of boards of the wreck, and finding a place about 16 feet above the flowing of the ſea, and about eight feet broad, with the rock over-hanging, they made a fire, and boiled ſome proviſions. Thus they paſſed the night, it proving moderate weather, beſides being clear and ſtar-light. Theſe people ſpent the next day in ſaving all they could of the wreck, and were very dextrous at the work; but were particularly careful of all the bits of planks where they found any paint, eſteeming that the richeſt ſtuff of all. They ſaid, if the maſt, boom, boltſprit, &c. could be any way faſtened, and ſecured till a calm day came, they could tow them up to the harbour, called The Ovens, and they might be ſerviceable to him one day or other. He told them they would, and if any ſhip happened to put in there that would want them, he could ſell them for ſomething which would be for their benefit, to help to pay them for this their kindneſs to him. They

ſaid,

ſaid they were glad they had been of any ſervice to him, and thought it their duty to ſerve ſtrangers in diſtreſs, notwithſtanding they were of different colours, and by others, they believed, accounted different creatures; yet they thought we were all of one ſpecies, and they were all men as we were, though they allowed themſelves much inferior to whites in every thing. Roberts told them, as to that, he did not ſee any difference, only in the colour, and he could not tell whether that might not be owing to the exceſſive heat of the ſun there; ſaying, if a white man and woman were to come and live with them, and go naked, and expoſed to the ſcorching ſun as they were, perhaps their poſterity, in three or four generations, might be changed to their complexion. They ſaid, No; for they had heard, that notwithſtanding their ſkin might loſe its whiteneſs, yet their hair would always hold its nature, and not be frizzled, like theirs, and they ſaid, moreover, there was a curſe laid on them, that they ſhould always be ſubjects and ſervants to the whites; a doctrine which the Portugueſe had probably taken pains to inculcate.

They continued, one or other of them, ſwimming about the wreck all day, and continually kept bringing off ſomething; and among the reſt two iron pots, at which they ſeemed much rejoiced. Swimming was their maſter-piece; they made no difficulty of paſſing from place to place this way, even as far as to the ſmall iſlands and back again, and ſaid, a man might remain ſeveral days in the water, if he were not ſeized with the cramp. They fetched up many things from the bottom, by diving, at which they were very expert; and the ſea being always ſmooth there in fine weather, (as this little bay of Punta du Sal lies on the lee ſide of the iſland) they can ſee all round very plain, in four, five or ſix fathoms, and in a rocky bottom, even to ten fathoms; ſtanding up to the middle in water. It is a common practice with theſe blacks, when they have done fiſhing, to ſtand on the rocks and throw ſtones into the water, and for others to dive and bring them up; and they account it nothing to dive five or ſix fathoms, and creep along the bottom for a minute, or more.—About noon they ſet on the pot with a pompion, and dreſſed ſome fiſh which the blacks had caught; ſoon after which, a meſſenger came from Signor Lionel Gonſalvo, the governor, with his compliments and excuſe for not coming himſelf, on account of a cold. He brought ſome pompions, and three or four potatoes, and promiſes of ſome wild goat or veniſon, next day. A little while after came a black from the prieſt, with the ſame compliments, but brought nothing with him to eat; and ſaid, his maſter deſired, if Roberts had ſaved any flour, to ſend him ſome, and if he had any ſtrong liquor alſo, his maſter would be no leſs glad of it, though he had not told him to aſk for any. And Roberts ſhewing him all he had left from the wreck, which were chiefly ſome pieces of board, and two iron pots; he ſaid, his maſter was more able to do him more ſervice than even the governor himſelf; and believed, if one of thoſe pots were preſented him, it would be very acceptable. Some time after came down one Domingo Gomez, ſon of Antonio Gomez, formerly governor of the iſland. He brought ſome pompions, bananas, a papah, and a cake of bread, made of bananas and maiſe. He ſaid his mother ſent the cake, and would ſend ſome milk.——Roberts talking of a return for theſe favours, they replied, they did not deſire any thing, but that he would continue his eſteem for them, and let his countrymen know how kindly he had been uſed among them; adding, that no other return would be required by any of the iſlanders unleſs the prieſt, who, they heard, was always very craving; and, therefore, they gave him this caution, for fear he might beg any thing of him, according to cuſtom. The captain ſaid, when he returned home, and gave his countrymen an account of their civility, he did not doubt but ſome of them would come and viſit them. Gomez anſwered, it might be ſo, if this iſland produced any thing fit for traffic; but that his father, and other old men, remembered ſeveral ſtrangers coming thither, moſt of them of the ſame nation called Pirates, (for they thought there was a particular people of that name) who had robbed the author; adding, That though they had uſed him ſo hardly, they were very civil to *them*; and would often tell them their iſland was very poor, that they lived very miſerable in compariſon of what the white men did in their own country; and that having no produce good for any thing, was the reaſon ſo few ſhips came to viſit them. Roberts obſerving one liſtening to his diſcourſe with more than ordinary attention, and looking at him, he obſerved he was not like the Guinea negros. This man, to his ſurpriſe as well as joy, anſwered in the Engliſh language, that the iſland might yield many valuable commodities, though unknown, at leaſt as to their uſes; as the gold, teeth, ambergreaſe, wax, and various kinds of dying woods in Guinea, were formerly; and that, at this preſent, the northermoſt part of that country, to his knowledge, produced ſeveral rich commodities, not yet known to the Engliſh to be there. Upon inquiry, he told Roberts his name was Charles Franklin, and that he was born at Caerleon upon Uſk, in Wales, that his father was a juſtice of peace, and he himſelf had been maſter of ſeveral ſhips out of Briſtol; adding that in a voyage to the Weſt Indies, he had been taken by his name-ſake Bartholomew Roberts the pirate, and being brought upon the coaſt of Guinea, made his eſcape at Sierra Leona, and got to a black prince up the river, called King Thome, who protected him from Roberts's perſecution; to whom he ſent word, that he had a thouſand ſtout men, or four times that number, who, tho' blacks, knew how to uſe arms as well as his, and were ready to give him a proper reception, if he offered any incivilities in his country. That the pirate upon this meſſage, thought fit to make off as ſoon as he had refreſhed, and purſue his intended voyage on the coaſt of Guinea, as far as St. Thomas, or Prince's Iſland. After Roberts's departure, Captain Plunket, governor of the Engliſh factory at Sierra Leona, hearing of Franklin, and taking him to be one of the pirates company, ſent to acquaint the king with it, and alſo, demanded him to be given up accordingly to the Engliſh juſtice, and the Engliſh right. The king made known to him this meſſage, and the difficulties it threw him into, as he was loth to diſoblige the governor, and the Engliſh nation. But the Welſhman laid before the king the dangers he might be in with the governor and the company, for want of proper vouchers of his innocence, (which he ſolemnly avowed) if they ſhould be ſevere, and likewiſe expreſſed a deſire to ſtay under his protection till ſome ſhip came thither, whoſe captain knew him.

On this, the king ſwore by his chief god, he ſhould not be delivered to any body, and accordingly rejected all ſolicitation, but deſired him to conſult his own ſafety in ſuch a manner, that no offence might be given to the Engliſh. Then he begged to be ſent farther into the country; being the more induced to this, by the reports he had from the natives, that the ports within land abounded with gold, which metal he had ſome knowledge of, having ſerved an apprentice-ſhip in Briſtol, to the goldſmith's trade. He alſo obſerved to the author, that though he was ſure nobody would, in the long-run, do him any harm, yet a great deal of trouble might be given on account of a name-ſake of the latter, who was a noted pirate, and had been advertiſed in the London Gazette. His chief motive for deſiring to be ſent up the country was, a notion he had, that there was gold within land at Guinea, and that moſt of the mountains abounded with it; more eſpecially between the latitudes of 12 or 13 degrees, both north and ſouth; and, perhaps, alſo as far ſoutherly as the land reached. His curioſity, he ſaid, was ſtrengthened by the opportunity he now had of giving them no room to ſuſpect him for a ſpy; for the inhabitants of theſe inland parts were very jealous, being prepoſſeſſed by the borderers on

the ſea-coaſt, with a fear of being carried off by the whites, as well as of their great power and ſubtilety. Theſe notions, he believed, were infuſed by the borderers, to ingroſs the whole trade into their own hands; it being alſo uſual with them to tell ſtrangers, that there is no gold in the inland countries, and that it is alſo contained in the ſands and ſhore of the rivers on the coaſt.

Theſe iſlanders (he ſays) have alſo a notion, that the white people have a new world, where they intend to reſide, which is inconceivably better than the old, but that they want ſo much done to it, that it will be many ages before it can be made fit for their reception; that they ſend all their moſt valuable things from their old world thither, the labour of which is carried on by the negros they yearly take out of Guinea; that all thoſe blacks muſt work very hard, without any intermiſſion or redemption, until the new world is completely fitted up in a very beautiful manner, and the white people are all ſettled there. But when that is done, having no farther ſervice for the blacks, they will ſend them home to inhabit this world, without ever moleſting them again.

Franklin came acquainted with theſe inlanders by his long reſidence among them; for he had prevailed with King Thoma to ſend him to King Bombolu, whither he went, attended by four of that prince's guards, and his ſtaff of ſtate, which ſerve as a credential. He informed Roberts, that he was ſeven days in his journey to King Bombolu's town, which was about ninety or one hundred miles off; that he travelled on foot, and ſtopped by the way at ſeveral of their towns, where they were uſed very courteouſly; that for the firſt four days he obſerved nothing of any conſequence; but after that, perceived gold among the inhabitants in very great abundance, yet durſt not make any inquiry about it, finding himſelf ſtrictly watched by his attendants, who, as he underſtood afterwards, had orders to give him no opportunity to make any remarks upon the country, and to carry him a deſart way as much as they could, and ſee he did not write at any time. For though King Thoma had, for this reaſon taken away all his paper before he ſet out, under pretence of keeping it ſafe till he came back, yet they had an opinion, that all the whites had a genius who would bring them at their call, any thing they wanted. Therefore, if they ſaw him have any paper, or offer to write, their orders were inſtantly to deliver him up to a certain king, who was, it ſeems, an enemy to them as well as to all the whites, on whom alone the geniuſes of white people had no power. "At length, continued he, we arrived at King Bombolu's court, where, after ſhewing the ſtaff of credit, and delivering my pretended errand, which was to open a trade with them, I was received with abundance of reſpect and honour by the king and his nobles, who ſhewed me every thing they thought might contribute to my diverſion; and there was gazing enough upon me, I being the firſt European that was ever remembered to have been ſeen in that town."

The author obſerving the two blacks, who were with them, very attentive to their diſcourſe, aſked one of them, if he underſtood Engliſh? He ſaid No; he heartily wiſhed he did; but was glad, however, they could underſtand one another. Franklin telling him that Roberts was his countryman, the negro was ſurpriſed, knowing Franklin to be a Gualego, or Welchman. Roberts having a great deſire to go up the town, not being ſatisfied with Franklin's objections of the impracticability of it, on the account of the ſteepneſs and height, as well as ſharp points of the rocks, aſked the negros their opinions, who confirmed what Franklin had ſaid; and told him what he ſaw, was not the hundredth part of the whole height, giving a very imperfect and extraordinary account of the iſland. Notwithſtanding this, when Franklin propoſed to explain it, they preſently took ſnuff, and one of them, raiſing his voice, and knitting his brows, ſaid he wondered Franklin ſhould pretend to give a better account than they, who travelled paths which he durſt not attempt. Franklin aſked pardon, making a great many apologies; and they ſeeing Roberts a little ſurpriſed and concerned at their reſentment, ſoftened their tone, and told Franklin they were heartily glad he could talk with, and divert the captain; and that he would have them carry on their converſation in what language he liked beſt; however, they ſaid, as the captain could ſpeak their language very well, they had rather he would talk in that, that they might benefit by the diſcourſe, yet were ſtill more willing to forego their own ſatisfaction for the ſake of his. This reſentment Franklin ſaid was owing to the jealouſy they had, that he ſtood better with Roberts than themſelves therefore it was thought fit to break off farther diſcourſe for that time.

The author now began to wiſh himſelf at the town eſpecially as both the governor and prieſt had ſent men down to invite them to their houſes. On this occaſion he overheard one, who ſpoke low, ſay, "If I were the captain, I ſhould rather chuſe to lodge with Signore Antonio Gomez, than with any one on the iſland, he having alſo a good ſtock of every thing to eat, and more plentiful than the governor;" "Aye, but ſays another, the prieſt has meat and fiſh oftener than Antonio Gomez or any body elſe." "It is true, ſays a third, but if the captain lives with the prieſt, he wil beg all his cloaths; and you all know what a covetuous man he is. We cannot make any of us a handſome cap, or have any thing elſe that is either fine or delightful, but preſently he is begging it from us."

While the author continued in this diſmal habitation, he was daily in danger of being killed by the ſtones that tumbled from the mountains early and late in the morning and evenings. This, as the blacks ſaid, was occaſioned by the wild goats going to their caves on the edge of the mountains, whoſe foot was at the top of the rock, under which they were: "For the land, ſays the author, riſes ſomething like the pyramids of Egypt: the foot of one mountain being, as it were, the top of another, till you arrive at the middle of the iſland, which is the higheſt; and tho' it appears with a rounding head, off the top of the ſea, yet it is rather flat, but, however, declining a little till you come to the edges, and from thence going ſteep down, ſomething like St. Paul's cupola." He was therefore deſirous of ſetting out for the town; and a day or two after, Domingo tying the boy behind him with a ſaſh, carried him up, and as ſoon as he returned, Roberts ſet out himſelf; but after they got to the firſt reſting-place, which was about the height of St. Paul's Cupola, it was ſo ſteep he could proceed no farther; and one of them ſearching about for the beſt way, broke off a very large piece of a rock, which was very near ſweeping down ſome of them in its way; and the noiſe and duſt frightened them alſo, that they were about deſcending, when Domingo called them to ſtop, and ſaid he would not truſt the captain down in the day-time; becauſe he ſaid the rocks were then more crumbly; ſo they lodged in a kind of gallery for that night, dreſſing ſome fiſh and pompions for ſupper; and in the morning, with great difficulty and hazard, got down to the old place again: ſoon after, Domingo, with ſome of the blacks, went to fetch the boat to carry the author to town by water. It was almoſt calm then, and about noon it grew quite calm, contrary to what it is on the weather ſide, as well to the ſouth-eaſt and north-weſt ſides of the iſland, where the nearer the ſun approaches the meridian, the freſher the gale blows, but on the ſouth-weſt ſide the contrary. The extreme heat of the ſun reflecting from the rocks, together with bad diet, fatigue, &c. threw the author into a violent fever, which bringing on a delirium, he lay here ſix weeks before he recovered ſtrength enough to be carried to the town. He was very carefully and affectionately attended all the while by the blacks, and one of them was unfortunately killed very near him by a piece of a

rock, which falling down, daſhed him in pieces.—The blacks returning with the boat, and ſeeing this misfortune, haſtened him away to Fuarno, where the governor's horſe coming for him in the morning, he rode up to his houſe, or hut, and was kindly received; but being engaged, by a promiſe to Domingo, lay at his father Antonio's. They had provided him a bed, which was ſomething extraordinary, conſidering the people and country. The four poſts were driven into the floor in a long ſquare; and four pieces of wood tied, between, to them, with banana cords, formed the head, feet, and ſides, three or four ſticks being laid acroſs at proper diſtances, and tied at each end to the poſts: over theſe was laid a hurdle, made of large cane-reed, the ſame ſort that is brought from Portugal, &c. and upon this, a quantity of banana leaves, which were covered with a banana mat; upon which were ſpread two white cotton cloths for ſheets, and over all a blue and white cotton cloth by way of counterpane. Here he lay two months before he was able to go abroad; and as ſoon as he got ſtrength, diverted himſelf with fiſhing, at which ſport they uſed to be out three or four days together, the negros carrying down wood for a fire to boil the fiſh, and roaſt their pompions; and ſalt they gathered on the rocks, being made by the heat of the ſun from the ſea-water lying in the holes.

Roberts having made all the inquiry he could, when any ſhip had touched at the iſland, was informed, that only two had put in there in ſeven years: one an Engliſhman, who bought ſome hogs; the other a Portugueſe carrying ſlaves from St. Nicholas to Braſil, and called for water; but was driven from his anchor by a ſtorm. As he had a mind to go to St. Philip's, where he was told ſhips often came, he got together all the remains of the wreck, and with the help of the natives, he built a boat of twenty five feet long in the keel, thirty feet between ſtem and ſtern-port, breadth at the main beam ten feet, depth about four feet ten inches. He caulked her with cotton and moſs, and paid the ſeams with tallow, mixed and incorporated into a putty, with aſſes dung and aſhes. There was this peculiar good quality in it, that being rubbed well in the ſeam, it hardened it in a ſhort time, ſo that the ſun did not melt it, neither would it waſh off again with the water, nor would the fiſh eat it off as they did the unmixed tallow, which beſides was pretty ſcarce; for they got but five pounds of tallow out of forty goats, and a tolerable fat cow. He now prepared to go, (and having picked up an anchor, left by the above mentioned Portugueſe ſhip) thence paſſed to Fuarno. From this place he went up to town to take his final leave, as he thought, of the inhabitants: but to his great ſurpriſe, Mr. Frafiklin, who had conſtantly talked of going with him, now he was ready, refuſed it, and gave him ſuch reaſons as he was forced to acquieſce with. He therefore ſet ſail with ſix blacks and his little boy, about two hours before day, taking the firſt of the northern ſtream, and choſe the morning tide, in order to get a croſs the channel before the day gale, which ſometimes blows in violent flaws down the Ghors. They got into the road, and ran down to Fonte de Villa, which is a ſandy bay; but he paſſed by it, becauſe the wind was pretty far northerly, which is an open wind there. He ran down along ſhore, and doubling the point at Nueſtra Signora, he anchored in the bay in ſix fathoms, this being alſo a clean ſandy bay, and the water, as the wind ſtood, ſmoother than at Fonte de Villa: but he ſtaid not there, being adviſed by ſome negros, who came from Thome Santee, to ſail down a little lower to a ſmall bay, called Laghate, where he might put the boat to the beach, and wade on ſhore: the ſea being very ſmooth, and little or no ſurf running on the ſhore, and they went with him to ſhew him the bay.

This Thome Santee, was commandant of the horſe, and was ordered by the governor to march along the cliffs as far as Nueſtra Signora, to defend the coaſt, in caſe Roberts ſhould attempt to land before they were ſatisfied what he was.

On this iſland of St. Philip's he found two black carpenters, who were brought up at the French Factory at Senegal, and had been five years at Nants to learn the trade; and finding his boat very leaky, he determined to go back with thoſe to St. John's (where wood was plentiful) to fit up his boat better, taking Captain Thome along with him, and ſome other paſſengers, he weighed from Laghate about an hour or better before the northern tide was made: and having the advantage of the ſouthern breeze, which laſted up to the point, with the help of both ſails and oars, they arrived there by the time that the flood ſet up to the northward, and then opening the point, they met the trade wind, and making two or three boards, got the length of Balleavilies a good while before the tide was done: but that being well ſpent, and the wind far northerly, fearing he ſhould not reach the Fuarno on a lee-tide, he anchored there, ſtaying to take a whole flood to croſs the channel: and the tide ſerving before day, he weighed about four o'clock in the morning, and got into the Fuarno of St. John's, a little after noon. That day he received ten cotton cloths for freight of his paſſengers, which made him a good foreſail, and repaired his jib: of the remainder, he made a pair of trowzers for himſelf, and a jacket and trowzers for his little boy. He ſtaid here two months before he finiſhed his boat, after which, he ſailed thence to St. Jago, but called at St. Philip's by the way to put on ſhore there Captain Thome and the Philippians. He ſtaid there three days to lay in proviſions and water, then weighed, and in in about ten days time, beat up to St. Jago; but ſays, had he not been acquainted with the ſet of the current, he could never have raiſed it. He reached a bay called Rivero des Bharkes, where he anchored; but finding no ſhips there, and alſo a great ſcarcity of ſalt, he determined to go to the iſle of Mayo for that commodity: he was alſo near half full of pompion, maiſe, &c. and was told the iſle of Mayo was almoſt famiſhed for want of ſuſtenance. Having taken in water, he concluded to go about the north-end of St. Jago, as he knew it by experience, to be the beſt way to gain the iſle of Mayo. After two days ſtay, he weighed, and anchored in the bay of Rivero de Plata; and with the next tide got to Porto Terrafall; and waiting thirteen days there for favourable weather: he at laſt weighed and got in a windward tide to Porto Facienda: but afterwards could not weather the point of the iſland, and was driven by the lee tide into an unknown bay. Over-againſt the bay were a great many rocks, the largeſt not a good ſtone's caſt in the length, moſt of them above water, extending about half a league off from the ſhore: but he got well in with ſome difficulty, and found a ſafe and pleaſant cave running in behind the point, above a cable's length wide, from which people could ſee no ſea, and were ſheltered from the winds. An elderly man came down to him attended by four ſlaves armed with lances. He very courteouſly aſked Roberts to come on ſhore; who told him he would come preſently, and in the mean time a water-melon was thrown into the water for him.

Roberts did not care much for truſting himſelf on ſhore with him at firſt, for that part of St. Jago conſiſts moſtly of banditti, who frequently fly thither, and ſometimes make incurſions upon the reſt: but ſeeing him accept his preſent kindly, which, with thoſe people is moſtly eſteemed as a token of friendſhip, he ventured on ſhore, where he was received with great formality by the old gentleman, who aſking whence he came, and whither bound, &c. told him that his name was Jorje Vharela the Jhuiſs; that he was the juſtice of thoſe parts, that all the land as far as could be ſeen was his eſtate: and that he had ſilver mines in his ground, but knew not how to extract the ſilver from the oar, and did not chuſe to ſend to the city for a ſmelter, for fear the mine ſhould

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be diſcovered by the king of Portugal, and be ſeized by his army for him: adding, that this might perhaps, alſo be the means of making them loſe their privileges here, which had been preſerved ever ſince the iſland of St. Jago was inhabited; but promiſed to ſend for ſome of the ore for Roberts. When it came, it proved to be nothing more than a rock of a yellowiſh grey colour, conſiſting of ſlakes about the thickneſs of ſlate, full of ſhining ſpangles, which gliſtened in the ſun-beams like chryſtal glaſs. The native thanked his gueſt kindly for the melon, which was the more acceptable, he ſaid, on account of the ſeeds, which coming from abroad, the fruit would be always valued as a rarity; and in return, he gave him at parting, a fat goat and ſome milk.

Next morning Roberts weighed, and getting about the Bighude, which is the north-eaſt point of the iſland of St. Jago: about noon, the wind north-eaſt, he ſaw the iſle of Mayo: about three in the afternoon, Monte Pinoſa bearing ſouth-eaſt-by-eaſt; and anchored next morning at Forto Engleſe, or Yingdoſs, as it is called by the inhabitants: but finding no ſhips here, and the ſurge running high on ſhore, he weighed, in order to beat up to Calyete or Paaſcco, to windward of Calyete; but finding that not convenient, being a great way from the Salt-pans, he run down to the Calyete, and anchoring there, diſpoſed of his things, and had ſalt brought to him by the natives, for which he paid with ſome of his cargo from St. John's and St. Philip's. But the negros in the boat, taking it into their heads that this ſalt was intended to be carried with themſelves, to Barbadoes, they all ran away from him. However, he had not been long in this condition, before two blacks came and offered their ſervice to go with him. One was a native of St. Nicholas; and the other of St. Antonio. This laſt ſaid, he would make a better hand of his ſalt, if he went to that iſland; and thence to Du Sal, taking a gang to St. Anthony to kill turtle there, in order to ſell at St. Nicholas, which was ſtill very ſcarce of proviſions: he reſolved to take his advice, the rather, becauſe if he could not reach theſe iſlands, he might go at laſt to St. Jago.

Accordingly he ſailed that evening from Calyete, but the wind not favouring his deſign of reaching either St. Nicholas or Antonio, he bore down to St. Jago, running for the north-eaſt point: where finding a large bay, about two leagues or ſomething more to the ſouthward of the Bikhude. Here he anchored in a little ſandy cove. But the St. Antonio black told him, he did not like the place, for it was the wildeſt part of that quarter, where the banditti inhabited. His words were confirmed by a volley of ſtones, which was ſoon followed by a ſecond ſhower, and ſo continued, by a number of blacks from ſhore: ſo that they had certainly been deſtroyed, had not Roberts thought of mentioning Signore Vharela the Jhuiſs to them, as his intimate friend. Upon which, they all ſtarting up, aſked, if that was the veſſel that had been at Signore Jhuiſs Porto? and being aſſured it was the ſame, they were immediately pacified, and profeſſed themſelves his friends. However, he did not care to ſtay, but very early next morning got out; and, it being calm, rowed down directy for Porto Formoſa, where he ſtaid to take in wood and water. He was met here on ſhore by Antonio the principal gentleman thereabouts, who was attended by eight ſlaves with lances, two having each a piſtol, which they were obliged to carry, being ſo near neighbours to the Indians, of Terrafal: and when Roberts told him how he had been ſerved, he ſaid, it was the greateſt miracle in the world they had not been all killed; declaring, that, for his part, he would not have been in their place, for the iſland of St. Jago. This gentleman was a white, of the race of Portugal, was extremely civil, and ſent half a dozen of his blacks to cut wood, and carry it to him, and next morning ſent an aſs loaded with proviſion and fruit, and at parting, preſented him with many other things.

Early the next morning, he went from thence, and coaſting along ſhore, with a fair wind, ran down the length of St. Jago town into the bay: and proceeding lower, entered the harbour of Porto Madera. Here he moored with his anchor off, and a rope faſtened on ſhore to a rock, which was like a quay, having twelve feet at low water cloſe to the rock: but there being no inhabitants near, and but indifferent way to St. Jago town. He coaſted along down to Praya Formoſa; and touching there, and at St. Domingo, proceeded to Porto Laba, where he received a letter from the general of all the Cape de Verdes, with a man and horſe to carry him to town. Leaving his boat here, he rode up to it, about twenty miles by land. Here he was in hopes he had met with a chap for his boat, but upon ſight of her, the bargain went off.

The ſickly time of year now approaching, he was reſolved to make for ſome of the windward iſlands, eſpecially St. Nicholas, where there was a better proſpect of meeting with ſome European ſhip to carry him off, the ſeaſon of the year alſo concurring: for they expected a ſoutherly wind in a little time. So he diſpoſed of his ſalt as faſt as he could, to get on the eaſt ſide of the iſland, becauſe from thence he could hope for a weſterly wind, and the roads are alſo the ſafeſt. Having got a pretty good cargo of maize, for his ſalt, with ſome cocoa-nuts, plantanes, bananas, &c. He ſailed from Calyete St. Martyn, and getting the length of Porto Labo, intended to touch if poſſible, at Bona Viſta, where he knew there was a good market for his proviſions: but not being able to get thither, by reaſon of the northern ſtream, he ſtood for Porto Madera, where he waited eight days: and then having a ſoutherly wind, he ſtretched over for the iſle of Mayo, and about duſk was a-breaſt the Calyete, about two leagues offing. From hence, he kept to the eaſtward, coaſting along the iſland by two different ports; the iſlanders making fires at each place as he paſſed, in hopes he would land there. But he held on his courſe, till he thought himſelf paſt the Ghalloon, which is a ledge of broken rocks ſtriking a long way off from the north ſide of the iſland. After this, he ſteered as directly as he could for Calyete St. Jorje in Bona Viſta; but it falling calm, and meeting with variable light airs, he drove in the channel between the two iſlands, near three weeks, and being forced to bear away round the ſouth end of the iſland, he had an opportunity of obſerving the reef, which runs off from the land, at leaſt, a league and an half; ſo far off, he believes he ſaw the ſea break. It is a ledge of ſunken rocks and great ſtones; and from a mile's diſtance off to the ſhore are ſeveral breaks and channels to go through, having water enough for any ſhip. There was a great rolling ſwell, and the wind freſhened up, veering to the ſouth-eaſt, which made the ſea break there. At laſt he got into Calyete St. Jorje; however, there being no convenient quay or rock to land at, he got up to the Engliſh road two days after: where was a Portugueſe launch left by the pirates, and given by them to Domingo Gonſalvo, who lent her to the author. Having launched her, he brought her on board, and ſet all hands to get in ſalt, but this being the rainy ſeaſon, he was three weeks in getting a cargo: At this time, there came a ſail into this road, a ſloop belonging to Briſtol. The captain was very kind to Roberts, and would have had him gone with him, which he was very willing to do, till he came to underſtand the deſign of the voyage; which he adds, would no ways agree with juſtice, neither was it ſafe for the owners.

The author living well on board this ſloop, fell into a fever by change of diet, notwithſtanding all his precaution. In his ſickneſs he was carefully attended by the captain, who alſo at parting, gave him ſome medicines out of his cheſt, and ordered ſome bread to be put in the boat, and a dozen of wine, half a dozen of brandy, a piece of loaf ſugar, ſome butter,

oatmeal

oatmeal, flour, and what elſe he could then think would be neceſſary for him. He had the biſhop of St. Jago, and the viſitador general, with their attendants, on board, who were going their viſitations round the iſlands; and after that, the viſitador was to viſit all the coaſt of Guinea, under the king of Portugal. The biſhop, all the time, obſerving the friendſhip and freedom that paſſed between them, aſked the captain, whether Roberts was related to him. He anſwered, Yes; that he was a Chriſtian, a Proteſtant, a man, a countryman, and a better man than himſelf, though he had the misfortune to fall into the hands of pirates, and that his countrymen always uſed one another ſo.—After this, he preſently ſet ſail. The evening following, Roberts ſet ſail for St. Nicholas, the chief iſland for aſſes; which is the firſt commodity generally traded for in thoſe iſlands, and that commonly in November or December, thoſe that come in January, uſually loading ſalt. Here he arrived, and turned into a road called Porto Ghuy, there being leſs ſea tumbling than at Paraghiſi, whither he went the next day, and quickly diſpoſed of his ſalt, meaſure for meaſure, for maiſe, or Indian corn. It beginning to rain the day after his arrival here, Roberts was afraid of a ſoutherly or weſterly wind coming, which were all that could hurt him: but the blacks ſaid, he need not fear that, and ſhewing him a ſugar-loaf hill, called Monte Fradre, told him that miſty cap, which it was covered with, was always a ſign of a northerly wind. But, notwithſtanding this mariner's hopes, a ſtorm aroſe, which ſoon ſtaved the Balandra to pieces againſt the rocks: however, they all firſt got ſafe on ſhore out of her. After this, he went up the town, and having brought letters from the biſhop, whom he ſaw at Bona Viſta, to the two traders of St. Anthony, alſo from the prieſt, who attended the biſhop, (being the ſame that was at St. Nicholas, when the pirates took him there) to his ſucceſſor, the preſent prieſt there, he was very kindly received by them all; and the prieſt wanting wood to enlarge the choir part of his church, bought the wreck that was ſaved, and left here, for the uſe as abovementioned, for which he gave the author 10 dollars. It ſeems the prieſt ſaved it by charging them all at church, under pain of excommunication not to touch it; and pronounced damnation to every one who ſhould diſobey his orders.

Roberts receiving this money ſoon after, bought a large hog for a dollar and a half, and had it killed, and would not ſell the maiſe and feſhoons, which he got for his ſalt, (being about 50 buſhels) but for a large profit.——Here, falling into a tertian ague, he paſſed the time, or rather lingered on, till about the latter part of October, when, to his great ſatisfaction, news was brought of an Engliſh ſhip being arrived at the iſland, and that ſhe anchored at the port of Terrafal. While he was getting ready a horſe to go thither, he received a letter from the captain, whoſe name was John Harfoot, who happened to know him, at his firſt arrival, ſent that letter to invite him to come on board him, if poſſible, next day. He accordingly went, and aſſiſted the captain in diſpoſing of his cargo; and when they had finiſhed their buſineſs, they weighed, intending for Barbadoes, where Captain Harfoot was bound; but ran firſt to Bona Viſta, where he ſtaid four days; from thence he went to the Iſle of May, for two days; and then proceeded for the iſland of St. Jago, and anchored in Porto Praya: they there met with an Engliſh ſhip, come from the coaſt of Guinea, with a cargo of ſlaves, wax, teeth, &c. and bound for Liſbon. The captain's name was Muſes Durel of Pool, in Dorſetſhire, with whom, on his invitation, Roberts determined to take his paſſage, as being the moſt direct courſe to England.

The Cape de Verde iſlands, of which Captain Roberts has here given us a particular deſcription, as we have already obſerved, lie off the cape of that name. They were all deſert when the Portugueſe firſt diſcovered them, and firſt ſettled at St. Jago, the moſt fertile of the whole cluſter, conſiſting of ten, viz. du Sal, Bona Viſta, (or Boa Viſta) Mayo, St. Jago, Fuego, Brava, St. Nicholas, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and St. Antonio. But ſome reckon fourteen, becauſe they include four other little iſles, or rather rocks in the number.

They take up a little above three degrees from the ſouth to the north, and the ſame number from the eaſt to the weſt, lying between 14 degrees 30 minutes, and 17 degrees 40 minutes of latitude, and between the 4th, and 7th degrees of longitude from Ferro.—— Sal, Bona Viſta, and Mayo lie moſt to the eaſt, from north to ſouth; St. Jago, Fuego, and Brava, to the ſouth, from eaſt to weſt; and St. Nicolas, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and St. Antony, is to the north-weſt, in a range from ſouth-eaſt to north-weſt.

The air of theſe iſlands is extremely hot and unwholeſome, ſo that they are reckoned to be ſituate in one of the moſt unhealthy climates in the world: the ſoil of ſome of them is ſtony and barren, as particularly that of du Sal, Bona Viſta, and Mayo: Sal and Mayo, have a great number of wild horſes; Mayo, beſides wild horſes, has a much greater number of wild goats, and a prodigious quantity of ſalt.—— The other iſlands are more fertile, and produce rice, maiſe, or Indian wheat, bananas, lemons, citrons, oranges, pomegranates, cocoa-nuts, figs, and melons; there are ſome white cotton and ſugar-canes, of which they have a double crop. The goats generally bring forth three or four kids at once, and that often in the year; and the vines bear twice a year.

Goats and ſheep are their principal care, having few oxen and cows. [Dampier ſays, "Aſſes are a commodity in ſome of theſe iſlands, ſeveral Engliſh ſhips coming hither purpoſely to freight with them, and carry them to Barbadoes, and our plantations. Their wealth conſiſts in goat-ſkins, and ſalt, ſent from Sal, Bona Viſta, Mayo, and St. Jago."

There is ſuch plenty of turtle in thoſe iſlands, that yearly ſeveral foreign ſhips reſort thither to catch and ſalt them by whole cargoes, for the European colonies in America. In the wet ſeaſon they go on ſhore to lay their eggs in the ſand, which they leave to be hatched by the heat of the ſun. The inhabitants go out in the night, and turn them on their backs with poles; for they are ſo large, that there is no doing it with their hands. The fleſh of them, well cured, is as great a ſupply to the American plantations, as cod-fiſh is to Europe. Poultry and rabbits alſo increaſe here.

The chief trade of theſe iſlands, in 1693, was in ſalt, (and that at Mayo) which the Engliſh loaded for Newfoundland. Some Engliſh ſhips called likewiſe in their way to the American plantations, at this iſland, Bona Viſta, S. Nicholas, S. Vincent, &c. where they purchaſed aſſes very cheap, which as well as all other beaſts, go off well at Barbadoes. Captain Roberts obſerves, that there is found on moſt of theſe iſlands, a ſort of vegetable ſtone.

The firſt Portugueſe ſettlers, particularly thoſe on St. Jago, provided themſelves with negro ſlaves from Guinea to do their work; and, as it was uſual with them to atone for their ſins on their death-beds, by giving one or more ſlaves their freedom; theſe manumitted blacks being in a climate natural to them, increaſed a-pace; and not brooking the lordly and oppreſſive deportment of the whites, found means in time to get tranſported to the neighbouring iſlands, whither ſome of the whites, ſeeing their improvement, followed them; but the Portugueſe trade in thoſe parts declining, by means of other nations finding out the way to Guinea, and the Eaſt Indies, the blacks grew ſo much ſuperior in number, that they inſiſted to be put on an equal footing with the whites, who, rather than ſubmit to this, retired to St. Jago or Portugal, leaving but a few poor people behind, who were glad to join with the blacks on their own terms, and intermarrying with them, their deſcendants, by that mixture, grew from mulattos to be copper-coloured negros; ſo that now there is as great variety of negros on

theſe iſlands, as is to be met with throughout the whole coaſt of Guinea.

Thus all the iſlands came to be peopled; which being obſerved by the court of Portugal, the king beſtowed them among his nobles, reſerving to himſelf only St. Jago, (and afterwards St. Philip's.) However, the governor of St. Jago has the title of General of all the Cape de Verde Iſlands, and the coaſt of Guinea, from Rio Sanaga, to Sierra Leona, &c. The other lords ſtocking each his own iſland, with cows, goats, &c. leave the government to a deputy; their authority not being much, as the ſole power of puniſhing by fine, limb, or death, was lodged at firſt in the governor of St. Jago: but of late an officer, called an Ovidor, (much the ſame with the juſtices of aſſize in England) has been eſtabliſhed, who is veſted with all the civil juriſdiction, and has alſo the inſpection and management of the crown revenues, &c. the military part being reſerved to the general.

St. Jago is the clearing port for all ſhips trading from any part of the king of Portugal's dominions, to that part of Guinea; but notwithſtanding this, the crown revenues from this iſland are but ſmall, lying between Cape de Verde and Sierra Leona. However, he is not at much charge in keeping them; for as there is never a fortification but on St. Jago and St. Philip's, tnd none of any ſtrength, excepting that at the city of St. Jago, which was built by the Spaniards, when Portugal was under their dominion; ſo they are defended by their own militia, without any of the king's forces.

Our author ſays, "The ſea about theſe iſlands keeps a regular influx and reflux every ſix hours and ſome minutes; and that the ſpring and neap-tides, likewiſe keep their due courſes, unleſs when affected by the ſhifting winds, &c. which are more frequent here than in other parts; but let the weather be ever ſo calm, yet the ſea runs higher againſt the rocks, and even in the bays, about the full and change of moon, than in, or near the quarters. At theſe times the captain has taken notice, that in a ſtrong gale of wind, which cauſed a great ſea to run in the channel between St. Philip's, and St. John's, yet in the Fuarno (a bay in the latter) the ſea has been very ſmooth. On the contrary, near the full or the change, when perhaps it had been calm for three or four days before, and the channel almoſt as ſmooth as the Thames, yet againſt the ſhore the ſea heaved up in ſuch a manner, that even in the Fuarno there was no putting a boat on ſhore to the beach or ſtrand, without danger of being filled with water by the rolling and breaking of the ſea thereon; and although one might at the ſame time land ſafe enough at the quay, yet there the waves roſe and fell as if a great ſea ran without. "The flood ſets to the north-eaſt, and the ebb to the ſouth-weſt, unleſs checked or turned by the points or ſides of the iſlands, (the effects of which are found on the ſtream, (which he obſerved there, and is a rule for judging of the reſt." A good tide, both ebb and flood, runs between St. Jago's and St. Philip's, and a ſtronger between this and St. Nicholas to St. Anthony's, eſpecially the narrow channel between St. Lucia and St. Vincent, which, in ſpring-tides, run very ſtrong, viz. as faſt as it does in any part of the Thames, to Captain Roberts's thinking, for he had no conveniencies for knowing exactly.

The iſle du Sal, or of Salt, is the moſt windward of all the Cape de Verde iſlands, being ſituated, according to Captain Roberts, in latitude 17 degrees north, and longitude five degrees 18 minutes weſt, from the cape. It is clear all round of ſhoals and rocks, and affords tolerable good riding, except in the rainy ſeaſon. The road before the town of Palmera, is the moſt noted, looking like two bays, with a rocky point in the middle. This bay lies on the weſt ſide of the iſland, and is eaſily known by three palm trees, from which the name is taken; they are ſtill ſtanding, and are the only trees of the kind on the iſland. To the ſouthward of the bay, about a mile, or half a league, there is a little iſle, which is always white with fowls dung, as if covered with ſnow. Of the five hills that are upon du Sal, that to the north is the higheſt, and next to this, that to the eaſt, both which appear in the form of ſugar-loaves.

This iſland formerly, was well ſtocked with goats, cows, and aſſes: but about the year 1705, not long before Mr. Roberts went on ſhore, it was intirely deſerted, for want of rain, by all the inhabitants, except an old man who reſolved to die on it, as he did the ſame year. The drought had been ſo extreme for ſome time, that moſt of the cows and goats died for want of ſuſtenance; but rain falling, they increaſed apace; till about three years afterwards, they were again reduced by an odd accident: a French ſhip coming to fiſh for turtle, by ſtreſs of weather, or ſome other means, left behind her 30 blacks, which ſhe had brought from Saint Anthony's to carry on the fiſhery.

Theſe people finding little elſe, fed moſtly on wild goats, till they had deſtroyed them all but nine old he goats, which was then on the iſland, and kept generally upon the northern mountain. They killed alſo moſt of the cows; ſo that they were at laſt forced to eat aſſes. About 16 months after, an Engliſh ſhip (bound for the iſle of Mayo, to take in ſalt) perceiving the ſmoke of ſeveral fires, which the negros made, ſent her boat on ſhore, and thinking they might be ſome ſhip's company wrecked upon the iſland, put in there, and compaſſionating their caſe, took them all in, and left them on their own iſland of St. Anthony's.

This ſtory Roberts had from one of the ſame blacks. The St. Nicholas blacks, whom the captain brought off in 1722, told him, that there were then nine cows and bulls, and that old he goat above-mentioned, which they had ſeveral times ſeen, and a great many aſſes, but nothing near the number before the drought. At that time, a little feſhoon that was ſown a few years before in the valley of Palmira, was the only vegetable they had for food. This plant thrives there very well. It ſheds in October or November, and the ſeed finding a ſoft bed in the valley, lies unhurt till ſpring, when it ſhoots up again; and laying hold of the adjacent ſilk cotton trees, twines round them like hops in England, and is fit to eat about Auguſt. The ſilk cotton itſelf is of no great uſe; only in ſeveral of theſe iſlands the natives ſtuff beds with it: and the author obſerves, that it makes the beſt tinder of any thing he knew in the world: the wood yields a quick blaze, but is not laſting, and when well dried will quickly take fire by friction. The dates here are as good as any on the coaſt of Africa; but there is only one of the palm-trees that bear fruit.

Quantities of land-crabs and turtles are found thereabouts, like thoſe in the Weſt Indies. And among the fiſh, with which this place abounds, there is one ſort, (by the blacks called Mear) about the bigneſs of a cod, but thicker and much flatter, which will take ſalt, and cure as well as cod, which the author ſays, might be as conveniently ſalted here as at Newfoundland.

Ambergreaſe is often found here in greater quantities than upon any of the iſlands; Captain Dampier takes notice, that while they ſtaid here in 1683, one Coppinger bought a piece of falſe ambergreaſe, being of a dark colour, like ſheeps dung, very ſoft, but had no ſmell. One Read, a Briſtol man told him once, that he had taken up a piece that ſwam by the ſhip's ſide at Fogo, which was true ambergreaſe, and his maſter had enriched himſelf by buying it there. At Niquibars, the author had been informed, there was ſome very good; but both there, and at the gulph of Florida, from whence much of it comes, the natives counterfeits it upon this occaſion. The author ſays, "One Mr. Hill, a man of integrity, ſhewed him a bit which he (Hill) had from one Baker, whom he vouched to be a man of veracity, who found a large piece upon the ſhore, a little above high-water mark, in the bay of Honduras. Hill's piece came off this,

and was given him by Baker. It was of a dusky colour, almoſt black, about the hardneſs of a mellow cheeſe, and of a very fragrant ſmell.

Salt is made here in the crevices of the rocks, without art, by the heat of the ſun. Captain Cowley ſays that the Engliſh ſhips came often thither to load ſalt for the Weſt Indies, and that the ſalt ponds were near two miles long.

There is a ſort of fowl called the Flamingo: theſe birds are a large fowl, ſhaped like a heron, but bigger, and a reddiſh colour. Here they build their neſts, ſcraping the mud together, to make little hillocks a foot and a half high from the bottom, and ſtanding out of the water: they make them broad at bottom but bring them up tapering to the top, where they leave a ſmall hollow pit to lay their eggs in; and both in laying and hatching of them, they ſtand with their feet on the ground, and legs in the water, cloſe by the hillock, againſt which, having very long legs, they reſt, covering the neſt with their rumps. They never lay more than two eggs, and ſeldom fewer. The young ones cannot fly till they are almoſt full grown, but will run exceeding faſt, yet he had taken many of them. The fleſh of both young and old is lean and black, but very good meat, taſting neither fiſhy, nor any ways unſavoury. Their tongues are large, having a great knob of fat at their root, which is an excellent diſh. The young ones are of a light grey, growing darker, as their wings ſpring out, but never come to their right colour, or any beautiful ſhape, under ten or eleven months old. Theſe birds are very ſhy, and therefore hard to ſhoot: they keep together in large flocks, feeding in muddy ground, or places where there is little water.——

Bona Vista, or Boa Viſta, lies in ſixteen degrees ten minutes north latitude; and in five degrees fourteen minutes weſt longitude from the Cape; its length, from ſouth-eaſt to north-weſt, is eighteen leagues; and breadth from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, where it is the broadeſt, about fifteen miles. It was ſo called by the Portugueſe becauſe they counted it a good ſight, as it was the firſt of theſe iſlands which they diſcovered.

About forty years ago this was thought to be the moſt plentiful of all the iſlands, for cows, goats, hogs, horſes, aſſes, maiſe, pompions, ſeſhoon, water-melons, and potatoes. It ſeems, that in 1722, there were no potatoes growing here, and very little of any thing elſe: the cows were likewiſe all deſtroyed, except about forty, which belonged to the lord of the ſoil: but ſince that, Captain Manuel Domingo got an Engliſh ſhip to bring him a young bull and an heifer; which, when Mr. Roberts was laſt there, were increaſed to ſeven.

Moſt of the inhabitants have goats, the milk of which, helped out with fiſh and turtle, ſupplied them with food after the famine that happened there. For the reſt, their whole dependance was on Engliſh ſhips which came there to lade, and often hired ſome of them to work in the ſalt-pans, beſides their aſſes, and blacks to drive them, to bring the ſalt down to the ſea-ſide, for which they pay them in biſcuit, flour, old cloaths, or what elſe they bring with them for that purpoſe.

The men generally uſe the European dreſs, there being few that have not ſuits bought of the Engliſh, and have learned to make up cloaths of their cotton cloths. The women when dreſſed, wear cotton cloths, wrapped about them like petticoats; and tied with a girdle above the hips, and ſometimes without a girdle, the corner of the cloth only tucked in. Their ſhifts are made like a man's ſhirt, but are cut off ſo ſhort, that they do not reach low enough to tie under their girdle. The waiſtbands, collar and neck of the better ſort, eſpecially the younger ones, have figures wrought with a needle in ſilk of many colours; but the poorer, particularly the older ſort, take up with blue cotton thread for this work. Over their ſhifts they wear a jacket, with ſleeves to button at the arms not above four inches deep in the back part, but long enough before to tie with ſtrings under their breaſts: and over all a cotton cloth, by way of mantle, which the married women generally chuſe of a blue colour, and the darker the blue, the richer it is reckoned: but the maidens, and gay young wives or widows, wear blue and white ones, ſome figured, as they call it, others ſpotted. All this time the women wear no ſhoes nor ſtockings, except very few, and thoſe only on holidays; but ſome of the men are ſo uſed to both, that they can as little endure to go bare-foot, as any body. But though they appeared dreſſed out in ſuch order on holidays, yet on all other days, both men and women are in a manner naked: the women only wearing a ſmall cotton cloth wrapped round their waiſt which reaches to their knees; and the men nothing but the relicks of an old pair of breeches. They are very lazy, both men and women; and though this iſland yields more cotton than all the reſt put together, the ſhrubs growing in common, yet it is the worſt market of all, both for ſcarcity and dearneſs of cloths: for they will neither gather the cotton till they know of a ſhip or veſſel to buy it, nor will their women ſpin, but juſt as they want; ſo that when the cotton ſeaſon is over, there is ſcarce one hundred weight to be got, although, the author ſays, he is certain they might gather yearly, more than a good ſhip's cargo.

This iſland affords good ſalt; and the author made a cargoe of ſalt here, in the month of Auguſt, during their rainy ſeaſon, when the road was ſo wet and ſlippery, that the aſſes had much ado to carrry it down to the ſhip. The rain having melted all the ſalt in the pans, the natives whom Captain Roberts had employed to get him a cargo, cleared the pans of the rain-water, and filled them up with pickle; and in about three week's time he got ſalt enough made and heaped up. This iſland likewiſe yields Indico, which, growing ſpontaneouſly, as the cotton does, they can have it only for the pains of gathering. The misfortune is, that they have not the art of ſeparating the tincture, or making what is called the ſtone blue, as in the Weſt Indies, &c. but only pound the leaves of the ſhrubs while green, with a wooden peſtle and mortar, for want of mills to grind them; reducing it to a kind of pap, which they form into thick round cakes, or balls, and lay it to dry for uſe.

The vegetable ſtone is more frequently met with here than in the reſt of the iſlands: it ſhoots in ſtems, like the head of a cauliflower, or as the coral does. but is more porous, and of a greyiſh colour, much like the ſtones generated from ſhells. Some little ambergreaſe was found here, but it was dangerous dealing for it, the inhabitants generally adulterating it with a ſort of jelly, or excrement caſt on ſhore there. This iſland yields to that of Sal, for fiſh, all about; except at the rock called John Letton, where they are as plentiful as at du Sal, and there is no want any where.

Captain Roberts obſerved, that the people of Bona Viſta naturally love the Engliſh, and can ſpeak moſt of them a little of the language; and even ſome of the women made ſhift to underſtand him in it. The iſland is for the moſt part low land, but has ſome rocks, ſandy hills, and mountains.

Mayo lies in the latitude fifteen degrees twelve minutes north, and longitude five degrees twenty-nine minutes weſt from Cape Verde. It bears from Bona Viſta ſouth-by-weſt weſterly, about fourteen leagues. This low land, for the moſt part is like the former, but is diſtinguiſhed by three mountains, the ſouth-eaſtermoſt, which is the higheſt, being called Pinoſa; the northermoſt, St. Antonio. This iſland lies about forty miles eaſt-by-ſouth, from St. Nichola's; it is about ſeven leagues in circumference, of a roundiſh form, with many ſmall rocky points ſhooting out into the ſea a mile or more. There are two hills on this iſland of a conſiderable heighth: one pretty bluff, the other peaked at top. The reſt of the iſland is pretty level, and of a good heighth from the ſea. The ſhore all round has ſandy bays between the

the rock and the points. The whole iſland is very dry, and generally barren, the beſt of it being but very indifferent ſoil. The ſhips that lade laſt here will be obliged to touch at St. Jago for water; for at the bay there is none, not ſo much as for drinking. It is true there is a ſmall well of brackiſh water not half a mile from the landing place, which the aſſes that carry ſalt drink at; but it is very bad water. In the general drought, Mayo ſuffered as much as Bona Viſta, yet they have more cows, and theſe generally the beſt and fatteſt on all the iſlands. They have alſo moſt of them goats. They have fewer fiſh than at Bona Viſta, and but a ſmall quantity of turtle. Figs, and water-melons are their chief fruits. They have alſo calavances (a ſort of pulſe like French beans) and pompions for ordinary food. There are alſo ſome trees within the iſland, but none to be ſeen near the ſea-ſide, nothing but a few buſhes ſcattering up and down againſt the ſides of adjacent hills; for the land is pretty high from the ſea.

Though the inhabitants of Mayo never had the 10th part of the cotton that Bona Viſta had, and left a great deal of that for want of rain, yet they have ſtill more than enough for their own uſe, but are very idle in regard to its improvement. There is alſo a ſilk cotton found here; it grows on the ſandy banks that pens in the ſalt ponds, on tender ſhrubs three or four foot high, in pods as big as an apple, but of a long ſhape, which, when ripe, open at one end, parting leiſurely into four quarters, and at the firſt opening, the cotton breaks out of it. There are many ſorts of ſmall birds and fowl in Mayo; as pigeons and turtle doves; miniotas, a ſort of land-fowls, as big as crows, of a very grey colour, which are good food; cruſias, another ſort of grey-coloured fowls, almoſt as big as a crow, which are only ſeen in the night, (probably a ſort of owls) are ſaid to be good for conſumptive people, but eaten by none elſe. Rabeke, a ſort of large, grey, eatable fowls, with long necks and legs, not unlike herons. Here are alſo great curlews and Guinea hens, which the natives of theſe iſlands call Gallena Pintata, or the Painted Hen, called at Jamaica the Guinea Hen, where they love the dry ſavannahs and woods. They ſeem to be much of the nature of partridges, are bigger than Engliſh hens, have long legs, and will run apace, but cannot fly far, having large heavy bodies, with ſhort wings and tails. They are ſo ſtrong that one cannot hold them, and are very hardy. They have thick and ſtrong, yet ſharp beaks, but pretty long claws: their necks are long and ſlender, their heads alſo but little. The cock bird has a ſmall riſing on his crown in manner of a comb, of a dry walnut-ſhell colour, and very hard; he has a ſmall red gill on each ſide of his head like ears, ſtrutting out downwards, but the hens have none. The feathers of theſe birds are ſpeckled with dark and light grey, in ſmall round ſpots, very regular and uniform. They feed either on worms, which they find by taring open the earth, or elſe on graſs-hoppers, which are plentiful here. They are very good meat, ſweet and tender, the fleſh in ſome very white, but in others black; however, both ſorts are very good. The natives run them down eaſily with dogs.

The ſea is plentifully ſtocked with fiſh of many ſorts, viz. dolphins, bonettas, mullets, ſnappers, ſilver fiſh, &c. And here is a good bay to haul a line or net in, as the author found often by experience, dragging on ſhore at one time ſix dozen of great fiſh, moſt of them large mullets of a foot and a half, or two foot long. Here are alſo porpoiſes, and a ſmall ſort of whales, that commonly viſit this road. In May, June, July, and Auguſt, ſays Dampier, a ſort of ſmall tortoiſe come hither to lay their eggs: but theſe turtles are not ſo ſweet as thoſe in the Weſt Indies. Beſides the abovementioned productions, there is ſome little indico to be met with in this iſland, and ſometimes ſmall quantities of ambergreaſe are found. We are told, that the inhabitants ſalt the fleſh of goats, and export it in caſks, dreſſing the ſkins very neatly in the nature of Turkey leather. And it is ſaid, that 5000 of theſe ſkins are yearly carried into other parts. But the chief commodity of this iſland is ſalt, and Mayo is the moſt noted of all the iſlands for it by the Engliſh, many of their ſhips lading here in the ſummer.

Mr. Roberts tells us, there are two roads in the iſland for ſhips to ride; beſides ſeveral little coves, where a boat might run in, but not worth farther notice. Dampier ſays the inhabitants live near the bay, in the middle of the iſle, in three ſmall towns, (having a church and prieſt in each;) which, as he was informed, are ſix or ſeven miles from the road, on the weſt ſide (or Engliſh road) Pinoſa is ſaid to be the chief town, and to have two churches. St. John's the next, and the third Lagoa. The houſes are very mean, ſmall, low things. They build with fig-trees, here being, as the author was told, no other trees fit for the purpoſe; the rafters are a ſort of wild canes. The natives, even their governors and prieſts, are all woolly haired like their African neighbours, from whom they probably deſcended; though being ſubject to the Portugueſe, they have their religion and language. They are ſtout, luſty, well-limbed people, both men and women, fat and fleſhy; they and their children being very round and plump: though at the ſame time the iſland appears ſo barren to a ſtranger, as ſcarce to have food for its inhabitants; who, as Dampier upon enquiry was told by one of the people, amounted to no more than 230 perſons.

Captain Roberts obſerves, that theſe iſlanders are much the ſame with thoſe of Bona Viſta, but not ſo well affected to the Engliſh, and they dreſs juſt as the Bonaviſtans do; but that few of them have any holiday cloaths at all. When he was there in 1722, their number was computed at ſomething above 200: they were chiefly blacks, and the moſt hard-featured of all their neighbours; having but few mulattoes, and no whites at all among them.

The people of Mayo live very poorly, yet much better than the inhabitants of any other of theſe iſlands, St. Jago excepted. They depend for their trade and ſubſiſtance, chiefly on the Engliſh, who, in return for their aſſiſtance in lading the ſalt, give them victuals, ſome money, and old cloaths, viz. hats, ſhirts, and other things, by which means many of them are indifferently well cloathed; but ſome of them go almoſt naked. All the iſlanders are at that time, fully employed in getting ſomething or another; for they have no veſſel of their own to trade with, nor do any Portugueſe ſhips come hither, or ſcarce any but Engliſh, for whom they have a particular value.

When the ſeaſon for turtles comes in, they watch the ſandy bays in the night to take them, having ſmall huts, at particular places on the bays to keep them from the rain, and to ſleep in. This is another harveſt they have for food; for by report, there comes a great many turtle to this and the other Cape Verde iſlands. When the turtle ſeaſon is over, they have little to do but hunt for Guinea Hens, and manage their ſmall plantations. By theſe means they have all the year ſome employment or other, whereby they get a ſubſiſtance, though but little elſe. When any of them are deſirous to go over to St. Jago, they obtain a licence from the governor, and deſire paſſage in any Engliſh ſhip. The pirates have often landed on this iſland, and carried off not only cattle, but ſome of the inhabitants.

(In 1683, there came about a week before Dampier arrived here, an Engliſh ſhip, the men of which going on ſhore, under pretence of friendſhip, ſeized on the governor, with ſome others, and carrying them on board, made them ſend to land for cattle to ranſome their liberties; yet after this, they ſailed away with them, and poſſibly never brought them back again. The Engliſhman who did this vile action was one Captain Bond, of Briſtol, who, with moſt of his men, went over afterwards to the Spaniards, and had like to have burnt the ſhip Dampier was in, in the bay of Panama).

St. JAGO, or St. James's, is by ſome ſaid to be in length about 45 leagues; in breadth 10; in circumference 95. Others make its length about 20 leagues, ſouth-eaſt and north-weſt, and its breadth 10, eaſt north-eaſt, and weſt ſouth-weſt. It lies four or five leagues to the weſtward of Mayo, and is the chief, the moſt fruitful, and beſt inhabited of all the iſlands of Cape Verde, yet mountainous, and has much barren land in it. Captain Roberts obſerves that in the rainy ſeaſon, this more ſickly than the reſt, and dangerous to ſtrangers. At that time there were not many places in Guinea, except Cacheu, more ſickly than St. Jago; its unhealthineſs being ſuch, that it may properly be compared to where the plague rages. The ſouth-eaſt end of this iſland is flat land, but all the reſt, except Campo de Terrafal, riſes in mountains. Peak Antonio is the higheſt, lying near the middle, and at the diſtance of three or four leagues, but not nearer, ſhews itſelf above the reſt, on either ſide of the iſland. When you make the high hill of Terrafal to the eaſtward or weſtward, it ſhews at firſt like an iſland, till you are nigh enough to raiſe the low land, called the Campo, which joins it to the reſt. Here the Portugueſe ſettled firſt, finding it not only the largeſt, but the moſt fruitful of them all; as having the beſt ſeaſons, and conſequently the beſt paſture, and greateſt variety of fruits, and is refreſhed with pleaſant rivulets. Their chief land animals are their bullocks, which, according to account, are ſaid to be many; though they aſked 20 dollars a piece for them. They have alſo horſes, aſſes, and mules, deer, goats, hogs, and black-faced long-tailed monkeys. There are civet cats here; and that the monkeys are the beſt proportioned that are any where ſeen. Roberts ſays that St. Jago alone, of all the Cape de Verde iſlands produces this creature, and that they may be had in all parts of it. There are great numbers of ſmall oxen, hogs and goats on the iſland.—— The fowls were cocks and hens, both tame and wild; paraquites, parrots, pigeons, turtle doves, herons, hawks, and curlews, abound here. There is plenty of maiſe, feſhoon, Guinea corn, plantains, bananas, and pompions, for neceſſary proviſions; and for delight, there grow good oranges (both ſweet and ſour) lemons, tamarinds, pine-apples, muſk, and water-mellons, and mandyokes, and cocoa-nuts in abundance, beſides guavas, cuſtard or ſtar-apple; ſugar-canes alſo grow here, but they make little ſugar, contenting themſelves with molaſſes; they have likewiſe ſome grapes; and the author thinks, as well as the natives, that vines would do here very well, but for reaſons of ſtate, the king of Portugal does not ſuffer them to make wine. [Ovington ſays there are but few vines, and no wine made; all they drink coming from Madeira: others ſay from Liſbon. The ſame author adds cedars to the trees; and ſays the European herbs and plants grow very well here, but muſt be renewed every year.] They have plenty of cotton growing up in the country wherewith they cloath themſelves, and ſend alſo to Braſil. The cuſtard apple mentioned above, among the fruit, is as big as a pomegranate, and much of the ſame colour. The outſide coat is for ſubſtance and thickneſs, between the ſhell of a pomegranate, and the peel of a Seville orange, ſofter than this, yet more bitter than that, and is remarkable for being regularly ſtudded round with knobs. Within it is full of white ſoft pulp, ſweet and pleaſant, moſt reſembling a cuſtard of any thing, both in colour and taſte (whence it is named by the Engliſh.) It has, in the middle, a few black ſtones, or kernels, but no core, for it is all pulp. The tree that bares it, is about the bigneſs of a quince-tree; with long ſmall branches, thick ſet, and very ſpreading. The fruit grows hanging down with its own weight, at the extremities of the branches upon ſtalks, about nine or ten inches long, ſlender and tough, but large trees do not bear above twenty or thirty apples.

This fruit grows in moſt countries within the tropics. They have been ſeen all over the Weſt Indies, both continent and iſlands, as alſo at Braſil, and in the Eaſt Indies. The papah is found in all theſe countries. It is a fruit about the bigneſs of a muſk mellon, hollow as that is, and much reſembling it in ſhape and colour, both out and inſide; only in the middle theſe have a handful of ſmall blackiſh ſeeds, about the bigneſs of a pepper-corn, taſting hot alſo, ſomething like pepper. The fruit is ſweet, ſoft and luſcious, when ripe; but while green, hard and unſavory: yet their being boiled, it ſerves by way of turnips to ſalt beef, and is equally eſteemed. The papah-tree is about ten or twelve feet high; the body near the ground may be a foot and a half, or two feet diameter, and goes up tapering to the top. It has no branch at all, but only large leaves, growing immediately from the body upon ſtalks, which are longer as they grow farther from the top. The leaves are of a roundiſh form, with jagged edges. They begin to ſprout out about ſix or ſeven feet high from the ground; whence upward they grow thicker and larger, and at top are quite cloſe and broad. The fruit grows only among leaves, and thickeſt among the thickeſt of them: ſo that towards the top they are thick, as they can ſtick by each other; but are no bigger than an ordinary turnip: the larger fruit before deſcribed growing lower down, where the leaves are thinner. The fiſh at St. Jago is the ſame as at Mayo, and the reſt of theſe iſlands.

Captain Roberts ſays, there is abundance of that marcaſite, which the Portugueſe call Beur d'Ore, which is generally opake, though ſome is a little tranſparent. In the ſhade it caſts a dark blueiſh or purple colour, but when brought into the ſun, it ſhews the colour of gold, and appears very bright and glittering. The author was informed by ſome gentlemen, who had reſided for a time in ſeveral parts of Braſil, and had converſed with people concerned in the mines there, that there was certainly a gold mine, wherever any great quantity of this beur d'ore was found; the ſame gentleman likewiſe told him, that the colour made with this marcaſite looked as well as gilding. Another foſſil is a very curious red ſtone (or ocher) which is found here in a hill, on the north ſide: It is very much like chalk in England, but ſofter and ſomething heavier than powder, when ſcraped off with a knife, feeling as fine as the fineſt flour. It runs in veins, and next the ſurface is a common rock, which growing ſofter by degrees appears variegated, till you come to a vein of a brimſtone colour. This covers one of a fainter yellow, which is ſucceeded by a fleſh colour. The red prevailing in the next, grows fuller in one under it; after which the true vein appears of a deep but bright and lively red. He was ſhewn at Terrafal, a kind of yellowiſh, grey-coloured, luminous rock, full of ſhining ſparkles, which gliſtened in the ſun-beams like cryſtal.

This iſland enjoys the privilege of being the port of clearance for all ſhips trading to the northward of Sierra Leona to Guinea. [We are told the iſland of St. Jago was formerly inhabited by the Portugueſe, who were baniſhed to this place for murders, thefts, and other villainies: and Captain Cornwall ſays, they are no better than tranſports, who intermixing with a race of people from their plantations in Guinea, have but a very faint reſemblance in perſon, a coarſe affinity of language, and a natural indolence to avouch for their original, being grown perfect mulattos, tall, but not well-proportioned, eſpecially the women, who have alſo large lips, flat bodies, and vicious inclinations, being as infamous for levity as deformity. By this courſe amongſt their ſlaves, which are Guinea negroes, the people are in general become black, or at leaſt of a mixed colour, except only ſome few of a better ſort, viz. the governor, the biſhop, and ſome of the gentlemen and prieſts; they are ſaid to be a poor, lazy, ignorant ſort of people, and by religion Roman Catholics, as they are told; but that their ignorance and ſtupidity is ſuch, that they know little more than the name of religion. The negroes here wear only

a roll of linen about their heads, and a waiſtcoat (or barrafool) made of blue and white ſtriped or check-quered cotton. He was told, theſe were a good commodity upon the golden coaſt of Guinea.

A great number of young blacks are brought up at St. Jago for the prieſthood; and as ſoon as they have reſolved to be ſuch, they make an intereſt the uſual way, by friends, preſents, &c. to one of the dignitaries of the church, who takes them under his tuition; and after ſome time paſt, with little or no pains taken in their inſtruction, preſents them with a ſerious diſcourſe concerning the dignity, importance, and great difficulties of the ſacerdotal function, takes a ſolemn engagement of their tractable behaviour, and gives them his bleſſing. This entitles them to put on a ſtudent's habit, which is a long caſſock, and a cloak, both of black bays; and purchaſing a Latin grammar, and ſome catechiſtical books of the firſt rudiments of their religion, they labour hard to get all they can by heart, to be qualified for diſputing and bandying queſtions out of them, for which purpoſe they meet in ſome ſhady ſtreet in the evening: but their higheſt grammatical conteſts ſeldom riſe above the declenſions of nouns, few of them ever being ſo deep learned as to be able to form a verb thro' all the moods and tenſes. As ſoon as they have made a ſufficient progreſs in theſe books, they paſs a ſecond examination before the biſhop; who grants a licence to the higheſt for reading ſome higher compoſitions. And after ſome time ſpent in the ſame kind of exerciſes as before, they are examined out of theſe books a third time by the palaſtre, who is vicar-general, and firſt judge of the inquiſition, and dignified with the title of Doctor Theologiæ, though, perhaps, he knows little of it. This officer gives a certificate of the ſeveral qualifications of the candidates, the tenor of which depends pretty much upon the ſize of the preſents, &c. made him; and according to this certificate, the biſhop gives the ordination of the loweſt order, or ſubdeacon; and takes an oath of ſecreſy from them, as well with regard to thoſe myſteries (which as yet were none of the higheſt) they have already learned, as alſo all thoſe they ſhall be hereafter admitted to. Here they continue till merit or intereſt fits them to receive the ſecond degree or order, namely, of the Evangelic. Thus dignified, they have liberty to read and peruſe the liturgy, and may officiate in aſſiſting of maſs-prieſts, by reading of epiſtles and goſpels; and when regularly qualified, their chief buſineſs is to make all the intereſt they can to get a benefice.

Captain Roberts, ſailed round this iſland, and viſited all the ports, of which we meet with two accounts: one in the journal of his voyage; the other in the deſcription of the iſlands. We ſhall inſert both here; the firſt is delivered in the ſame order that he performed that little navigation. From the Fuarno, on the eaſt-ſide of St. Philips, he croſſed over to the bay of Rivera das Bharkas, in St. Jago. There he recruited his water, and concluded to go about the north-end of the iſland for Mayo; which though ſeemingly the longer, he knew to be the ſhorter way thither. Hence, therefore, he ſailed to the bay of Rivera de Prata (or Plata) and ſtopping there a lee-tide, the next windward-tide got to port Terrafall. Thence, with a windward tide, he reached Porto Faciendo. Next in one tide he made a bay, which having no name, he called Porto Signora Jorge. Hence he met with Signora Ihuiſs. This is a ſmall bay, with a great many rocks right againſt it of different ſizes; the largeſt not above two ſtones caſt in length, and moſt of them above water, extending from the ſhore about half a league. This made the entrance difficult; but when entered he found a ſafe, pleaſant running in behind the point, about a good cable's length wide, from which you could ſee no ſea. But was land-locked from all winds, and from five to three fathom water, a ſort of ſand and ooze mixed.

The ſame day, getting round the Bighude, or north-eaſt point of the iſland about noon, the wind changing in the evening he ſaw Monte Pinoſe on the iſle of Mayo. From Calyete in Mayo he returned to St. Jago, and fell in with a large fine bay to the ſouthward of it; which he called Porto Sine Noma. He anchored on the high land on the northern or weather ſide of the bay in a little ſandy cove; where ſounding with a ſtone ſlung to a fiſhing line, he found it pretty deep, and was within a ſtone's caſt of the ſtrand before he had ground. There was a large beach of ſmall pebbles, a ſign of clean ground, but the land was ſo high, that it made an eddy wind blow right into the bay; which increaſed in proportion to the gale on ſhore, as the ſun declined. He rowed out there to get into the true wind, and run down to Porto Formoſa, and from thence with the ſame wind down to the bay of St. Jago, thence down ſtill to Porto Madera. Here he moored with his anchor off, and a rope faſt to a rock, which was like a quay, having twelve foot at low water cloſe to it. There being no inhabitants near the port, and but indifferent road from thence to the village, he coaſted ſtill down to Praya Formoſa; and touching there and at St. Domingo, from thence proceeded to Porto Lobo, from whence he rode to the town, which is twenty miles by land, bad way: where, in diſcourſe with Signor Pedro Balderaveſſa, aſcertaining, that Porto Lobo, was a more ſecure port than Calyete, eſpecially in the ſhifting wind ſeaſon, that gentleman told him, that Calyete was always reckoned the ſafeſt port in all St. Jago.

From Porto Lobo he ran down the coaſt taking a view of the bay of St. Franciſco and Portate, and being ſhort of daylight to go to Calyete, he anchored at Villa de Praya till next morning, and then ran to Calyete: but expecting a ſouthern wind in a little time, he haſtened to get to the eaſt ſide of the iſland: becauſe from thence he could not only better ſail with a ſoutherly or weſterly wind, but the roads are ſafeſt alſo, for there is not one road on the lee-ſide of the iſland where a man can ride in ſafety, with a weſterly, or ſouth-weſt wind, except Calyete St. Martin: but then you cannot get out with thoſe winds; which however are the only winds you have to carry you up to the windward iſlands.

From thence therefore, he went back to Porto Praya, which lies near the ſouth-weſt point of St. Jago, is the firſt and moſt noted port, being diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by its pleaſant proſpect. The town and fort ſtands on a pretty high flat land in the middle of the bay, with a valley on each ſide, diverſified with cocoa nuts and palm trees. The beſt riding is beyond the iſland on the north-weſt ſide of the bay; which however, in the open part, is clean ſandy clay from fifteen to five or ſix fathoms, but within that tough ooze to three fathoms, and then ſand again: there is good watering here. About two leagues from Praya, weſt-north-weſt, lies Calyete St. Martin, a narrow cove not above a cable's length broad, and runs in from the weſtermoſt point about a quarter of a mile, having ſixteen or eighteen foot water within, you moore with an anchor off, and a ſtern faſt on ſhore to a tree in the middle of the beach, which is full of ſmall ſtones. there you lie ſecure all the rainy ſeaſon, and may water alſo. You muſt take a black on board at Porto Praya to ſhew you the place, being hard to find, although, there is no danger, but what you may ſee. The author in his voyage obſerves, that in the rainy ſeaſon this is the ſickleſt part of all the iſland. From Calyete to the city, (that is, Rebeira Grande, or St. Jago) is about four miles by land, pretty level, but very ſtony way. Before the city, which lies about a league by ſea to the north-weſtward of Calyete is a very ordinary road, being ſo very foul, that it is much if you lie there any time, but you cut your cable, or hook your anchor in the rocks, and leave it behind. Several veſſels have been loſt in this road, which is the reaſon that of late it has been frequented by few, except Portugueſe. The Dutch formerly

formerly touched here for refreſhments: but lately Porto Praya only hath been uſed.

River de Plata is a very good bay, all clean ground, in what depth you pleaſe, from three and a half to twelve or fourteen fathoms: and it is a better place to water at than Porto Praya, the ſtream running down to the ſea-ſide, where you may roll a caſk into the river, and fill it at the bung, without uſing bucket or funnel. You have all ſorts of refreſhments here, as fruit, roots, fowls, goats and cows, much cheaper than at Port Praya, or the city. He had ſeen a much better cow ſold here for 2500 reas, than you could have for 6000, or eight dollars, at Porto Praya; and maiſe is as dear again there as here.

The next conſiderable port is Terrafal, but yields no commodities for trade; and though it is a good road when in, excepting in the ſhifting wind ſeaſon, yet the turning up into it is very troubleſome. The next is Porto Faciendo, a large bay there, right oppoſite the beach, from ten to four fathoms water.

There are ſeveral coves and little bays betwixt this road and the Bikhude, which is the northermoſt point of St. Jago. This town is known by its churches, which are white-waſhed, and covered with red pantiles, and ſtand oppoſite the middle of the bay, on a riſing ground, with a valley in its ſouth and north ſide, well planted with cocoa-nut and palm-trees. The bay is clean ſandy ground, and affords ſafe anchoring in ten or twelve fathoms water. A little to the northward of the church there commonly runs a great ſea along ſhore, which is ſandy. This is one of the moſt plentiful places of St. Jago, for whatever the iſland produces; and the people are very free, like thoſe of St. John's. In coaſting along he met with ſeveral very good bays and harbours.

Captain Roberts ſaw all the places abovementioned, except one of the St. Domingo's, which is a village 12 miles within land from St. Jago. The city of St. Jago (or Ciudad de Rebeira Grande) lies three leagues to the weſtward of Praya. Dampier puts it on the ſouth-weſt part of the iſle, and in the latitude of 15 degrees north: but Captain Cornwall obſerved it to lie in 15 degrees five minutes. This town ſtands ſcattering againſt the ſides of two mountains, between which there is a deep valley, about 200 yards wide againſt the ſea: but within a quarter of a mile it cloſes up ſo as not to be 40 yards wide. With regard to the river in the valley by the ſea, there is a ſtraggling ſtreet, with houſes on each ſide, and a run of water in the bottom, which empties itſelf into a fine ſmall cove, or ſandy bay, where the ſea is commonly very ſmooth; ſo that there is good watering and good landing at any time, though the road be rocky and bad for ſhips.

The town conſiſts of two or three hundred houſes, all built with rough ſtones, having alſo one convent and one church. Philips makes the number of houſes about 200, and ſays there is a convent, a nunnery, and a good large church near the caſtle. This doubtleſs, is the cathedral, which Roberts tells us is a fine building: beſides which, there was a convent of Cordelier friars, who, it ſeems, are the only men on theſe iſlands who conſtantly eat freſh-baked and fermented wheaten bread, the flour being ſent them yearly from Portugal. They had very fine gardens ſtored with ſallading, and the beſt fruit on the iſland; and made a cut from the rivulet of Rebeira Grande, to bring the ſtream through their gardens, from whence the water was likewiſe conveyed almoſt to every part of the houſe, which was next to the cathedral, formed the beſt proſpect in or about the city.

Dampier obſerved when he was at St. Jago, that juſt by the landing-place, there was a ſmall fort, almoſt level with the ſea, where was always a court of guard kept. On the top of the hill above the town, there was another fort, which, by the wall that is ſeen from the road, ſeems to be a large place. They had cannon mounted there, but how many he knew not, neither what uſe that fort can be of, except for ſalutes.

Another author ſays, the number of guns is about 12, that the caſtle ſtands on the hill, on the eaſt ſide of the town, and makes a pretty good ſhew at ſea. After this, he ſurveyed the garriſon more leiſurely, and obſerved about eight ſmall houſes in it ready to tumble. On the brow of the hill was a little breaſtwork, thro' which peeped ſix ſmall iron minion guns, ſo much out of order, that they were ready to drop out of their carriages. Theſe are the half dozen ſmall pieces near the water-ſide, on the brow of a precipice overlooking the haven.

St. PHILIPS's iſland was diſcovered by the Portugueſe on the firſt of May, being St. Philip's and Jacob's day; and as St. Jago took the name of one ſaint, this iſland took the name of the other; Mayo receiving its denomination from the month, all three having been diſcovered at the ſame time. However, St. Philips commonly goes by the name of the iſland of Fuego, or Fire, being ſo called by all the Engliſh voyagers, except Roberts. The north eaſt point of it lies about 16 leagues, from the point of Terrafal in St. Jago, which mutually bear weſt ſouth-weſt, and eaſt north-eaſt. It is in the latitude of 15 degrees, 20 minutes, north, and longitude ſix degrees 54 minutes weſt, from the Cape de Verde. The iſland of St. Philip and St. John, being very little, or not at all uſed by the Engliſh ſhipping. The ſea draughts give but a very imperfect deſcription of them; that the waggoners and pilots of thoſe parts are every whit as much or more defective, making them both very dangerous, and the iſland of St. Philip in particular to have few or no inhabitants, and the roads or anchoring place very bad, which the author found to be falſe.

This iſland is much higher than any of the Cape de Verde iſlands, and is, as it were, one continued mountain up to the top; neither can thoſe who ſail along it perceive any valleys, for it ſeems to be one ſingle mountain, the valleys appearing only as gutters made by the waters, which run off the hills in the time of rain; but when a man is on ſhore, thoſe gutters then appear to be deep valleys, and their banks great high mountains. The chief mountains in St. Philip's are the peak, which is a volcano, and a great high mountain which runs along it from ſouth-eaſt, to north-weſt, and is little inferior in height to the pike. The peak or volcano, (from whence the iſland takes the name of Fuego) is a very high hill in the middle thereof. The top of it is ranged above two ſtories higher than the clouds, which are ranged each below the other on its ſides. This volcano burns continually, flames of fire iſſuing out of the top, which Dampier ſays are only to be diſcerned in the night, and then may be ſeen a great way off at ſea. Froger ſays, they ſaw the flame all night:—ſays Buckman, "What prodigious flames and vaſt clouds of ſmoak it vomits up continually, which we could perceive afterwards in a clear day, though we were above ſixty miles diſtant."—Captain Roberts ſays, "It is incredible what huge rocks are caſt out, and to what a vaſt height; the noiſe of which in falling again, breaking and rolling down, may very eaſily be heard eight or nine leagues off in a ſtill air, as he had experienced. The exploſion, when they are blown up, is like the report of a great gun, or rather thunder. He ſays, often in the night-time, the ſtones roll down the peak all of a flame; and the inhabitants told him, that they had ſeen brimſtone ſtream down its ſides like a torrent of water, and that ſometimes they might gather what quantity they pleaſed. They likewiſe gave him ſeveral pieces of it, which he ſays was like common brimſtone, but of a much brighter colour, and in the burning gave a much brighter flame." Sometimes this volcano caſts out ſuch quantities of aſhes mixed with cinders, that they cover the adjacent parts, and ſmother ſome of their goats. Yet, when this iſland was firſt diſcovered, it had no peak, nor was there any burning upon it, the peak growing but ſince the fire broke out; and by report of the ancient people, has viſibly increaſed in their time.

Conſidering that this iſland has no running brooks, and that freſh water is to be had in very few places, (inſomuch that the inhabitants in ſome parts are forced to go ſix or ſeven miles to fetch it) yet it is very fertile for pompion, water-melons, feſhoon, and maiſe; but for want of water, or low vallies, produces no bananas, plantains, or hardly any fruit trees, ſave wild figs. They have ſome few Guava trees planted in ſome of their gardens; alſo a crab orange and lemon; likewiſe lime, and a ſort of crab-apple. But they have here and there ſome good vineyards, whereof they make little quantities of an indifferent good ſmall wine, but they generally drink it all before it clears, or has done fermenting. The land is all taken up at preſent, only about the peak, and that great high mountain already mentioned, which runs oblique acroſs the iſland. The Portugueſe, who firſt inhabited it, brought negro ſlaves with them, and a good ſtock of cows, horſes, aſſes, and hogs; the king placing goats there, which run wild on the mountains (particularly the ſaid great one:) the profit of the ſkins was reſerved for the crown, and he that had the management of them, was called Captain of the Mountains, none daring to kill any of them but by his licenſe.

Captain Roberts tells us, That this iſland ſtood uninhabited a great many years after it was diſcovered, but the king of Portugal (ſome time after the fire had been extinguiſhed every where, but the peak) granted it to his ſubjects, who were willing to ſettle there, all the land to them and their heirs for ever. In conſequence of which, a great many went over and ſettled there: but as the cuſtom of St. Jago is in uſe here to free blacks at their death, they at preſent exceed the whites an hundred to one. It is probable alſo, that ſome free blacks from St. Jago, might have ſettled here, and that when trade decayed, ſome of the Portugueſe might have left this iſland, as they had done the other.

The free blacks, for the moſt part, are tenants to the whites, who have taken up moſt of the land, eſpecially near the ſea-ſide, ſome whites having 30 or 40 ſlaves, and ſome of the free blacks have ſlaves, whom they purchaſe for cotton cloths, which paſs there inſtead of money, a cloth being valued, and paſſing current among them, for one thouſand reas.—Moſt of the inhabitants of St. Philip's, are of the Romiſh religion; ſome pagan ſuperſtition being mixed with it by the mountaineer blacks.

The natives formerly planted cotton in abundance, and this was the greateſt market for cotton cloths of any of the Cape de Verde iſlands: here alſo the Portugueſe European ſhips uſed to trade for cargoes of barrafaols for Guinea; but, by the laſt drought, all their cotton ſhrubs, in a manner were dried up; ſo that what was the chief product of their iſland, is now a good commodity to carry there. On account of this ſcarcity of cotton here, and at St. Jago, the European Portugueſe underſtanding that the French ſhips were at St. Jago, they procured an order, that no perſons on either of thoſe iſlands ſhould, under a penalty, ſell cloth to any but ſubjects of Portugal, which orders are ſtrictly obſerved by the officers of cuſtoms at St. Jago, though not much minded at St. Philip's, by reaſon there are no duties paid at this iſland, and conſequently no cuſtom-houſe or office.

Since the trade of cotton cloths failed, they have ſold a great many ſlaves of the Portugueſe ſhips trading thither. But they are endeavouring to revive this branch again, by planting cotton; though for want of ſufficiency of rain, it does not thrive ſo well as it uſed to do. They had formerly a pretty good trade with the French for mules, a number of which they bred, and ſold cheap, but the dry ſeaſon deſtroyed almoſt all of them; ſo that they told Captain Roberts, that ſix years before, there were but two mules on the iſland. However, they began to breed them again. They had a great deſire to trade with the Engliſh, and would reſerve their commodities for them; ſaying, "That notwithſtanding the prohibition above-mentioned, yet they would ſell their cotton cloths to them, in caſe they would trade thither. The chief and only man for trade, when Roberts was here, was Captain Thomas Santee; but there was not one on the iſland, who could either ſpeak or underſtand Engliſh.

St. Philip's has but few places to anchor at, and but two where a ſhip can ride: for excepting at the Villa la Ghate, and two or three other places, the whole coaſt is ſuch ſteep, high, rocky cliffs, that there is no getting up to it. Captain Roberts ſailing from the Fuarno, in St. John's, got over to St. Philips, falling to the windward of the Villa, and ran down till he came to Fonte de Villa, a ſandy bay; thence proceeding along ſhore, he doubled the point of Nueſtra Singora, another ſandy bay; and anchored a little to the northward of the church. Here captain Thomas Santee came down with the horſe of the iſland, by order of the governor, who was alarm'd at the author's arrival. A little lower down he ran his boat into the bay of Laghate.

Fonte de Villa is the moſt noted road, which is oppoſite againſt the town, and is ſandy, except when a ſtrong north wind blows, which at particular ſeaſons ſweeps away the ſand, and leaves the rocks at bottom bare: and then it is not ſo ſafe riding as about the ſandy bay of Nueſtra Signora, which is to the ſouthward of the town, to the ſouthward of which, on the cliff, ſtands the church of Nueſtra Signora: From whence the bay and point took their name. This church appears ſomething like a barn: The outſide of the walls were ſeemingly as white as if they had been juſt white-waſhed, and the roof was covered with red pantiles. At the point, there is good riding with a northerly wind; and better, when the true north-eaſt or north-eaſt by-north trade-winds blow, being clean and ſandy at bottom, except when a ſoutherly wind blows ſtrong, or ſometimes by a ſoutherly ſea, which now and then runs here in the months of June, July, Auguſt, and September, when theſe winds do not reach home to the iſland, although our author believes they blow in the offing, and clear the ſand from the bottom of the rocks, as the northerly wind and ſea do at Fonte de Villa. Moſt of the whites, with the governor, live in the Villa; though moſt of them have their country houſes abroad in the country, on that part of their eſtates which they keep in their own hands, and manage by their ſlaves, which ſupplies them with food; and the rents of thoſe plantations, which they let to the blacks, are commonly paid in cotton cloths. The governor of St. Philip's was a Portugueſe, and formerly had been governor of a fort or factory belonging to the king of Portugal, on the Guinea coaſt.

It is to be obſerved, that the iſland of St. Philip was taken by Sir Anthony Shorley, in September 1596, who was a long while finding a proper place to put in at, and then could not land his men without extreme difficulty. The author of the voyage obſerves, that beſides water, they got nothing elſe here but infection.

St. Juan's, or St. John's, which is alſo called Braven, is ſituated in the latitude of fifteen degrees, twenty-five minutes north, and longitude ſeven degrees, two minutes weſt, from Cape de Verde; and the Villa of St. Philip lies eaſt from Fuarno, about ſix leagues.

This iſland is very high land, the mountains riſing one above another, like pyramids, yet being ſo near the iſland of St. Philip, it ſeems, in compariſon of that, to be low. It is fertile for pompions, water-melons, potatoes, bananas, maiſe, and feſhoon, as any of the Cape de Verdes, as likewiſe for cows, horſes, aſſes and hogs. Franklin told the author, that the whole iſland was a barren rock, having only a few cliffs of valleys ſpread with a thin coaſt of earth, where bananas, pompions, and potatoes grew pretty well. That they had plenty of feſhoons and wild figs, which ſerved them as food; that there grew many papa, and there the planters had maiſe enough, but they were very lazy,

lazy, which kept them very poor; that ſome of the inhabitants had cows, horſes, aſſes and hogs; of which laſt eſpecially they had moſt plenty, becauſe they ſeldom uſed any, except their public feaſts: and that there had been a conſiderable number of wild goats; but moſt of them were deſtroyed.

The privilege of killing theſe is entirely reſerved to the governor. This was done to prevent the breed from being deſtroyed. None are allowed to keep hunting-dogs here but the cauſidors, who are licenſed by the governor. When the governor has a mind to make a general hunt, all the iſlanders are ſummoned, and all the hunting-dogs are got together: theſe are between a beagle and a greyhound, but ſhorter legged, and clumſier, with large flapping ears. After the chace, they meet all together, and the governor parts ſome of the veniſon among them as he pleaſes, ſending home the reſt; which he afterwards diſtributes among the old and neceſſitous; as alſo ſome of the ſkins, reſerving the remainder for the lord of the ſoil.

The fleſh of the goats, as well as the other cattle of St. John's, is very lean, for the author wanting tallow to pay the ſeams of his boat, the governor (who encouraged the work) cauſed a general hunt to be made, in order to ſupply him therewith. On this occaſion forty goats were killed, which however, (it being a bad ſeaſon) yielded only four or five pounds of tallow, and that not clear of ſkin.

The iſland abounds moſt with ſaltpetre, of any of the Cape Verde iſlands: and the governor offered to procure Roberts a cargoe ſufficient to load with it, a bigger ſloop than that he left there, (which was of ſixty tons.) It grows in ſeveral earthy caves there, covering all the inſide like a thick hoar froſt, and in ſome places like icicles; alſo in ſome hollow rocks, they hang in ſtrings as thick as a man's thumb.

From ſome experiments made on certain acid waters, Roberts concluded that the place abounded with copper. And one time climbing the rocks on the ſouth ſide of the iſland, he perceived a rock which at a diſtance glittered in the ſun like burniſhed gold: and near to it, looked as if it was all thick gilt. He rubbed his hand againſt it but nothing came off; and when he ſcraped it with a knife, found it ſo thin that he could ſcarce collect any of it. He obſerved the rock underneath of a blackiſh colour; and that it was gilt only where the water run down from the mountains when it rained. Seeing another rock which glittered with golden ſpangles, he went, and found it full of gold fibres, ſome as fine as hairs, and others as thick as an ordinary needle. With his knife he picked out near a drachm weight, which was ſolid gold, as far as he could perceive by the eye. He got one little bit like a ſmall flatted wire, about half an inch long, by cutting and raiſing the end up. Not being able to get any more out of the rock, the vein running deeper in, he was forced to break it off, by bending it backwards three or four times; and breaking his knife with the experiment, he deſiſted, and came down again to his black mates, without taking notice to them of what he had ſeen. However, a little before he left the iſland, he told the governor of it; but avoided going to ſhew it him, and as it never was obſerved by any of the natives, he queſtions whether they ever found it. Here one meets with the Beur de Orre, already mentioned, but not in ſuch quantities, though altogether glittering, and of a golden aſpect.

Here is plenty of fiſhes, eſpecially about the little iſlands; where alſo ſome tortoiſe reſort at the ſeaſon for laying their eggs: but they are not much regarded for food here, any more than at St. Philip's or St. Jago, and yet at all the other iſlands they are accounted their moſt delicious food: as Roberts ſays, indeed they are. Angling was the chief employment of the natives: that for this reaſon they miſſed no opportunity of wrecks, or when ſhips touched there, to procure and ſave all the bits of iron wire, and the like, they could meet with, and that there was an old man, a native of St. Philip's, upon this iſland, who had a hammer and three or four files, with which and the help of charcoal, made of the wild fig-tree, he could bungle up a fiſh-hook out of an old nail, for which in exchange he had another nail, and a preſent of fiſh, from ſuch as had plenty of them. He added, that the fiſh were ſo eager, that a crooked nail would take them.

Almoſt all the fiſh thereabouts, have large and ſharp teeth, rather like ravenous land animals, than the fiſh on the coaſt of England: ſo that the inhabitants take care to hook them in the mouth, to prevent their cutting their lines, as they do in caſe they ſwallow their hook: their baits are crabs, limpets, or any other rock ſhell fiſh; and when they catch a fiſh, they make a bait of that; but crab is the ſureſt.—As Roberts often went out upon this ſport, he had an opportunity of ſeeing how the natives got their ſalt, which he obſerved was made by the heat of the ſun, on the ſea water lying in holes among the rocks, ſome thrown up by the ſpring, others filled at high water, which if not too deep, would be all turned to ſalt before the next tide. He had ſeen it even two feet thick of ſalt, and to the quantity of four buſhels, in a cavity not above five or ſix yards ſquare.

The natives uſed to get the ſalt firſt, and then gut, ſplit, and put it in heaps all night, in the morning ſpreading them in the ſun to dry, and they were ready to dreſs whenever they wanted, which was ſeldom oftener than once a day, towards night when they had done fiſhing. At the moſt uſual fiſhing-place, they generally left an earthen-pot, for they boiled their fiſh for the ſake of the broth, which they liked better than any made of fleſh.

Formerly a great deal of ambergreaſe was found about this iſland, but very little at preſent. Roberts was told, that about 30 years before, one Juan Carneira, a Portugueſe, who was baniſhed from Liſbon, for ſome crime, having got a little ſloop, traded among the iſlands, and lighted on a piece of ambergreaſe, of almoſt an incredible bigneſs, with which he not only procured his liberty to return before the term of his exile was expired, but purchaſed a plentiful eſtate, and that the rock (between the two iſlands) near to which he found it, is at preſent called by his name.—Captain Roberts tells us, the number of the inhabitants did not amount to 200 ſouls. The natives are blacks, and the moſt innocent and harmleſs, as well as ignorant and ſuperſtitious, of all the iſlands.

While the author lay ſick here, they ſupplied him with all kind of neceſſaries; every day ſome or other of the inhabitants would come and ſee how he was, and ſeldom or ever without a fowl, or ſome fruit for him. The governor himſelf uſed to viſit him almoſt daily, and every two or three days would ſend him a quarter of a wild goat, a ſide or a whole one. All this time he was lodged by one of the chief inhabitants, and when he was recovered, he found fifty-one fowls left of the preſents which had been made him.

Fiſh, as we have obſerved, makes a great part of their food, eſpecially the broth, which they look on as the beſt diet in a feaver. They make bread called cuſkus, of Indian corn pounded and boiled over the the ſteam of freſh water, to a pudding; then cut in pieces and dried in the ſun. The author repreſents the natives as equally ingenious and good natured.

The iſland has not been peopled above two centuries. It was for ſeveral years inhabited only by two black families, till about the year 1680; a famine raging at St. Philip's, ſome of the poorer ſort of negros got themſelves wafted over to the iſland of St. John, by a Portugueſe ſhip. Theſe were joyfully received by their fellow blacks, who having much increaſed the ſtock of goats, cows, and eſpecially hogs, which the Portugueſe had placed on all the iſlands when they firſt diſcovered them; and underſtanding that the new comers were brought hither by the Portugueſe, purely to prevent their being ſtarved, freely offered to load their ſhip with hogs, as a

reward for their charity. This drought ſo thinned their hogs, that finding, by the time the ſhip was loaded, there were but few left, they caught the remainder, killed ſome, and tamed the reſt. For the St. Philip's blacks ſoon introduced the notion of property, ſo that he who could kill, catch, or tame moſt, had moſt, by which means all the cattle on the iſland ſoon became divided among them, except the goats, which ſtill remain wild, but are claimed as the property of the lord of the ſoil, as are all the wild goats on the other iſlands. Theſe new comers taught the reſt to ſpin cotton, which grew naturally there, and to make cotton cloaths of it to wear, they going quite naked before, as moſt of the negros on the Guinea coaſt do. They had likewiſe informed him, in converſation, of the principles and notions, as far as they knew themſelves, of the Romiſh religion; a prieſt from St. Philip's perfected the work of their converſion.

Here, as in all theſe iſlands, the people are perſuaded, that whatever is given to the prieſts, is given to God, unleſs they dedicate it to ſome ſaint, on whom, in ſuch caſe, they think they lay an obligation to ſtand their friend, and for whom all the prieſts are alſo the receivers, as well as for God.

The governor of this iſland is juſticiary, and decides the little differences that ariſe among the natives, and if they are refractory, can ſend them to priſon, which is an open place, like the pound for cattle in England, only a ſtick laid acroſs the entrance ſerves for a gate.

"Here, ſays the author, theſe innocent criminals will ſtay without attempting to get out, unleſs very rarely, in which caſe the priſon-breaker, when caught again, is tied hand and foot, and a centinel ſet over him, and remains in priſon till he has ſatisfied his antagoniſt, and aſked the governor's pardon, who can keep him in hold during pleaſure. This is the whole extent of the governor's power, even in caſe of murder: however, the delinquent's friends are bound for his appearance, when a proper judge ſhall come from Portugal: but this had never happened, as far as could be learned. Sometimes for a ſmall crime, eſpecially if he be an elderly perſon, he is only confined to his own, or ſome other houſe, which is reekoned a great favour: for to be impriſoned is ſuch a ſcandal, that Tyburn itſelf is hardly ſo much dreaded by the criminals in England. The governor of St. John's, in 1722, was named Leuonal Gonſalvo, and was made ſuch by Thomas Santee, the procurador of this iſland.

The author obſerves, this iſland has but one good road, and that is rather difficult of entrance. "Here, ſays he, it is beſt mooring with afaſt aſhore, and not to ſwing, but have a ſmall hawſer aſhore, from the ſtern to the northward. In caſe a veſſel happens to come from the eaſtward, to this iſland, ſhe muſt take care not to run about to the ſouth end of St. Philip's; for then, with a common trade wind, ſhe cannot fetch the Fuarno, and hardly any point of the iſland. On the north ſide is another bay, called Faciende, de Agna, known by the banana trees, no valley but this being viſible from the ſea. The bay has a ſhingly beach, and veſſels may anchor near the middle, towards the north ſide in eight, nine, and 10 fathoms, clean ground and a freſh running water almoſt down to the beach. Farther down to the leeward on the ſouth-weſt ſide of the iſland, about a ſmooth, low point, but riſing high ſuddenly, is the Farrier bay, which is a double one, a high rock, dividing in two the beach, which is large pebbles, looking at a diſtance like ſhingles. This is a good bay, with a ſmooth landing-place, and a lake or baſon of freſh water behind the eaſtermoſt beach, which is conſtantly fed by the water from the mountains. This bay all over is clean ground, in ſome places ſand, but generally a ſtiff ooze, or clay, and commonly the ſea runs ſmooth on the beach.

There is a rock, on the north-weſt ſide, to which you may put the boat; and it would be a good riding place, were it not for the ſtrong flows which come down the valleys, which happen moſtly in November, December and January, and come ſo violent, if there be a gale of wind, that a ſhip cannot turn into it, or always ſtay there at anchor, if ſhe be in, as happened once to a Portugueſe veſſel; nor is the road ſafe in the rains and ſhifting wind ſeaſons, when the ſouth-eaſt and ſouth-weſt winds, to which it lies open, bring in a great ſea, enough, if ſtrong, to drive a ſhip on ſhore. For the reſt of the year it is good riding here; and in fine weather, eſpecially March, April and May, you have a ſoutherly ſea-breeze in the evening, and land breezes all night, and till ten in the morning. This road is moſt uſed, very few being acquainted with Fuarno. Scio is a fine ſandy bay, and difficult to come into, and without any water. There is likewiſe de Sal Point Bay, where Roberts loſt his ſhip. The reſt of the bays here are ſcarcely worth notice.

ST. NICHOLAS (or San Nicholao) is the longeſt of all the Cape de Verde iſlands, except St. Jago. Ilka Parta Paraghiſi lies from Palmora, in the iſle of du Sal, ſoutherly, about 30 leagues, and in north latitude 16 degrees 45 minutes, and weſt longitude ſix degrees 52 minutes, from Cape Verde.

This iſland is moſtly high land, the higheſt being a flat ſugar-loaf-like mountain, terminating at top with a rounding, not a ſharp peak. It is called Monte Gourda, and lies on the north-weſt ſide, but a good way up in the land, and may be ſeen on any ſide of the iſland at nine or ten leagues diſtance. The coaſt of this iſland is ſo clear from rocks and ſhoals, that a ſhip may run along from the eaſt point, till within half a league of the ſouth-weſt point, within call of the ſhore: yet, in the ſhifting-wind ſeaſon, no road on this iſland is good or ſafe; but when the true trade wind is ſettled, there are three or four indifferent ones. That which is near the town is Paraghiſi, where there is a bay, in which veſſels may ride off, ſingle, or moored, the wind always blowing from the ſhore, or may haul into the cove of Paraghiſi, and moor between four land-faſts.

The next is the road of Porto Lappa, which one cannot miſs finding, becauſe it is in the very midſt of the great bite, on the ſouth ſide of the iſland: the ground here is foul, and ſeveral anchors have been loſt by the cables being cut with the rocks. To the eaſtward of Porto Lappa, about half way between that and the eaſt point of the iſland, is the road of Curriſal, where is a river of freſh water, cloſe to the beach, very commodious for watering. The beſt anchoring is to the eaſtward of the beach, almoſt ſhort in. Then you are a-breaſt of Patra de Looma, or the Firy Rock, over which, being ſunk flat, the ſea always breaks, whence the author ſuppoſes it has its name.

This road is not ſo convenient for trading, being 16 or 18 miles from the town, and the way rocky, with many high and ſteep aſcents and deſcents.

The road moſt reſorted to, is Terrafal (or Trefal) on the weſt ſide of the iſland: it is beſt known by the great boats of the natives, ſome of which are always hauled up on ſhore there. A high, ſharp, rocky point riſes near a quarter of a mile ſhort of the ſea-ſide, in which ſpace it is low, ſandy, and in ſome places ſhingly ground, the ſhore being a pebbly beach. On each ſide of this point is a very deep gully, out of which come violent guſts of wind; and therefore when it blows a ſtrong gale, it is hard to turn up into this bay. To avoid theſe flaws, veſſels muſt anchor juſt againſt the point, between the gullies, where they may ride very eaſy under its lee, in from 16 to three fathoms. Water is to be had here by digging a well, almoſt any where on the low land, except the rainy ſeaſon has failed. But there is always good water in a valley about half a mile from the ſea, from whence the natives will bring it down. The town belonging to St. Nicholas, is the moſt populous and moſt compleat of any on all the iſlands, and although not built ſo large, nor the walls cemented with

lime or mortar, as the houſes of the city of St. Jago were, nor covered, not even the church, with any thing but graſs thatch; yet, for number of houſes, as well as regular ſtreets, it rather exceeds that city; but ſome time ago, Captain Avery, the pirate, touching here, the inhabitants ſome way diſguſted him ſo, that he burned their town.

The inhabitants, according to Captain Roberts, were computed to be about 2,000 ſouls before the famine, but when he was there, he ſays they did not exceed above 13 or 1400. They have moſtly an European Portugueſe prieſt, and it is as much as he can do ſome times to manage them. They are blacks, or copper-coloured, with frizzled hair, except a few of the French race, left there by the pirate, Maranghwin, and three old Portugueſe, and two or three old women.

The women here are by far more houſewifely and ingenious at their needles, than in the other iſlands. They are alſo more modeſt, never appearing out of their houſes, nor within bare before ſtrangers, as is common at St. John's, and except when they are abroad planting, weeding, or gathering in their harveſt, they are always at their needles, or ſpinning, if they have any cotton. The beſt Portugueſe is ſpoken here of all in the Cape Verde iſlands, and as the natives reſemble the Portugueſe moſt in their language, ſo are they like the vulgar ſort of that nation, errant thieves to ſtrangers, and very dangerous when they take an antipathy. Some who came on board Captain Roberts's ſloop, when upon this coaſt in 1722, and ſtole all his liquor, may be produced as an inſtance; for having obſerved the place from whence the boy brought a bottle of rum, which he ſent for to treat them, they made bold, ſeeing only thoſe two belonging to the ſhip, to fetch it themſelves, though Roberts forbade them, ſaying, that the leaſt they could expect, was to participate of what was in the veſſel; and that he ſhewed himſelf very ungrateful as well as niggardly, to think much of any thing they could eat and drink that was on board. At laſt, they had the aſſurance to tell him, that the ſloop and every thing that was in her, was as much theirs as his, ſince he was in diſtreſs, and muſt certainly have periſhed if they had not come from ſhore, and brought him and his boy ſome water; which after all, was falſe, Roberts being then ſafe at anchor, and as for the water, they had drank it all themſelves.

Captain Roberts obſerves, that there are the ſame ſort of ſands and ſtones here as at St. John's, and the natives have a tradition, that there is ſilver and gold in them, but cannot tell how to extract it; however, it is to be met with here only in a few places, but at St. John's almoſt every where.—— There is good nitre alſo on this iſland, and beur d'ore, but not in ſuch quantities or ſo glittering, as what is to be met with at St. Jago, or St. John's.

The ſoil, according to Roberts, is fruitful for maiſe; and the beſt feſhoon on all the Cape Verde iſlands he ſays is here, both white and black, likewiſe plantanes, bananas, pompions, water and muſk melons, lemons, limes and oranges, ſweet and ſour, they have a few ſugar-canes, of which they make moloſſes. They have vines alſo, of which they make a tartiſh wine.

This iſland was once very full of dragon-trees, which, when cut at a proper ſeaſon, yields the gum called *ſanguis draconis*, much uſed in medicines. They have a way of cutting off the branches, and boiling them in water, from which, they have an art to ſeparate the gum; but it is not near ſo clear, nor he believes, ſo good as the other ſort. It is a looſe grained wood, and hollow in the middle, the cavity going tapering upwards, ſomething like the bore of a pump. But when the pirate Avery had burned their town, for want of other wood, (moſt of their wild fig-trees, the only wood fit for that uſe, having been deſtroyed in building their boats) they were forced to cut down the dragon-trees to roof their houſes again; and moſt of them having chambers, they floored them with the boards of this wood; which made it ſo ſcarce, that Captain Roberts queſtions whether above twenty or thirty pounds of gum might be made yearly on this iſland.

They had great plenty of goats, hogs and fowls, before the late famine, which although it held there but three years, yet, while it laſted, was ſeverer than in any of the other iſlands. For St. Nicholas having but little trade, as it afforded no commodity for foreigners, but aſſes, which are likewiſe common to other iſlands, they are ſeldom viſited by more than one or two ſhips in a year; and there not being ſo great a demand for thoſe animals of late, in the Weſt Indies as formerly, they ſometimes have not had a ſhip for two years, which has obliged them to be more induſtrious than any of their neighbours.

It uſed to abound moſt with wild goats, as well as cows, which all belonged to the land proprietor. but this was before the famine had diminiſhed their ſtock; for ſince that, the people firſt ate their own hogs and tame goats, and afterwards deſtroyed the proprietor's ſtock of cows and wild goats; ſo that when the author was laſt upon this iſland, there were not above forty head of great cattle, and the ſtock of wild goats was ſo diminiſhed, that the governor told him, it would not be worth while to ſend a ſhip for the ſkins this three years to come.

Captain Roberts carried over to it, in his boat, a yearling heifer, from Bona Viſta, (which Captain Manuel Domingo beſtowed on him to kill on board for food) and would have given it to his landlord, Nicolau Gonſalvo: but the then governor would not let him keep it, under pretence that the lord of the ſoil had reſerved the liberty of keeping cows ſolely to himſelf; but, in reality, becauſe he was related to his predeceſſor, whom he did not like. Roberts therefore made a preſent of it to a relation of the governors, who, after making ſome difficulty, allowed him to keep it, under colour, that it was to be kept for the author againſt he came again.

The natives make cloaths of cotton, and buttons to imitate almoſt every pattern ſhewn them. They knit cotton ſtockings, tan goat and cow-hides, and make tolerable ſhoes, beſides the beſt cloths and cotton quilts of all the iſlands, which are too good for the Guinea trade. But as they do well for that of Braſil, the Portugueſe uſed to touch here for them, but the drought made that commodity ſcarcer. The chief trade ſeemed to be for turtle; the inhabitants being much addicted to catch them, as well as fiſhing. This they moſtly did in their boats at the iſlands of Chaon, Branca, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, being the only people who built and uſed boats in theſe iſlands. They ſold their fiſh for ready money, or what elſe they ſtood in need of; and the Portugueſe, who traded with them for cloths and quilts to carry to Braſil as well as Portugal, uſed often to pay caſh for them, not having ſuch commodities as pleaſed the inhabitants. Theſe latter were generally ſupplied by the Engliſh and French who traded thither; and either exchanged their goods for aſſes, or ſold them for money, till the latter, as well as commodities, decreaſed them. The old Marquis des Minhas was formerly the lord proprietor of this iſland, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and St. Antonio: but after his death, the king reſumed the three firſt into his own hands, the latter only being the hereditary eſtate of that nobleman.

CHAON, St. Branca and St. Lucia, are three iſlands deſtitute of either inhabitants or water, and the two firſt of cattle. The iſland, or rather the rock Chaon, lies from Terrafal weſt by north about three leagues.

ILHA BRANCA (or Blanca) White Iſland, is a high, ſteep rock, lying lengthways eaſt-north-eaſt, and weſt-north-weſt about two or three miles. The St. Nicholas men come here as well as to the road to fiſh. On the ſouth ſide there is a place where boats may ride, but ſo dangerous, when it blows from the ſtrong flames that come down the rocks, that the St. Nicholas

cholas men care leaſt to reſort thither, though there is ſo good fiſhing about it. The author ſuppoſes it took the name from a vein of white rocks, which runs under the high, dark, rocky land on the ſouth ſide, and appears at a diſtance like white ſand-hills. Between this and St. Lucia there is broken ground, with ſeveral rocks above or under water. This iſland produces the guana, a creature in ſhape like a lizard, well known in the Weſt Indies, but found on no other of the Cape Verde Iſlands.

St. LUCIA lies three or four leagues weſt-north-weſt from the north-weſt part of St. Nicholas. There is a good clean, ſandy bay on the ſouth-weſt ſide, and another on the ſouth-eaſt ſide. The iſland produces goats and aſſes, but no inhabitants. The channel between this and St. Vincent is very foul, and ſo full of rocks, that it is as unſafe to venture through it as the former.

ST. VINCENT on the north-eaſt ſide is low and ſandy: but the reſt is moſtly high land, with ſandy bays, and ſeveral roads to anchor at: one of theſe is Bahia des Ghat, is on the north ſide; it goes in north-eaſt, between two low, ſandy points; and the water is ſo ſmooth, that a veſſel may be ſafe on ſhore: but it is ſo difficult to come out with a trade wind, which blows right into the bay, or rather ſmall gulph, that no ſhips frequent it. In the north-eaſt bay, on the north-weſt ſide, over-againſt St. Antonio, is Porto Grande, a large bay, where ſhips may ride ſafe from all winds in ſix or ſeven fathom water, and anchor any where, for it is all clean ſand. It is eaſily known by a high rock, like a tower, off the bay, and clean all round. This is called the bay of St. Vincent; and the rock or iſland that lies at the mouth of it, The Sugar-loaf Rock.

Porto San Pedro is a clean bay or a road, about the ſouth-weſt point, where veſſels may anchor in what depth they pleaſe, in ſandy ground; but it is hard riding there, unleſs in moderate weather, on account of the ſtaws that come from the valleys. More turtle and fiſh were caught about this iſland, than any of the Cape Verde, except du Sal. Here is alſo a good ſtock of goats and aſſes, and almoſt as great plenty of nitre as at St. John's, but not ſo good. The author tried both by fire, and found the firſt always beſt, ſome fixed ſalt, but the latter burnt clean away, except what was generated near the ſea-ſide.

[Thoſe of Mr. Genne's fleet who touched at the firſt port in 1695, caught great numbers of good fiſh there: one ſort of which, called a bourſe, or purſe was very beautiful, having rays darting round from its eyes like a glory, and ſpeckled all over with hexagonal ſpots of a very bright blue colour. The whole refreſhment of the St. Joſeph's crew, while Frazer was there in 1712, was fiſh, of which they took plenty in the bay: but there is only one creek lying between two little points towards the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, where the ſeine can be uſed; in other places the ſhore is rocky: but they made amends with the hook. There are mullets, rock-fiſh, pilchards, grunters, white-tooths, long-beaks, and another ſort which have a bat's tail, and round ſpots all over them. He deſcribes one which was ſix-feet long, and very like the petinbuabs of Braſil. He ſays likewiſe, that there were ſometimes taken bourſes, or purſes deſcribed by Froger. The coaſts of this iſland abound with turtle of different ſorts, ſome weighing between three and four hundred pounds weight. Theſe creatures lay their eggs on ſhore, covering them with the ſand, which alone hatches them in ſeventeen days; but it is nine more before the young ones are able to crawl down to the ſea, by which means three fourths of them become a prey to the birds. This iſland is very mountainous, and has very little freſh water or wood.

The crew of an Engliſh veſſel, after being diſappointed of water at the rivulet, penetrated a little farther, and met with ſeveral ſalt-marſhes, and, at length, upon the ſouth point of the bay, found a little gut of water, which ran down from the craggs to the ſea. They dug to make it run the better, but had much trouble to get it on board, the ſea being very rough, and tho' perfectly freſh water, yet it turns in ſeven or eight days. About two hundred paces from this they got wood, which was a ſort of tamarind, eaſy to fell, and near the ſhore. Mr. Gennes found about twenty Portugueſe from St. Nicholas, on the iſle of St. Vincent, who had been there two years employed in tanning ſkins of goats, with which the iſland abounds. They have dogs trained up for the purpoſe, which kill a dozen or fifteen each every night. Frazer tells us, that they found at the bay a few cottages, the doors of which were ſo low, that there was no going in but upon all fours; all the furniture here was only ſome leather budgets and tortoiſeſhells, which ſerved for ſeats, and veſſels for holding water. The black inhabitants had quitted them on ſight of the French, though they put out Engliſh colours. They ſaw two or three of them ſtark naked in the woods, but could not come to ſpeak to them.]

They found no game there, not ſo much as a beaſt, except wild aſſes and goats on the mountains, hard to come at: ſome few pintadoes, and no other birds. The ſoil is ſo barren it produces no fruit, only in the valleys there are ſome little tufts of tamarind-trees, beſides a few cotton and lemon trees: However, there were ſome curious plants, as the tythinallus, arboreſcens, or branched ſpurge; the male ſouthern-wood, of a moſt ſweet ſcent, and a very beautiful green, a yellow flower, and the ſtem of it has no leaves; the Palma Chriſti, or Ricinus Americanus, called Pillerilla by the Spaniards in Peru: the ſeed of it is exactly like the Indian pine-apple kernel: in Paraguay they make oil of it. They found houſe-leek of ſeveral ſorts, ſome of which had thick round leaves like a hazle nut; coloquintida apples, limonium maritimum very thick; lavender without any ſcent, dog-graſs, &c. And near the little rock was found very good ambergreaſe, ſome of which the Portugueſe had ſold to French ſhips, particularly the St. Clement.

ST. ANTHONY lies in 17 degrees 19 minutes north latitude and eight degrees two minutes weſt longitude from Cape Verde. It is both the weſtern and northern of all the Cape Verde iſlands. It is a very high iſland, and conſidering the very high mountains and low valleys, it contains as much ground, or rather rocks, as St. Jago, and has plenty of freſh water-brooks. There are in St. Anthony but two ports or roads where ſhips anchor; the beſt, called Terrafals, is to the ſouth-weſt end. It is a ſandy bay, and affords good riding; the way from thence to the town, and inhabited parts of the iſland, is ſo very long as well as difficult, that a ſhip might lie there a long time undiſcovered by the inhabitants. The other is a ſandy coaſt rather than bay, called Prayz Simune, it affords no ſhelter from the wind, which generally blows ſtrong through the channel between St. Anthony and St. Vincent; ſo that a ſhip is often forced from her anchor before ſhe can finiſh trading. However, it is tolerable good riding in fine weather and light winds, as well as pretty ſmooth landing. About half a league to the northward of the Chapple, near the Village, there is a little bay or cave, called Rivera des Trafo, where a boat may lie. It has a very good quay to land or load at, the water being ſmooth, and is ſheltered by the north-weſt point: there is alſo a ſtream of freſh water, and wood enough in the valley. The plenty of ſtreams that water this iſland, fertiliſe the valleys ſo, that St. Anthony yields to none of the Cape Verde iſlands, for maiſe, feſhoons, bananas, plantanes, potatoes, pompions, water and muſk-melons, oranges, lemons, limes, guara's, &c. and the greateſt of wine. A great deal of indigo grows here, and ſeveral great plantations are walled in and cultivated. The indigo ſhrub (or plant) grows ſomething like broom, but not ſo large, having ſmall, pale, green leaves, very juicy, in form reſembling that of box. Theſe leaves are ſtripped off in October or November, and

pounded

pounded into pap, which, when made up into cakes or balls, changes in dying, from green to a dark blue.

Cotton plantations are likewiſe cultivated, and cloaths made for the owners. The cotton ſhrub grows about the ſize of a roſe-buſh, but ſpreads more. The leaves are of a graſs green, ſomething like thoſe of ſpinnage, but broader and ſmoother; the flowers are of a pale yellow, which, after they blow away, are ſucceeded by round pods, incloſing the cotton, commonly in three cavities, wherein are alſo contained the ſeeds, which are black, and of an oval form, and in ſize much about the bigneſs of a French kidney-bean.

The valleys in this iſland are very woody. The dragon trees are very numerous, ſo that the dragon's blood is produced in great quantities.

They have aſſes and hogs, which are very large, as well as plenty of them, and a numerous ſtock of cows; beſides, the mountains are crowded with wild goats. On one of the mountains is found a tranſparent ſtone, called by the natives, Topaz; but whether the true topaz or not, the author could not tell. The Portugueſe of this, like the reſt of the Cape de Verde iſlands, are all of a dark ſwarthy colour, but yet a good-natured ſort of people, and very ſociable. Captain Roberts obſerved, that this iſland was then made a kind of ſtorehouſe for ſlaves. He ſuppoſes that when the Portugueſe had the Spaniſh trade, the then Marquis des Minhas, whoſe hereditary eſtate it was, ordered a cargo of negros to be brought from Guinea, and placed there, who were ſupplied at his expence, till they could maintain themſelves by planting, which they ſoon learned from the free blacks inhabiting there before. Theſe ſlaves, (ſays he) increaſed ſo faſt, that, notwithſtanding the great numbers of them who have been tranſported both to Portugal and Braſil, by the marquis's order, they make four fifths of the inhabitants. They have plantations, houſes, wives, &c. as the free blacks have, and ſome of the beſt places are cultivated by them for cotton, indigo, &c. which are all wrought by them, under the inſpection and management of a ſteward (or overſeer) placed there by the marquis. He is generally an European Portugueſe, and has the title of Capiteen Moore.

Thus they are divided into two parties, and very often difference happens between them, which ſometimes end in blood-ſhed. The free blacks valuing themſelves upon their freedom; and the ſlaves telling them they are only tenants at will, and in a worſe condition than themſelves, as being liable to be turned off the iſland, without knowing where to go, and will therefore be neceſſitated to yield themſelves ſlaves whenever called upon."

St. Anthony is a good place for taking in proviſions, they being very plentiful here. [Froger obſerves, that ſending their canoe from the bay of St. Vincent to St. Anthony's for proviſions, the men went to ſome country houſes near the road, where they got ſome fowls, with plenty of fruits, ſuch as figs, grapes, bananas, oranges, and water-melons. A few days after, they ſent again, by direction of the inhabitants (who promiſed to give notice of their coming) and brought from hence 1200 fowls, 100 pigs, and above 25 beeves, and a great quantity of fruit, for which they bartered old linen, beads, ſmall looking-glaſſes, ribands, knives, and ſome other trifles: theſe the iſlanders preferred to money, becauſe but few ſhips touch there; and even the king of Portugal, to whom the profits and produce of the iſland belong, does not ſend for three years together ſometimes to fetch them home.]

Captain Roberts, from whoſe account the chief part of this deſcription of the Cape Verde iſles is taken, ſeems to have been a man of ſenſe and ingenuity.—When here he found no likelihood of getting a paſſage home from the iſland of John, he applied to the governor to let him have an old boat of his to fit up, for going over to St. Philip's, offering to be the carpenter himſelf, and to find nails and ſails; the firſt he had ſaved out of the wreck of his ſloop, and the latter he propoſed to make out of his jib: but the boat having now lain above two years on the dry land, and being fallen in a manner to pieces, as well as rotten, the governor, out of regard for his ſafety, would not grant him his requeſt, alledging the danger of the channel between the two iſlands, from violent winds and ſtrong currents. He told him, however, that if he underſtood how to build a veſſel, he might build one new, large, and ſtrong, there being wood enough on the iſland, and that he did not doubt but all the inhabitants likewiſe would aſſiſt him as much as they were capable off: ſaying, that *they* would do all the laborious work, while he and Franklin might be employed in that part only, which *their* ingenuity he ſaid could not reach to. He added, that beſides the adz, which Roberts ſaved, they had three or four hatchets, and that they could handle them ſo as to cut down fig-trees, ſplit and hew boards out of them, and he engaged to ſupply him with boards and timber enough, of any ſort he would have. "My brother, continued the governor, who has been at St. Jago, is a good carpenter, he can work very well, and makes almoſt all our doors on the iſland, and has beſides made ſtools for the prieſts, which alſo ſeveral others in the iſland can do; and the chairs which you have ſeen at the prieſt's houſe ſhews he is a workman."

Roberts telling him he was afraid he ſhould not have nails enough (having only ſix or ſeven thouſand broken and whole, beſides a great many large ſpikes, ſome bolts, and other iron-work they had ſaved) the governor ſaid he was the beſt judge in that caſe; but that if he wanted, he might inſtruct the old farrier, who was alſo ingenious of himſelf, to forge ſome out of the old iron. But firſt, he would have the author promiſe to make a boat large enough to carry him over the channel of St. Philip's ſafely, without any danger, and that he thought, could not be leſs than twice the ſize, at leaſt, of his own boat.—Roberts ſaid, that to make a boat twice the length, breadth, and depth of his, would be to make one a great many times bigger than his boat; but he could not any way convince his excellency how that was poſſible.——

They now took a general ſurvey of the iſland, to find what tools were on it fit for the occaſion. They muſtered up three ſmall hatchets, a thing like a butcher's cleaver, two gimblets, one about the ſize of a twenty-penny nail, the other a very large gimblet, with a ſmall pin-mall, one claw hammer, and one like a cobler's hammer, and a double-headed hammer, about three pounds in weight, over and above what the ſmith had.

All the inhabitants were now ſummoned to meet before the governor's houſe, who made a ſpeech to them, ſetting forth the cauſe for which they met, how charitable an act it was to aſſiſt their gueſt. They anſwered, That he could not be more ready to aſk than they to grant, that they were wholly at Roberts's call, and that he might always command them.—They ſaid, they were very ſorry to think of his leaving them; but when they conſidered how unable they were to ſupply his occaſions, to his wiſhes, they could not deſire him to continue among them in miſery. They added, that they wiſhed their iſland produced thoſe neceſſaries, as well as pleaſure and delights which his country did, and then, perhaps, they would keep him with them by force, and think they did not wrong him: ſaying, when he talked on a retaliation, that they deſired nothing but his good opinion, and that for the continuance thereof, they would do any thing for him in their power. After this, they obſerved that thoſe who could uſe hatchets, would take their turns day by day, that the three hatchets might never be idle, and that the reſt might carry down the boards and timber, after it was hewed, and a little dried, to the place where he intended to build the boat. This was accordingly performed, and by the time they got a good quantity made, a large

piece of a ſhip's quarter was thrown on ſhore near Scio, which came luckily to help out the deſign. There being no convenient place there to haul it on land, becauſe of the rocks, thirty or forty of the natives faſtening linen to tow it by, ſwam with it, and got it, though with great difficulty, into a little cove between Scio and Piſoarce Picuana. This wreck being broke up, afforded a quantity of boards, timber, nails, ſpiking bolts, with a mizen-maſt, and ſtanding rigging, of which maſt he propoſed to make the keel.

But now our voyager began to be in doubt of his ability to perform what he had undertaken; yet reflecting on the diſgrace it would be to deſiſt, after giving ſo much trouble about it, he reſolved to proceed. Accordingly he went down with ſix or eight of the beſt carpenters, having ſeveral more hands to help as labourers, and ſome to fiſh for proviſions for the reſt. But juſt at they were going to begin, a new objection aroſe, which was likey to have put an end to the work; for next day the governor coming down, told Roberts he was informed, that he (the author) intended the boat to be but a little bigger than his, which was 20 feet long, and that in caſe this was true, he would forbid all his people to aſſiſt him; for that both he and Signor Carlos were of opinion, he would only caſt himſelf away through eagerneſs to get off the iſland. Roberts thanked him for his care, and aſſured him he intended to make her twice as large as his own boat; and agreed, if ſhe did not carry above twice as much, as his, to give her to the governor, and ſtay upon the iſland till a ſhip came.

As ſoon as his back was turned, Roberts meaſured out twenty-five feet for the length of the keel, inſtead of thirty, which he had meaſured before the governor; and, at his requeſt, his aſſiſtants promiſed to ſay nothing of it; but in going on with the work, being at a loſs for a ſaw, they furniſhed out an old ruſt-eaten one, and a file, with which he ſharpened it; while they ſtood over, admiring his ingenuity. In order to make the ſweeps, Roberts had contrived a pair of wooden compaſſes, and his workmen were greatly aſtoniſhed at ſeeing him fix the ſtern and the ſtern-poſt, becauſe he uſed a plummet to ſet them upright. He employed the wreck boards along the body of the boat, as they would not bend for any other part; but the nails began to diminiſh apace, ſo that having nailed her tolerably ſecure at the bottom, he was forced to faſten only the butt-end; and here and there, where neceſſity required, was obliged only to pin or trunnel them with the large ſpike gimblet. He had a half-deck abaft, a little above eight feet long, a forecaſtle from the ſtern aft, ſomething above ſeven feet. He laid in four beams that he double kneed, faſtening the knees of each end, one of which was a ſtanding knee; he bolted them with ſome of the ſmalleſt bolts, pointed, and boring the length of the pike gimblet, forced the reſt, by driving the bolt red hot.

After all this, there were left boards enough to deck her; but for want of nails, being forced at the latter end to make uſe of all the broken points, he frequently took the point of a nail, which was but little more in length than the thickneſs of a plank, and after he had driven it up, he drove it farther with a broken ſtump of a nail, till the latter had entered half way into the plank, that the point might the better take hold of the timber. How to make her tight was now to be conſidered. For this, he had ſome ſpare ropes, of which he made oakham, but he found that cotton and moſs did better. His method to try how the caulking held was, in the evening, after they had all left off work, to heave water againſt the ſeams within ſide; and where he perceived it went through, he caulked it over again. He finiſhed his maſt, and fixed the rigging, and the pieces of the jib of his former ſloop, made him a main-ſail. It was too narrow by a breadth and an half, but there was no help for it. His foreſail and jib were patched out of the pieces of the main-ſail, and of cotton cloth, given him by the natives.

His boom was made of his old gaff, by ſcarfing a hand-ſpike to it. His rudder was made thus: he got three eye-bolts, and ſharpening the points, drove them into the ſtern-poſt up to the eyes, which ſerved in the room of braces or gudgeons. Two or three days before ſhe was launched, four of the blacks with Nicolau Verde, went, and faſtening a rope to her anchor, which lay in Salt-Point bay, hauled it out from under ſome rocks: then floating it about a ſtone's throw, let it go again. When they ſaw it quite clear of the rocks, they brought it up to the ſurface, and then floated it away. This he was very much ſurpriſed to ſee them do, believing it impoſſible for four times the number to have ſuſtained the weight of the anchor, no leſs than two hundred and three quarters; beſides the ſtock, which, then being ſo much water-ſoaked, could not weigh much leſs than one hundred weight.

The governor, prieſt, and ſeveral women came down to the launching, which was performed very well, but the boat made as much water as two hands could keep clear by conſtant baling. Roberts ſtopped ſeveral places where it went in, but could ſee nothing of a conſtant leak, only under three of the floor timber heads, which he could not come at: however, he tightened it as well as he could, and went down to Ferrier to fiſh up an anchor with a hauſer, left there lately by a Portugueſe ſhip in a ſtorm. In the mean time he made a wooden hillick, which he faſtened to a ſtone, as the New-found-land fiſhing ſloops uſed, by means of his ſhrouds which he ſaved, and now ſpliced together, to the quantity of about-twenty-five fathoms.

Leaving the boat till the governor, by a general hunting, had killed goats to ſupply him with tallow to pay the ſeams of her, he went down to Ferrier for the anchor; where a black, called Fum-Fo-Roen, who had been on board the ſaid Portugueſe, playing in the water with ſome others at their uſual game of plunging and ſtriking with their feet in imitation of the threſher and grampus-fiſh, and diving from him who ſtruck at him, he happened to hit againſt the buoy, which was about a fathom under water. The ground being a tough, clammy, ſtiff ooze, or clay, covered over with ſoft ooze and ſand mixed, they were a long time getting out the anchor, which they afterwards brought to ſhore about a mile diſtant: and thus the whole was compleated.

Captain Roberts at length ſet ſail, and having viſited all the lower iſlands, came about to St. Nicholas; where ſtopping firſt at Porto Ghuy, and then at Paraghiſi, the people came down to welcome him, and bought all his ſalt, which was a good commodity then, it being their turtling ſeaſon. At Paraghiſi, there came a young man, who ſaid his name was George, that he was born in Devonſhire, and that he had been taken by Loe in his way from Virginia; and ſome months paſt had eſcaped from him at the iſland of St. Vincent, while that pirate was there refitting the Merry Chriſtmas, of London; which he had taken alſo coming from that plantation. This young fellow ſaid, he would lie in the veſſel all night, as it was likely to prove bad weather; which being agreed, and the boat ſecured. Roberts being very ill, was carried directly back again, where the blacks nurſed him, and the little boy being ſomewhat better than in the morning, choſe to be on board with George.

About eight that night, the wind blowing hard from the ſouth-weſt, with much rain, Roberts came down again from the quay, and hailed the boat to veer more upon the anchor cable; ſaying, otherwiſe it would be loſt, but could not make George hear: upon which, a black of St. Anthony (who was very faithful to him) ſaid, rather than the boat which had carried them through ſo many dangers ſhould be loſt for want of veering the cable, he would try to ſwim on board at the hazard of his life, and (notwithſtanding all the diſſuaſions of the other blacks, who told him the ſea ran ſo high, that he would be daſhed in

pieces againſt the rocks) watching an opportunity of the ſmoothest water, he darted himſelf from the edge of the rock, which was fifty feet above the ſurface; and got on board the boat: juſt before he jumped, a ſea waſhed over the bow of the boat, and frightened both George and the boy.

Perceiving Roberts chiefly concerned for the boy, they undertook for his ſafety at all events: but the cable breaking, the ſea carried the boat up ſo high on the beach, that ſhe lay undiſturbed for above a quarter of an hour. They had thus all time to get out of her. After the firſt fright was over, George went on board to ſave what he could, but preſently a great ſea rolling over her, ſo terrified him, that he made what haſte he could out of her again, with only a bottle of the Bona Viſta wine. Soon after another ſea ſtaved her to pieces.

The author, by ſitting out all night in the wind on this occaſion got a cold, which was one great cauſe of the tedious ſickneſs that held him till after his arrival in England, and gave him leiſure to write his hiſtory. The morning clearing up, gave him a full view of the ruins of ten or twelve months labour, which had been deſtroyed in one moment, and lay piled up on the ſhore.

The letters brought from the former prieſt of St. Nicholas to his ſucceſſor, and from the biſhop of the two prieſts, who govened St. Anthony, for the Marquis des Minhas, procured him great reſpect when he was there. Going to wait on the governor, as ſoon as he went up to the town, dinner was brought to table; which conſiſted of fiſh, fowls, goat's-fleſh, Indian corn-bread, plantanes, bananas, boiled pompion, &c. The fowls were baked in a pot, and looked very well, and as brown as if they had been roaſted; and the veniſon, or wild goat's-fleſh, and fiſh were boiled. There was alſo a calamow, which is a calabaſh cut in two, and ſerves inſtead of baſons and porringers: this was brought to him full of fiſh-water, being reckoned by them the daintieſt meſs they can give a ſick or weak perſon; but the author could not touch it. He lay at one Signor Gonſalvo's, who had been formerly governor, where all imaginable care was taken of him.

[When Captain Harfoot arrived (as has been already mentioned) Captain Roberts was very ſerviceable to him as a linguiſt, and having ſpoke to him in behalf of George, (who he ſaid, he believed would be glad to work for his paſſage to get off theſe iſlands). Harfoot conſented to take him on board, although he did not want more hands. At this, when Roberts told George, who was then at the town, he ſeemed rejoiced. Being come down, he hailed the brigantine, and Captain Harfoot ſent the boat for him; as ſoon as he was brought on board, Roberts obſerved his countenance change, but could not imagine the reaſon: however, Captain Harfoot ſoon made him ſenſible of it: for it ſeems, the year before, Loe took Capt. Harfoot at Bona Viſta, where this fellow was on board the pirates; and having been as active as the reſt in plundering his veſſel, was ſo daunted at the ſight of him, that he had no courage to ſpeak. The Captain, as ſoon as he had recovered memory enough to convince him, that he was the man, ſaid, in a paſſion, "You impudent raſcally villain, I admire how you dare come to aſk a favour of me?" The fellow looked very dejected, and by way of excuſe, alledged, that he was a priſoner on board with the pirates, and conſtrained to do what he did, as not daring to refuſe whatever they thought proper to command him. The Captain bade him hold his tongue, and tell them ſo who knew no better: ſaying, "That if he had not the impudence of the devil, or his maſter Loe, he would not come to aſk him any favour. He added, that if he was ſure to find a man of war to put him on board of, before he went from the iſlands, he would give him his paſſage to it." Then turning to Roberts, "If a man, ſaid he, ſhould take that villain on board, to carry him to juſtice, and ſhould meet any of his brother villains (meaning the pirates) he could expect nothing but death." After this, turning to George, who, to all this, replied not a word, he told him he ſhould go on ſhore again, and that if he met with any of his majeſty's ſhips, before he left thoſe iſlands, he would give them an account of him, and perſuade them all he could, to come and give him a paſſage to Tyburn: adding, that he hoped before long, to hear of his maſter Loe's receiving the ſame reward at ſome ſuch place."]

On the 15th of September, they left Porto Praya, and anchored at the city the next day, where they filled the remainder of the water they wanted, and took in the reſt of the neceſſary proviſions. About the 19th of November, they ſailed for Porto Cidade, and ſtretched away to the northward, but the ſhip proving leaky, were forced to put in at St. Lucia: where the captain letting go the anchor too ſoon, (there being only the fore-top-ſail handed) a guſt of wind came off the bank out of the Soundings; and being in a very bad condition, Roberts adviſed the commander to bring her down to Barbadoes, as the ſhorteſt, and the eaſieſt run.

There were on board her about 180 ſlaves, a Portugueſe ſupercargo, Scrivan, Cooper, and Signor Antonio de Barra, late governor of Cachea: which laſt objecting to Barbadoes, as being but an iſland. Roberts told him, true, it was an iſland, but he doubted whether he could have any thing at Liſbon, which was not at Barbadoes, except a king, a patriarch, a nobleman, and a biſhop: at which the governor ſmiling, they all agreed to go thither; the ſupercargo, Scrivan, &c. ſigning a paper to teſtify, as was neceſſary, their free conſent. Accordingly, making for Barbadoes, they arrived there in Carliſle bay, Chriſtmas day, 1724: and in leſs than three months, ſailing from thence, they came to Liſbon, where, meeting with Alexander Baxter, maſter of the Bricket Brigantine, who generouſly gave both him and the boy a paſſage: where they arrived the latter end of June in the port of London.

VOYAGES TO THE ISLANDS AND COASTS OF AFRICA, FROM 1420, TO 1730.

THE Portugueſe, who as we have already obſerved, were the firſt great diſcoverers of navigation, claim the honour of diſcovering the iſlands on the coaſt of Africa, and among them the Canaries, which are ſeven, or as ſome reckon eight in number, Madeira being generally accounted one of them. However, it appears that this was really diſcovered by accident by an Engliſhman and his beloved fair one.

It was in the reign of king Edward the third that one Robert Machin (or Maſham) falling in love with a beautiful young lady called Anne d'Arfet, had the mortification to find that her relations were reſolved to marry her to a nobleman whoſe diſtinguiſhed rank and fortune had biaſſed them in his favour. Vexed at this diſappointment (having been diſcharged from a confinement he was under, at the inſtigation of his miſtreſs's relations) he contrived to take the lady from her new ſpouſe and put off to ſea with her, in order to render a purſuit fruitleſs.

The lovers intended to ſhape their courſe for France; but

but Machin and his associates being ignorant of the art of navigation, were driven out to sea by a strong gale, and were greatly terrified at finding themselves exposed to winds and waves upon the boundless ocean.

However, after wandering for 13 days, they had sight of an unknown coast, and the adventurer, on falling in with it, carried his mistress on shore. He found the country agreeably diversified, with hills and vales, and it is said that several wild beasts came about him, without offering to do him any violence. Proceeding farther up the country, he came to a round meadow incircled with laurels, and watered with a small rivulet, which in a bed of fine sand, ran down from the mountains through it. On an eminence here they found a beautiful tree, under which they took up their abode, and afterwards built themselves huts in its neighbourhood. They now passed their time very agreeably, till a storm arose which drove their vessel from her anchor, and threw her on the coast of Morocco, where all the crew were made slaves.

Here our historians and voyagers differ. Some say, that the lady dying, her lover soon followed her, whilst others, as we have already observed in a former part of the work, assert that he went over to Africa, from whence the Moors sent him as a present to the king of Castile; however that might be, we find authority sufficient for supporting the fact, that the island was first discovered by one of our own nation.

But the complete discovery of the island of Madeira, hitherto known only by report, and confirmed by some of Machin's associates, redeemed from the Goals of Morocco, was left to the enterprising genius of Prince Henry of Portugal, that light of a gloomy age, who awakened the spirit of discovery, and was himself the great genius of navigation. This illustrious prince fitted out a fleet, the command of which was given to Juan Gonsalvo Zarco, who was ordered at all hazards to land at this island, which was rendered famous only by the death of the English lady above-mentioned.

The voyager in his way touched at Puerto Santo, where he was given to understand that an impenetrable darkness hung over the sea, to the north-east of the island. This however did not discourage him; he resolved to proceed, and penetrating the mist, which De Morales his pilot, who had been a slave in Morocco, assured him, was occasioned only by vapours arising from thick woods, happily landed according to his destination.

Doubling a point, to which Gonsalvo gave the name of S. Laurence: they sent on shore to reconnoitre the island, and found the tomb of the English lady. They saw no inhabitants nor any cattle where they landed, but saw birds, of various kinds, so gentle, that they suffered themselves to be taken by the hand; nor were there any venomous animals discovered upon the whole island.

Returning with this account to Portugal, in the month of August, 1420, it was resolved that Gonsalvo should return to Madeira, (as it was by this time denominated) in quality of Captain of the Island.

Accordingly he set out again in May, 1421, with his wife and family, and arriving safe in the road then called English Port, he named it Puerto del Machino, in honour of the first English discoverer.

In a fruitful valley, where there was the best harbour adjoining, and a sufficiency of water, this adventurer founded the town of Fonchial, and his wife Constantia dedicated there the first altar to St. Catharine.——

After the death of King John, his son and successor, in consideration of the great sums expended in discovering and peopling the island, by his brother Prince Henry, he gave him the revenues of it for his life; and, as a reward for his indefatigable endeavours, he gave to Juan Gonsalvo Zarco the title of an Earl, with a new coat of arms, which the family bear to this day.

"Some (says our author) comprise two islands under the name of Madeira, viz. that properly so called, and Puerto Santo; and it is common with us, as well as the Portuguese and Spaniards, at this day, to say the Madeiras. It is true, we do not at present, include both those islands under that denomination; but a former custom might have brought that mode of expression into use.

"This isle, which took its name from the great quantity of wood or timber growing on it, lies between 32 deg. 12 min. and 32 deg. 50 min. of north latitude. Dr. Fryer, in his account of the East Indies, &c. says, This is the largest island in the Atlantic ocean; but Teneriffe may dispute the advantage for size. Some moderns make this island 140 leagues, and others 160 in circuit; While Cado Mosta, more near the truth, allows it to be 140 miles. The same author observes, that it has good roads, but no ports. Puerto Santo, which is about 12 leagues distant, may be seen from it in clear weather."

Don Henry first sent letters thither, about the year 1431, under Tristan Tessora, and Juan Gonzales Zarco, whom he appointed governor, who had then shared the whole between them; the first having that half where Machino port lies; and the other the district of Fonchial. He also relates that the settlers, in order to clear the land, set fire to the woods, which happened to spread with such fury, as he had been told, that several persons, with their families, among whom was Gonzales himself, to save themselves from the flames, were forced to take to the sea, where they stood up to their necks for two days and nights, without sustenance. It was then inhabited in four places, viz. at Manchino, Santa Cruz, Fonchial, and Camura de Lobos. There were some other settlements, but these were the principal; which, in the whole, could muster about 180 men, including 100 horse. Their number is much increased since: for Mr. Atkins informs us, that in 1720, the island mustered 18,000 militia, which were kept in good order; and proved very faithful since the revolution in Portugal, in 1640, when it then shook off the Spanish yoke.

In 1601, when Moquet was at this island, it had two cities, the principal of which had two fortresses, the stronger was garrisoned with Spanish, and the other with Portuguese soldiers. This city, which he calls Madeira, and must be Fonchial, is situated in a valley and at the foot of a mountain; from whence he says, comes water in such abundance sometimes, as to cause inundations, which do much damage, carrying away bridges, houses, churches, and other edifices. The city has been as big as St. Dennis, (near Paris) but very populous, to which a great number of slaves contributed, who worked upon the sugar, without the city. The whole island was scattered over with pleasure houses. Ican de Chux, who married the niece of Don Christoval de More, viceroy of Portugal, was then consul for the French, who, as well as the English, Dutch and others, had many factors there. Fonchial is situate in a bay, on the south part of the isle, close to the south side, next to which, it is walled, and defended by cannon. Fresh water comes running into the sea in the middle of the bay, from under an arch in the wall. The shore consists of great pebble stones in the bay, and of rocks in other places. The eastern part of the road is foul ground, and ships ride at anchor within reach of the cannon.

The city is about an English mile in length, and three quarters in breadth. The bay lies in the latitude of 32 degrees 10 minutes north, and 10 degrees one minute west of the Lizard. The adjacent rural places are very mountainous, but, however, they rival the vallies in fruitfulness and delight. The town is refreshed by seven or eight rivers, and variety of rivulets, descending from the mountains, which, notwithstanding their height and steepness, are planted and improved as well as the most champaign in England. At the utmost top of the hills, the corn thrives well,

well, but the abundance of clouds that gather here, are prejudicial to the grapes.

Captain Uring, who was at Fonchial in 1717, says, "It is defended by two large forts, and a third upon a rock at a little distance from the shore, which is very strong by nature. On the back of the town, the ground rises gradually to the mountains, which spread several miles in form of a semicircle, the whole space being full of gardens, vineyards, and gentlemens country-seats, which make a very agreeable prospect likewise. There fall from the mountains behind the town many fine rills of water, that are conveyed by aqueducts for several miles, with which the inhabitants water their gardens and vineyards; it being let in at pleasure by means of cocks.

"The port is dangerous, especially in west and south-west winds, on which side the road lies open, and there is no anchoring under forty fathoms above a mile off shore, and that no where, but at the west end; so that when a swell from these quarters gives notice of a gale's coming, there is no remedy but to slip cable and to sea. The surf too is generally so great on the beach, that the common method of lading is to swim off the pipes to the launch, or also lade on the beach, and then run her into the water; for the same reason, the only good time for watering is before the season breeze comes on. There is a high rock, called the Loo, with a fort upon it, where small vessels may moor pretty safe from the westerly winds. But if the wind veers so as to turn their heads to seaward, all hands immediately take to shore, and leave the ship to make the best of it against the storm by herself. Nor are the lodgings on shore much easier than the road at sea: there are three towns in it, all on the southern side, viz. Marasylo, a small place, with a bay or harbour in the south-west end of the island, where there is good anchorage, in twelve, fifteen, seventeen, and twenty fathoms; Fonchial, in a large bay, near the middle, and Santa Cruz in another open bay or road beyond the former, toward the eastern point of Madeira; between which, and Santa Cruz, Machino, or Macham's town, must be situate, where we are told by our geographers, that there is a handsome church and cloister of Bernardines.

The air of Madeira is generally allowed to be very good and temperate and seldom disturbed; the heavens being commonly smiling and serene. On this occasion he observes, that as those climates which be between the thirtieth and fortieth degree of latitude, are generally free from excess of heat or cold; they therefore seem to best suited to the delights of human life, as well as accommodated to the constitution of mankind.

According to the best authors, this island is mountainous, interspersed with fruitful valleys. The highest parts, woods; which are haunts for wild goats: the middle, kitchen-gardens; and the bottom, vineyards. The roads are bad; for which reason the wines are brought to town in Hog-skins upon asses.

Though the country is mountainous, yet the soil is rich: and it produced, yearly, thirty thousand Venetian stares of Bread-corn: and the land yielded at first seventy to one increase; but is now reduced to thirty or forty for want of good husbandry.

It abounds every where with fine springs, besides which, there are eight rivers. This great plenty of water first suggested the idea to prince Henry of sending sugar-canes hither from Sicily; which being removed into a warmer climate yielded greatly, and four hundred cantaros (each an hundred and twelve pounds large weight of Venice) of sugar had been made to one boiling, and were likely to improve. They had likewise good wines for the time since their settlement, and plenty, so as to export large quantities. Among other vines some Malvasia (Malmsey) plants from Candia were brought hither, which succeeded very well. This soil proved so well-suited to the vine, that in general there are more grapes than leaves, the bunches very large, from two to four spans long. They had likewise the black Pergola grape, in perfection. And they began their vintage about Easter.

The main product of the island is grapes brought hither from Candia, of which there are three or four kinds, which make so many different wines: one is coloured like Champaigne of little esteem: another is more strong and pale, as white-wine; the third sort is rich and delicious, called Malmsey; the fourth is Tinto, equalling tent in colour, but far inferior in taste; it is never drank unless in other wines, with which it is mixt, to give them a tincture and to preserve them. And for fermenting and feeding them, they bruise and take a certain stone, called Jess, of which nine or ten pounds are thrown into each pipe. The Madeira wine has in it this peculiar excellence, that it is meliorated by the heat of the sun when it is pricked; for this end it is necessary only to open the bunghole and expose it to the air.

The product of the vine is equally divided between the proprietor and him who gathers and presses the grapes: yet for the most part, the merchant thrives and is rich, whilst the grape-gatherers is but poor. Among the merchants the Jesuits are none of the least considerable; they have here secured the monopoly of Malmsey, of which there is but one good vineyard in the whole island, which is entirely in their possession. Twenty thousand pipes of wine, by a moderate computation, may be reckoned the annual increase of the grapes; which number is thus exhausted and spent. Eight thousand are thought to be drank upon the island; three or four are wasted in leakage, and the remainder is exported mostly to the West-Indies, especially to Barbadoes, where it is drank more liberally than other European wines.

The ashes of the trees burnt by the discoverers gave a vast fertility to the sugar-canes, at their first planting, till a worm getting into the canes spoiled the increase; so that it was then intirely planted with vines brought originally from Candia, which yield the strongest wines: that called Malmsey is a rich cordial, the best made at the Jesuits garden in Fonchial. Their vintage is in September and October; and the yearly produce is about twenty-five thousand pipes. This wine is of two sorts; one brownish, and the other red, called, (as we have said) Vino Tinto, from a general opinion that it is stained, which, however, the inhabitants firmly deny. They are almost all limed; a preservative against the heat of the West-Indies, where no other wines keep so well.

This island affords peaches, apricots, plums, cherries, figs, and walnuts; and the English merchant allowed to reside and traffic here, have transplanted from England currants, gooseberries, filberts. All these are more kindly entertained in this soil, than many of their fruits are in ours, which is too cold and moist for rearing those of hot climates. The banana is with them in singular esteem, and even veneration, being reckoned for its deliciousness, the forbidden fruit; oranges and lemons abound in such plenty that they drop into their dishes, while people dine under their shade.

Citrons also grow here, of which the natives made a delicate sweetmeat, called Sucket, and load with it yearly, two or three small ships for France. The sugar, which in candying them, they make use of, and is often effectually prescribed against consumptions, is but rarely exported, because of its scarcity, which hardly supplies the necessities of the Island.

Among the trees, the cedar and nasso excelled; the first, is very tall, thick, and streight; and has a rich scent, it makes the finest boards, and is chiefly used for building, the nasso wood is of a very bright red-rose colour; and besides boards they made both long and cross bows which had a just spring, and were extremely beautiful, which were sent to the west. And they supplied all Portugal besides other places with boards.

The provisions here, are chiefly kid, pork, with sometimes a lean heifer, cabbages, lemons, oranges, walnuts,

walnuts, figs, yams, bananas, &c. the country ſending in what quantity they gueſs will be taken off, there being no fixed markets.

The ordinary food of the poorer ſort is little elſe in the time of vintage, than bread and ripe grapes. Were it not for this great abſtemiouſneſs, the danger of fevers, in the hot ſeaſon, would be rarely avoided, and the venereal exceſſes to which they are ſtrangely addicted, joined to the immoderate heat of the place, would be apt to put nature under various diſorders. Therefore men of the greateſt conſequence and fortune, ſeldom exceed the allowable bounds of drinking, and accuſtom themſelves to a very ſpare diet.

The people affect gravity (ſays the author) and wear black, in compliance with the clergy, who claim ſo much authority among them. But they cannot live without the ſpado and the dagger; thoſe inſeparable adjuncts, even of ſervants waiting at table, who proudly ſtrut with the diſhes in their hands, and a baſket hilt to a ſword, at leaſt, a yard long, even in the midſt of ſummer. Their houſes too are plain; for they are at no great expence either for building or furniture; ſome of them ſhoot up a little in height; in general they are flat-roofed; the windows are unglazed, and kept open all day, and cloſed by wooden ſhutters at night.

The fertility of this iſland is much abated from what it was in the time of its firſt plantation, and the continual breaking up of the ground has in many places impoveriſhed its productions, ſo that they are obliged to let it lie fallow for three or four years, after which time, if there ſprings up no broom, they conclude it quite barren.——The huſbands, ſet their wives an ill example, and the latter make no ſcruple to indulge their inclinations, when they find an opportunity, eſpecially with ſtrangers. This is imputed in a great meaſure to the parties marrying without a previous knowledge, or even an interview of each other.

"In treating about marriage, their principal inquiries are into the family, and deſcent of the lover, for preventing alliances with Moors or Jews, who are very numerous. To join in matrimony with any of them, is eſteemed a debaſement, eſpecially in a woman. Neither muſt any of them marry any Engliſh merchants (whoſe perſons are very acceptable to the beſt of families) unleſs the latter firſt change their religion. Sometimes indeed, an objection is made on account of fortune; for it has been known, that an inequality that way has been deemed by their ſubtile caſuiſts, a juſt plea for diſſolving the contract. Murder here has a kind of reputation; and it is made the characteriſtic of any gentleman of rank or faſhion to have dipped his hands in blood. The chief ſource of this execrable crime is the protection it receives from their churches; which ſort of ſanctuaries are very numerous, Fonchial being full of them; beſides many more diſperſed through their country plantations. The indulgence given to ſuch malefactors is the greateſt reproach to religion and humanity. It is enough if the criminal can lay hold of the horns of the altar; and the utmoſt penalty they inflict is baniſhment or confinement, both which, by large preſents, may be bought off. The clergy here are very numerous, and daily increaſe. Near the chapel belonging to the Jeſuits, is a certain hoſpital, much frequented by the natives, erected for the entertainment and care of ſuch as are infected with the venereal diſeaſe. Their churches are moſt commonly made uſe of for repoſitories of the dead. The corpſe is curiouſly dreſſed and adorned; yet in the interment, they mix lime with the earth to haſten the conſumption of it, by which means there is room made within a fortnight for a freſh body."

Puerto Santo was diſcovered about the year 1418, by the Portugueſe, on All Saints day, whence it takes its name; and Prince Henry of Portugal, firſt ſent inhabitants to ſettle there under Bartholomew Pereſtrellow, whom he appointed governor. It is about 15 miles in circumference.

This iſland bears good bread corn, and oats enough for its own uſe; but abounds with oxen and wild hogs, and there are rabits out of number. Among other trees it produces the dragon tree, the ſap or juice of which is drawn out at certain ſeaſons only of the year, when it iſſues into clefts, made with an ax, near the bottom of the trunk the year before. Theſe are found full of a kind of gum, which decocted and depurated, is the dragon's blood of the apothecaries: the tree bears a fruit that is well taſted, and round like a cherry, but yellow. Here are the beſt honey and wax in the world, but not in any great quantity. There is alſo plenty of good fiſh about it, ſuch as dentali, gilded fiſh, and others. It has no port, but good mooring in the road, which is ſheltered on all ſides, but between ſouth and eaſt, the winds blowing from this quarter, make it unſafe riding here.

In April, 1595, Captain Amias Preſton, with only 60 men, took the iſland and chief town, which was very handſome and large. The inhabitants fled with their goods to an exceeding high hill near the ſame, which the Engliſh durſt not attack. The enemy would have ranſomed the town, but it was burnt down in revenge of former ill treatment. The like was done by the villages on the iſland, which was at that time inhabited by old ſoldiers, whom the king of Portugal uſed to place there, to reward their former ſervices. In 1681, when Barbot ſailed that way, Puerto Santo had then on it ſome villages and hamlets.

Of the Canary iſlands in general, we have the following account. They moſtly abound in the neceſſaries of life, except water, which not being good, the inhabitants ſtrain it through filtering ſtones. The harveſt is commonly in March or April at fartheſt, and in ſeveral places they have two each year; and the author had ſeen a cherry-ſlip produce fruit in ſix weeks after grafting. Here alſo grows the Oriſelle, a plant that bears the Canary ſeed, and requires a great deal of care and management here, but grows in Holland, and other parts of Europe, without any trouble. The Canary birds which breed in France, neither ſing ſo ſweet, nor have they ſuch a variety of beautiful plumage, as here on their native ſoil. Beſides many other vegetables, there were beans, peas, and caches; a grain like maiſe, uſed for improving the land; papaus, cherries, guavas, pomkins, and extraordinary fine onions, with all ſorts of garden greens, and roots, pot-herbs, and ſallading, as well as variety of flowers. Of fiſh they have mackarel in plenty, beſides ſturgeon, which the poorer ſort feed on. They are likewiſe well ſtocked with deer and horſes. Theſe are the products of the iſlands in general, but in particular, Lanzarota exceſs in horſes; Grand Canaria, Palma, and Teneriffe, in vines; Forteventura for common dunghil fowls; and Gomera for deer.

Grand Canaria is the principal of all the reſt of the iſlands, not in fertility, but as being the ſeat of juſtice and government among them. There is a governor for the iſland only; beſides whom, here are auditors, who are ſuperior judges, and act jointly in commiſſion as the lord chancellor of any realm; receiving and hearing appeals from other iſlands. The city is called Civitas Palmarum. It hath a beautiful cathedral, with all the uſual dignities. For the adminiſtration of civil affairs in the iſland, there are ſeveral aldermen who have great authority, and a council houſe to themſelves. The city is beautiful, and the inhabitants dreſs very gay and rich. After any rain or foul weather, a man may go clean in velvet ſlippers, becauſe the ground is ſandy. The air is very temperate, and free from the extreme of heat or cold. They have two wheat harveſts, viz. in February and May. The grain is exceeding good, and makes bread as white as ſnow. There are in this iſland three other towns, named Telde, Galder, and Guia; alſo 12 ſugar houſes, called Ingenios, in which a great quantity of good ſugar is made. The growth of ſugar is in this manner: A good ſoil yields nine

in 18 years: First, they take a cane, which is called the Planta, and laying it along in a furrow, cover it with earth, ſo that by a ſluice they can let the water run over it. This plant, in the nature of a root, brings forth ſundry canes, which grow two years before they are fit to cut. They are cut even with the ground, and the tops, with the leaves called coholia, being chopped off, the bodies are tied into bundles like faggots, and carried to the ſugar-houſes, called Ingenio's. When they are ground in a mill, and the juice conveyed by a gutter to a great veſſel where it is boiled till is comes to a due thickneſs, and then put into earthen pots, of the mould of a ſugar-loaf, and placed in a purging-houſe to purge and whiten, which is done with a certain clay laid on the top. Of the remainder in the veſſel is made a ſecond ſort, called eſcumes; and of the purging liquor, that drops from the white ſugar, is made a third ſort, the remains of which is called panela, or netas: the refuſe of all the purging, is called molaſſes; and of that is made another ſort, called refinado. When the firſt crop is thus finiſhed, the canes of which, are called planta, then the ſtraw, (or withered leaves of the canes) lying all over the field, (or cane piece) are ſet on fire, which likewiſe burns the ſtumps of the canes cloſe to the ground: and thus, with good huſbandry, and watering, at the end of other two years, it yields the ſecond crop, called zoca; the third is called tertia zoca, the fourth quarto zoca; and ſo the reſt, till age cauſes the old canes to be planted again.

This iſland produces very good wine, eſpecially in the town of Teyde, and many ſorts of good fruits, as melons, pears, apples, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, figs, peaches of ſeveral ſorts, and many other fruits; but eſpecially the plantane. It is no timber-tree; it grows near the ſides of brooks, is very ſtraight in the body, and has ſurpriſingly thick leaves: which grows not on the branches, but out of the top of the tree, every leaf being two yards long, and almoſt half a yard broad; each tree has but two or three branches; and on them grows the fruit, which are thirty or forty in number, more or leſs; it is ſhaped like a cucumber; and when ripe, is black, being then more delicious than any conſerve. The plantane bears fruit but once, and then is cut down, another ſpringing up from the ſame fruit, and ſo on continually.

This iſland yields enough of oxen, camels, goats, ſheep, capons, hens, ducks, pigeons and large partridges. Wood is the thing moſt wanted. It ſtands in twenty-ſeven degrees north. It is thirteen or fourteen leagues each way, and about forty in circuit: according to the common opinion, it is the ſame which the ancients, particularly Ptolemy, called by this name. It is the moſt particular of all the iſlands, and its chief city, called Canaria, and Cividad de las Palmas, the capital of all the reſt.

Teneriffe, ſtands in twenty-ſeven degrees and an half north, and is diſtant from Canaria twelve leagues to the northward. It is ſeventeen leagues in length, and lies high, in form of a ridge of plowed land in ſome parts of England. In the midſt of it ſtands a round hill, called the Pike, or Peak, which is in heighth, to aſcend, fifteen leagues and more, and about half a mile in compaſs at the top; out of which, oftentimes proceed fire and brimſtone, being in form of a cauldron. Within two miles of the top, are nothing but aſhes and pumice ſtones, and, beneath that two miles, is the cold regions, covered all the year with ſnow. Somewhat lower, are prodigious large trees growing, called vinatico, which are exceeding heavy, and lying in water will never rot. There is likewiſe a wood called Barbuſano, of the ſame quality with many ſavine, and pine-trees.—Beneath theſe are woods of bay-trees, of ten or twelve miles long; where it is pleaſant riding among the great number of ſmall birds, that ſing exceedingly ſweet, eſpecially one ſort of them. This bird is very little, and coloured in all reſpects like a ſwallow, only it has a little black ſpot on its breaſt as broad as a halfpenny: he hath a more delightful note than all the reſt: but if he be impriſoned in a cage, lives but a ſhort time.

Teneriffe produces all the fruits that Canaria doth, and hath in common with the other iſlands, a particular kind of ſhrubs or ruſhes, out of which iſſues a milky juice, which ſtanding a little, thickens, and is very good bird-lime: but the tree called drago is peculiar to Teneriffe, grows on high rocky land, and by inciſion at the bottom, yields a juice like blood. This iſland abounds in corn more than all the reſt: and in fact, is a mother or nurſe, to all the others in the time of ſcarcity. There grows alſo upon the high rocks a kind of moſs, called orchel, which is bought for dyers. There are alſo twelve ſugar-works, called Ingenio's; but above all, there is a ſmall plot of land, about a league in compaſs, the like of which, perhaps cannot be ſhewn in all the world beſides. It lies between two towns, the one called Larotava, and the other Rialejo. This ſingle league of ground produceth ſweet water out of the cliffs, or rocky mountains; corn of all ſorts; all kinds of fruits; excellent ſilk, flax, wax, and honey; and very good wines in abundance: with great ſtore of ſugar, and plenty of fire-wood. This iſland exports great quantities of wines for the Weſt Indies, and other countries. The beſt grows on the ſide of a hill, called the Ramble. The city, called Laguna, ſtands near a lake, and three leagues from the ſea. It is handſomely built, and has two fine pariſh churches. This is the reſidence of the governor, and alſo of the aldermen, whoſe places are purchaſed of the king. Moſt of the inhabitants of this city, are either gentlemen, merchants, or huſband-men. There are four towns more, called Santa Cruz, Larotava, Rialejo and Garachuz.

This iſland, before its conqueſt, had ſeven kings, who, as well as the people, lived in caves, and uſed the ſame diet, and goat-ſkin cloathing, like thoſe of Canaria. The manner of burying their dead was thus: they carried the corpſe naked to a great cave, and there fixed it upright againſt the wall: and if he were of any authority among them, they put a ſtaff in his hand, and ſet a veſſel of milk by him. The author had ſeen three hundred of theſe bodies in a cave together, the fleſh of which was ſo dried up, that the body remained like parchment. Theſe people were called Guanches; and had a peculiar language, quite different from the Canarians, and ſo in the reſt, the inhabitants of every iſland had a diſtinct tongue, beſides the language common to all. The king of Spain receives from the iſles of Canaria 50,000 ducats yearly, for cuſtom and other duties. All the three are joined into one ſee, worth to its biſhop 12,000 ducats yearly.——

Teneriffe, though but the ſecond iſland, in point of precedence, is the chief, with reſpect to its extent, riches or trade. Sir Edmund Scory, ſays, this iſland has been called Nivaria, from the ſnow that encloſes the neck of the Peak of Teyda, like a collar: the name of Teneriffe being given it by the inhabitants of Palma, in whoſe language, Tener ſignifies ſnow, and Iffe, an hill.

At Santa Cruz, the beſt riding is not above half a mile from ſhore, in thirty, forty, or fifty fathoms, black, ſlimy ground: if there be many ſhips, they muſt ride cloſe by one another. The ſhore is generally high land, and in moſt places ſteep to the water. Between this and the watering-place, are two little forts; which, with ſome batteries ſcattered along the coaſt, command the road, which is ſtill farther ſecured by two other forts, that defended the town; being a ſmall place without walls, and fronting the ſea.

[The houſes, (in number about two hundred) are all of ſtone, three ſtories high, built ſtrong, and covered with pantiles. The beſt buildings in it are the churches and two convents. But all could not ſecure the Spaniſh galleons when here from Admiral Blake, though they hauled in cloſe under the main fort, the

walls of which, then carried the marks of his ſhot. Wrecks of the galleons lay there in fifteen fathoms, with the greater part of the plate. He cannonaded the town alſo, and did it a great deal of damage.]

About three miles off, up a pretty ſteep hill, lies Laguna. The land on each ſide the road is rocky, yet relieved with ſome ſpots of green flouriſhing corn. Theſe were terminated with ſmall vineyards on the ſide of the mountains, intermixed with abundance of waſte rocky land, producing nothing but wild buſhes and poiſonous canes.

The town exhibits a very agreeable proſpect, as it ſtands upon the ſide of a hill, and ſtretches its ſkirts on the plain behind. It is pretty large, and well compacted. There are ſeveral gentleman's houſes handſomely built: as alſo two nunneries, an hoſpital, four convents, (of their Saints Auſtin, Dominic, Francis, and Diego) ſome chapels, and two pariſh churches, both with pretty high ſquare ſteeples, which top the reſt of the buildings. The ſtreets are ſpacious, and tolerably handſome, though not regular, and the whole is ſet off with a large parade in the heart of the town, ſurrounded with good buildings. Many of the houſes are rendered more agreeable by gardens, laid out in parterres of ſallading and flowers, bordering round with oranges, limes and other fruits.

As the town ſtands high from the ſea, and open to the eaſt, it has the benefit of the true trade-wind, which is commonly fair, ſo that they ſeldom miſs the refreſhment of a briſk cooling breeze all day long, which comes over the plain, that lies on the back of it. ——— This is bounded to the weſt with mountains, from whoſe foot iſſues out a ſpring of freſh cool water, which is conveyed over the plain in ſtone pipes raiſed upon pillars, to a conduit on the ſide of the town. And near the other ſide to the eaſt ſtands a natural lake, or pond of freſh water, half a mile in circuit; which not only ſupplies the cattle, but is covered in the winter time by ſeveral ſorts of wild fowls, affording plenty of game to the inhabitants of the town, called Lagune from this lake. Upon the whole, conſidering the ſituation, its large proſpect to the eaſt, (from hence you ſee the Grand Canaria) its gardens, pleaſant plains, green fields, the pond and aqueduct, and its refreſhing breezes: it is a very delightful habitation; eſpecially for ſuch as have not much buſineſs far from home: for it is very troubleſome travelling in a ſtony uneven road, amongſt ſteep and craggy mountains, upon mules or aſſes, which are uſed alſo for carriages. The road from the port of Santa Cruz, to the Cividad de Laguna, lies up a ſteep hill. The city is beautifully ſituated in the middle of a plain, ten miles in compaſs, incloſed with high mountains on all ſides, except the north-weſt, lying upon a flat ſeven leagues in length to the ſea. The vapours exhaling from thence, being circulated among the intricate mountains, raiſe a wind, which often refreſhes the city from this quarter; beginning at twelve o'clock at noon, and holding till night, though it blows at the ſame time full ſouth-eaſt at ſea. This north-weſt breeze uſually comes on at twelve o'clock at noon, and holds till night, which is cool enough on account of the great dews then falling. Their houſes are built with ordinary rough ſtone, two or three ſtories high at moſt, and generally but one, in the ſkirts of the city, and they have no chimneys, not even in their kitchens, in which, they make only a flat hearth againſt a wall, and thus roaſt their meat. The town is well laid out, and the ſtreets very ſtrait. It has no walls round it, but is well ſupplied with water.

The famous Peak of Teneriffe, may be ſeen ſixty miles at ſea: it can be climbed only in July and Auguſt, being full of ſnow all other months, although there is no ſnow in other places thereabouts. It is three days journey up; and from the top, which is flat, all the other iſlands may be ſeen: from it much brimſtone is carried into Spain, of which the author had a piece given him by a ſkipper. Beckman ſays, it ſtands towards the middle of the iſland, riſing like a pyramid, or rather ſugar-loaf; but that he could not ſee the top becauſe of the clouds. It has the appearance of a heap of rough rocks, piled thus (it is thought by naturaliſts) from ſome ſubterraneous conflagration which had formerly burſt out.

There are three relations of this famous mountain, written by eye-witneſſes, and Engliſhmen, who all ſeem to have made the journey up it: the firſt was written by Sir Edmund Scory, Knt. a learned gentleman, who wrote obſervations of the peak, and other curioſities of the Iſland of Teneriffe. He ſays, "This great mountain of Teyda, commonly called the Peak of Teneriffe, ſtrikes one with amazement, both near and at a diſtance. It extends its baſe to Garrachuz, from whence it is two days and a half journey to the top, which, though it ſeems from below, as ſharp as a ſugar loaf (which it moſt reſembles) is yet a flat, the breadth of an acre; and in the midſt of that there is a gulph, out of which are caſt great ſtones with a prodigious noiſe, flame, and ſmoak. Seven leagues of the way up, may be travelled on aſſes or mules; but the reſt muſt be climbed on foot; and that not without difficulty; every one carrying his own victuals and wine with him. The aſcent of the hill for ten miles upwards from the foot, is adorned with the fineſt trees in the world, of divers ſorts; the ground being well watered with riplings running from ſprings, which joining at length deſcend in large torrents (eſpecially when ſwelled by the violent winter rains) into the ſea. In the middle it is intolerably cold; through which one muſt contrive his journey out ſo as to travel on the ſouth ſide, and in the day-time only. This region ends within two leagues of the top, where the heat is no leſs extreme than at the bottom. By the ſame rule the beſt way is to keep on the north ſide, and travel only by night. The proper time of the year is about Midſummer, as avoiding the torrents cauſed by the ſnow. And if the top is reached by two o'clock in the morning, a paſſenger may ſtay there ſome hours, but not after ſunriſing, a little before which there iſſues a ſtream of heat from the Eaſt, not unlike the ſteam of a hot oven.

"It is remarkable, that from the top the ſun appears much leſs, a little after it has aſcended the horizon, than when viewed below, and ſeems to clear, ſerene, and defecate; it never rains near the top, nor was there ever any wind upon it. Though the iſland is full of ſharp ragged rocks, to the number of twenty thouſand, yet from hence the whole appears as a plain, laid out in portions by borders of ſnow, which, however, are nothing elſe but the white clouds, that are many furlongs beneath.

"All the upper part is barren and bald, without tree or ſhrub upon it; out of which, on the ſouth ſide, there iſſue ſtreams of brimſtone into the neck or region of ſnow, which lies interveined as it were with brimſtone in ſeveral places. The fire from the volcano in the top of the mountain, breaks out oftenеſt in the ſummer time; and when a ſtone is thrown down, it reſounds like a veſſel of hollow braſs, ſtruck with the greateſt force by a prodigious weight.

"The Guanches thought it was Hell, and that the ſouls of their anceſtors, ſuch as were wicked, went thither to be tormented, while the good and valiant retired into the pleaſant valley, where the great city de Laguna now ſtands, with other towns about it, and indeed there is no place in the world that has a more delicate temperature of air, nor any country which affords a more beautiful proſpect than is beheld from the centre of this plain; which is fertiliſed by abundance of water falling along the crannies of the rocks, in little ſtreams down the mountains, till ſeveral joining, form rivers, which run along the plains into the ſea.

"The original of the Guanches are not certainly known, they were, and are, merely barbarous, and without

without letters; their language, which remains to this day among them in the town of Candelaria, has great affinity to that of the Moors in Barbary. Betancourt, the firſt diſcoverer of theſe iſles, repreſented them as mere pagans, ignorant of God; on the contrary, Sir Edmund aſſures us, what they held, there was a ſupreme power which they called by divers names; as, Achurahan, Achuhuchanar, Achguayaxerax; ſignifying, The Greateſt, the Higheſt, and Maintainer of all. When they wanted rain, or had too much, or in any other calamity, they brought their ſheep and goats into a place appointed, and ſevering the young ones from their dams, raiſed a general bleating among them, which they imagined would appeaſe the wrath of the Supreme Power, and incline him to ſend them what they wanted. They had ſome notion of the immortality and puniſhment of ſouls hereafter; ſince they thought there was ſuch a place as hell; and particularly, that it was in the peak of Teyda, as before-mentioned. They called hell, Echeyde, and the Devil, Guayotta, but had no commerce with him, that the author could obſerve.

"In civil affairs they had ſomething of order; they acknowledged a king, and themſelves his vaſſals, which they confirmed at marriage. They rejected baſtards, owned a right of ſucceſſion in the race of kings; made laws, and yielded ſubjection to them. The king held his reſidence in natural caves, or hollow rocks. For many years the iſland was ſubject to one king, called Adexe, who growing old, his ſons formed a conſpiracy againſt him; and, there being nine of them, divided the iſland into ſo many kingdoms. All their wars were made only to ſteal cattle one from another, and eſpecially the ſpotted goats, which are in great and ſacred eſteem among them. There is very little difference either in body, colour, or ſmoothneſs, betwixt the Engliſh fallow-deer, and their goats. With regard to marriage, the men uſed to aſk the conſent of the intended bride's parents, which being obtained, there was little more ceremony obſerved before conſummation, as far the author could learn; and what was ſo eaſily done, was as eaſily undone; for whenever they had a mind, they might ſeparate, and marry with others at their pleaſure; but with this reſtriction, that all children begotten after the divorce, were illegitimate, and eſteemed as baſtards; the kings alone, for ſucceſſion's ſake, being exempt from this cuſtom; for whom alſo upon that account it was lawful to marry with his own ſiſter. At the birth of a child, water was poured upon its head by a woman appointed for that purpoſe, who was, from that time taken into affinity with the family; nor was it lawful for any of that race to marry or cohabit with her. The young men uſed the exerciſes of leaping, running, throwing the dart, throwing a ſtone, and dancing, in which, to this day, they much pride and delight themſelves; and ſo great was their native virtue, and honeſt ſimplicity, that this was an invariable law among them, if any of their ſoldiers, either openly or in private, offered any rudeneſs to a woman, he was aſſuredly put to death. They were handſome in ſtature, well formed, and of a good complexion.

"On the ſouth ſide the people were of an olive colour; but on the north ſide fair, eſpecially the women, having bright ſmooth hair. Their common dreſs was a ſhort coat, made of lamb ſkins, without plait, collar or ſleeves, being faſtened together with ſtraps of the ſame leather. This was uſed equally by men and women, and was named their Tomarce; but the women, for modeſty's ſake, wore another covering under it like a long caſſock, made of ſkins, which reached down to the ground, holding it indecent for a woman to have her breaſts or feet uncovered. In this garment they lived; and in this they died, and were commonly burnt in it. For proviſion they ſowed barley and beans; wheat being utterly unknown to them. They roaſted their barley by the fire, and, grinding it in hand-mills, wet the flour with water, milk or butter: this they called Giffio, which they uſed for bread, and was their chief ſuſtenance. However, ſometimes they eat the fleſh of ſheep, goats, and hogs, but not commonly; for this was regulated on certain days, which they keep like the feſtival wake days in England. At theſe meetings, the king, with his own hands, diſtributed to every twenty of them, three goats, and a proportion of giffio, after which, every company came before the king, and ſhewed their agility in leaping, running, wreſtling, darting, dancing, and other ſports. During theſe times, the men had liberty to paſs to and from the enemy's country, and the enemies ſometimes would feaſt one with the other. When the ſeaſon for ſowing their ſeed came, the king laid out the land in lots to every man, which they ploughed up with goats horns, and uttering certain words, threw their ſeed into the ground. All other works were done by the women.

They had a kind of fruit called Mozan, about the bigneſs of a pea. At firſt it is very green, grows red as it ripens, and being full ripe, turns black much like a blackberry in England, only the taſte is exceeding pleaſant. They ſuck only the juice of them, which they call Joya; and they make a kind of honey of them called Chacerquem. They gather theſe mozans very ripe, and lay them in the ſun for a week, then breaking them to pieces, they are boiled in water to a ſyrup. This is their phyſic for a flux, and pains in the back: in both caſes, they uſe bleeding alſo in the arm, temples, and forehead, with a flint ſtone.

The ſecond journey up the peak was performed by ſome Engliſh merchants.——They ſet out from Orotava, a port town on the north ſide of Teneriffe, two miles from the ſea. They travelled from 12 at night till eight the next morning, and then got to the top of the firſt mountain, towards the Pico de Terroira. Here, under a very great and conſpicuous pine-tree they broke their faſt, dined and refreſhed till two in the afternoon, and then proceeded through much ſandy way, over many lofty mountains, but naked and bare, and not covered with any pine trees, as their firſt night's paſſage was. This expoſed them to exceſſive heat, till they arrived at the foot of the peak, where they found many large ſtones, which ſeemed to have fallen down from ſome part above. About ſix this evening they began to aſcend the peak; but after they had advanced a mile, finding the way no longer paſſable for horſes, they diſmounted, and left them with their ſervants. In this mile's aſcent, ſome of the company grew very faint and ſick, diſordered by fluxes, vomitings, and aguiſh diſtempers; and the hair of the horſes ſtood upright, like briſtles. Calling for ſome wine which was carried in ſmall barrels, they found it ſo very cold, that they could not drink it till it was warmed, although as yet the temper of the air was very calm and moderate; but when the ſun was ſet, it began to blow with ſuch violence, and grow ſo cold, that having taken up their lodgings under ſome large ſtones in the rocks, they were forced to keep great fires before the mouths of them all night. About four in the morning, they began to mount again, and being got about a mile up, one of the company was not able to proceed any farther. Here began the black rocks. The reſt purſued their journey, till they came to the Sugar-loaf, where they again met with white ſands. To encounter this difficult and dangerous paſſage, they were provided with ſhoes, whoſe ſoles were made a finger broader than the upper-leather. At laſt they gained the ſummit, where they found no ſuch ſmoak as appeared a little below, but a continual breathing of a hot and ſulphureous vapour, which made their faces extremely ſore. In this paſſage they found no conſiderable alteration of air, and very little wind; but being at the top, it was ſo impetuous, that they drank the king's health, and fired each his piece. Here alſo they eat. But their ſtrong water had quite loſt its force, and was become almoſt inſipid, whilſt their wine was more ſpirituous and briſk than before. The top on which they ſtood, being not above a yard broad, is the brink of a

pit called the Caldera, which they judged to be about a muſquet-ſhot over, and near 80 yards deep. It is ſhaped like a cone, hollow within like a kettle, and all over covered with ſmall ſtones, mixed with ſulphur and ſand. From amongſt theſe there iſſue divers ſpiracles of ſmoak and heat, which, when ſtirred with any thing, puff and make a noiſe, and are ſo offenſive, that the merchants were almoſt ſtifled with the ſudden iſruption of vapours upon the removing of one of theſe ſtones, which are likewiſe ſo hot, as not eaſily to be handled. They did not deſcend above four or five yards into the Caldera, on account of the ground ſlipping from under their feet, and the difficulty of getting down; but ſome have ventured to the bottom. They obſerved here nothing remarkable, except a clear ſort of ſulphur, which looks like ſalt upon the ſtones.

From this famous Peak, they could diſcern the Grand Canaria, 14 leagues diſtant; Palma 18, and Gomera, ſeven leagues; which interval of ſea ſeemed to them not much larger than the river Thames at London. Their view extended alſo as far as Ferro, above 20 leagues, and a great way beyond, over the ſurface of the ocean. As ſoon as the ſun appeared, the ſhadow of the Peak ſeemed to cover, not only the iſland of Teneriffe and Gomera, but even the ſea to the very horizon, where the top of the Sugar-loaf or Peak, diſtinctly appeared to turn up, and caſt its ſhade into the air itſelf, at which they were much ſurpriſed; but the ſun was not far riſen, when the clouds began to riſe ſo faſt, as to intercept their proſpect both of the ſea and Teneriffe, excepting only the tops of the adjacent mountains, which ſeemed to pierce them through. Whether theſe clouds ſurmounted the Peak, they could not ſay; but ſuch as were far beneath, ſeemed to hang above, or rather to wrap themſelves about it, as they conſtantly do when the north-weſt wind blows: this they call the Cap, and is a certain ſign of enſuing ſtorms. One of this company, who made this journey two years after, arrived at the top of the Peak before day, and creeping under a great ſtone to ſhelter from the cold air, after a little ſpace, found himſelf wet, and perceived it to come from a particular trickling of water from the rocks above him. They ſaw many exuberant ſprings, iſſuing from the tops of moſt of the mountains; and guſhing out in great ſpouts, almoſt as far as the large pine-tree before-mentioned. Having ſtaid ſome time upon the top, they all deſcended by the ſandy way, till they came to the foot of the Sugar-loaf, which, being ſteep, almoſt to a perpendicular, they ſoon paſſed. Here they met with a cave about ten yards deep, and 15 broad, in ſhape like an oven, having an hole at its top near eight yards in diameter: into this they were let down by ropes, faſtened round their waiſts, and held by their ſervants at top, ſwinging themſelves in the deſcent, till being over a bank of ſnow, they ſlid down upon it; they were forced to ſwing thus, becauſe in the middle of the bottom of the cave there is a round pit of water, reſembling a well, the ſurface of which is about a yard lower than the ſnow, but as wide as the opening at top, under which it lies, and is about ſix fathoms deep. They ſuppoſed this water to proceed not from a ſpring, but diſſolved ſnow blown in, or moiſture trickling through the rocks. About the ſides of the grot, for ſome height, there was ice or iceicles hanging down to the ſnow; but being quickly weary of this exceſſive cold place, and drawn up again, they continued their deſcent from the mountains, by the ſame paſſages they went up the day before, and about five in the evening, arrived at Oratava, their faces being ſo red and ſore, that to cool them, they were forced to waſh and bathe them in the whites of eggs, &c. [The perpendicular height of the Peak is commonly eſteemed to be about two miles and a half.] They found no trees, herbs or ſhrubs in all the way, but pines, and amongſt the whiter ſands a ſort of broom, being a buſhy plant; likewiſe at the ſide, where they lay all night, there was a kind of cordon which had ſtems eight feet high, and the trunk near half a foot thick, every ſtem growing as four-ſquares, and ſhooting from the ground like tufts of ruſhes; upon the edges of theſe ſtems grow very ſmall berries, which, being ſqueezed, produced a poiſonous milk: this lighting upon any part of the horſe, or other beaſt, fetches off the hair from the ſkin immediately. Of the dead part of this they made their fires all night. This plant is alſo univerſally ſpread over the iſland.——

On Tueſday, Auguſt the 13th, 1715, at half an hour paſt ten at night, Mr. James Eden, in company of four Engliſhmen and a Dutchman, with horſes and ſervants alſo made this journey.—They ſet forward from the port of Oratava, having a guide who had conducted all who made this journey for years. They came to the town of Oratava, at half paſt eleven, which is about two miles from the port. Here they got walking-ſtaffs to help him in aſcending the ſteep of the peak. At one, on Wedneſday morning, they came to the foot of a very ſteep riſing, about a mile and a half above the town of Oratava, where it began to clear up, and being full moon, they ſaw the Peak, with a white cloud, covering the top like a cap. At two, they came to a plain place in the road, which the Spaniards called Dornajito en al Monteverde, the little Trough in the Green Mountain, ſo called, he ſuppoſes, becauſe a little below this plain, on the right as they went there, is a deep hollow, at the upper end of which is a wooden ſpout ſet in a rock, and a deſcent a little lower, with a trough to receive the water, which comes from the mountains through the ſpout, and is very clear and cool.

After travelling a road ſometimes rough, and ſometimes ſmooth, they came at three o'clock to a little wooden croſs, on the left hand, which the Spaniards call La Cruz de la Solera, The Croſs of the Solera, being made with a piece of Solera, which is a long pole, having a hole at each end, which the Spaniards uſed to draw wood with, faſtening one end to the timber, and the other to the oxen. But why they were ſet up here, the author could not tell, unleſs ſomebody was killed thereabouts. At this place they ſaw the Peak before them; and though they had come up hill quite from the port, yet, in their opinion, it ſeemed almoſt as high here as there, the white cloud hiding the greateſt part of the Sugar-loaf. About half a mile farther, they came to the ſide of a hill, which was very high, rough and ſteep, the place being named Caravalla, ſo called, he ſuppoſes, from a great pine tree on the right hand, (there being many on both ſides of the road) which the guide deſired them to obſerve, having a great branch growing out, which, with the boughs upon it, looked like the forepart of a ſhip. Amongſt theſe trees, not a great height in the air, they ſaw the ſulphur diſcharge itſelf like a ſquib, or ſerpent, made of gunpowder, the fire running downwards in a ſtream, and the ſmoak aſcending from the place where it firſt took fire. They ſaw the like next night, as they lay under the rocks at La Stancha: but he could not obſerve whether either of them gave any report. Three quarters after four, they came to the top of this mountain, where grows a large tree, which the Spaniards call El Pino, de la Merinda; that is, The Pine-tree of the afternoon's meal. The fires made by travellers baiting here, had burned it at the bottom, from whence the turpentine had iſſued out. At a few yards diſtance, they had a fire made, where they refreſhed themſelves, and their horſes. A great many rabbits breed there among theſe hills, which are ſandy. There is alſo much ſand a great way up the Peak itſelf, and not far below the Sugar-loaf.

At three quarters after five they ſet forward again, and at half paſt ſix came to the Portillo, in Spaniſh, a Breach or Gap, from whence they ſaw the peak ſtill covered with a cloud at its top, about two leagues and a half before them, and the Spaniards ſaid, they were about the ſame diſtance from the port. At half an hour paſt ſeven, they came to Las Faldas; that is,

The Skirts of the Peak: from whence to La Stancha, which is a quarter of a mile up from the foot of the peak. They rode upon little light ſtones, not much bigger than one's fiſt, and a great many not broader than a ſhilling, which, out of the beaten track, went almoſt over the horſes hoofs. They cover the ground a great depth: for the author alighted, and made a hole, but could not find the bottom of them.

There are a great many large rocks, ſome of them two miles or thereabouts from the foot of the Peak; which, the Peak-man told them were caſt out from the top of the Peak, at the time it was a volcano. Many of them lie in heaps about ſixty yards long; and they obſerved, that the farther theſe rocks were from the foot of the Peak, the more like they were to the ſtone of common rocks: but the nearer the Peak, the more black and ſolid; and ſome of them, though not many, gloſſy like flint, and all extremely heavy. Thoſe, which ſhone, the author ſuppoſes retained their natural colour: but ſome looked like droſs out of a ſmith's forge; which, he makes no doubt, was occaſioned by the extreme heat of the place they came from. Some of theſe great rocks were thrown out of the Caldera, or kettle, on the top of the Peak, and others from a cave or ciſtern, which is a good way up the ſide of the Peak, and has by ſome been thought to have no bottom.

They arrived at La Stancha, at nine o'clock, about a quarter of a mile above the foot of the Peak on the eaſt ſide, where are three or four large, hard and ſolid black rocks: under ſome of theſe they put their horſes, and lay down themſelves to ſleep under others, having firſt refreſhed with a little wine. Meanwhile their cook dreſſed them a dinner, both roaſt and boiled, which, (after repoſing) they ate about two in the afternoon.

Eaſtward from the Peak, at four or five miles diſtance, there are ſeveral mountains, called the Malpeſſes, and one lying a little more to the ſouthward, called la Montano de Rejada; all which were formerly volcano's (though inferior to that of the Peak) as appears by the rocks and ſmall burnt ſtones that lie near them, juſt in the ſame manner as about the Peak.

After they had dined, they lay down as before to take a nap under the rocks: but not ſleeping very well, they got up again, and while the reſt ſpent the afternoon at cards, the author made it his buſineſs to admire the ſtrangeneſs and vaſtneſs of that great body, "It is (ſays he) very wonderful: Inſomuch, that it is impoſſible to expreſs to one, who never ſaw it, in what manner that confuſed heap of rubbiſh lies:" about ſix at night, they ſaw the Grand Canaria from La Stancha, bearing from them eaſt-by-north. About nine, after ſupper, they retired to their former lodgings; where, laying ſtones for their pillows, and their cloaks for bed-cloaths, they endeavoured to ſleep for a great while, in vain. Some lying pretty nigh a fire, complained of being burnt on one ſide, and frozen on the other: others were ſadly tormented with fleas; though it were ſomewhat ſtrange that they ſhould be found in a place where the air is ſo very ſharp and cutting in the night time. The author thinks they were brought thither by the goats, which ſometimes get under theſe rocks; and the rather, becauſe they found a dead goat in a cave at the top of the Peak. He ſuppoſes this goat ſtraggling up by chance, was benighted, and feeling the cold, got in there for warmth; where, meeting with too much of it, and a very ſtrong ſulphureous vapour, he was ſuffocated: for they found him almoſt dried to powder. Between eleven and twelve they got to ſleep, and awaking at one, their guide told them, it was time to prepare for their journey; upon this they aroſe, and in half an hour were all upon the march, leaving their horſes and ſome of the men behind.

Between La Stancha and the top of the Peak, there were two very high mountains, beſides the Sugar-loaf, each of which, is almoſt half a mile's walk. On the firſt the rubbiſh is ſmaller, and they were apt to ſlip back in ſtepping forwards: but the uppermoſt was nothing but a monſtrous heap of hard, rocky, great ſtones, which lie looſe, and are thrown together in a very confuſed manner. After reſting ſeveral times, they came to the top of the firſt mountain, where they refreſhed with a little wine and ginger-bread. Then they began to aſcend the ſecond, which is higher than the firſt, but better walking, becauſe of the firmneſs of the rocks. Having laboured up this for about half an hour, they had ſight of the Sugar-loaf, which they could not ſee before, on account of the interpoſition of theſe great hills. At the top of this ſecond mountain they found a way almoſt level, but bearing ſome ſmall matter up-hill: and about a furlong further, came to the foot of the Sugar-loaf, where, looking upon their watches, they found it to be juſt three o'clock. The night was clear, and in that place the moon ſhone very bright, but over the ſea they could ſee the clouds, which looked like a valley of a prodigious depth below them. They had a briſk air at ſouth-eaſt-by-ſouth, in which point it ſtood for the moſt part, during their journey. While they ſat at the foot of the Sugar-loaf, reſting and refreſhing, they ſaw the ſmoke break out in ſeveral places, looking like little clouds, which quickly vaniſhed, and were as ſoon ſucceeded by others. At half and hour paſt three, they ſet forward to aſcend this laſt and ſteepeſt part of their journey; and after refreſhing twice or thrice. Mr. Edens, with others, by running, completed it in a quarter of an hour: but the reſt, with the guide, did not reach the top till four.

"The top (ſays he) is partly oval, the longeſt diameter, lying north-north-weſt, and ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, and is, as nigh as he could gueſs, about 140 yards long; in breadth, about 110; within the circuit, is a very deep pit, called the Caldera, or Kettle, the deepeſt part of which lies at the ſouth end: it was, he thought, forty yards deep from the higheſt ſide of the Peak, but a great deal ſhallower from the ſide towards Garrachico. It is very ſteep all round: and in ſome places not leſs ſo, than the deſcent on the outſide of the Sugar-loaf. They went all to the bottom, where lay a great many very large ſtones, ſome of them higher than their heads. The earth within the kettle being rolled up long, and put to a candle, burned like brimſtone. Several places within-ſide the top were burning, as on the out-ſide has been already obſerved; and in ſome parts, turning up the ſtones, they found very fine ſulphur ſticking to them. At theſe holes, where the ſmoke iſſued out, it was ſo hot, that they could not endure a hand there long. At the north-eaſt-by-eaſt, within the verge of the top, was the cave where they found the dead goat: in which cave ſometimes the true ſpirit of ſulphur diſtils, as they were told; but none dropped while Mr. Edens was there. Before the ſun roſe, he thought the air as cold as he had ever known it in England in the ſharpeſt froſt: he could ſcarcely endure his gloves off. A great dew fell all the while till ſun-riſing, which they found by the wetneſs of their cloaths: yet the ſky looked thereabouts as clear as poſſible a little after ſun-riſing.

They ſaw the ſhadow of the Peak upon the ſea, reaching over the iſland of Gomera: and the ſhadow of the upper part, or Sugar-loaf, they ſaw imprinted like another Peak, in the ſky itſelf, which looked very amazing: but the air being cloudy below them, they ſaw none of the other iſlands, but Grand Canaria.

At ſix o'clock, on Thurſday morning, they came down from the top of the Sugar-loaf, and at ſeven they came to the ciſtern of water, which is reported to be without bottom. This the guide ſaid was falſe: for that about ſeven or eight years before, when there was a great volcano in this country, the cave was dry, and he walked all about it: and the deepeſt part of the water when the author was there,

here, was not above two fathoms. Mr. Edens gueſſed this cave to be in length, about thirty-five yards; in breadth twelve; and its ordinary depth fourteen, which the Peak-man told them was ſalt-petre. There was both ice and ſnow in it at that time; and the ice was of a great thickneſs, covered with water, about knee deep. They let down a bottle at the end of a ſtring for ſome of the water, which they drank with a little ſugar: but it was the coldeſt the author ever taſted. The ice being broken under the mouth of the cave, they could ſee the ſtones lie at the bottom, as it was very clear. A little to the right-hand, the ice had riſen up in a high heap, ſpiring like a ſugar-loaf, and there he judged the water came in. In their way back, three or four miles from the Peak, they paſſed by a cave, where there were a great number of ſkeletons and bones of men: and ſome ſay of giants: but they knew not how many bodies lay there, nor how far the cave extended. On the 15th of Auguſt, about ſix o'clock in the evening, they came home to the port from whence they ſet out, having thus ſatisfied their curioſity.——

The iſland is full of ſprings of freſh-water taſting like milk, which, in Laguna, where the water is not clear, they depurated by filtering-ſtones. The author confirms the account which Mr. Nicols gives of the manner of the interment uſed by the natives of theſe iſlands. He tells us, "That he went from Guine, to a town for the moſt part inhabited by ſuch as derive themſelves from the antient Guanches, in company of ſome of them to view their caves, a favour they ſeldom or ever permit to any, having the bodies of their anceſtors in great veneration, and being likewiſe extremely averſe to the diſturbing of the dead. But having endeared himſelf to them, by ſeveral cures which he had performed out of charity, for they are very poor, (and yet the pooreſt think themſelves too good to marry with the Spaniards) he obtained the privilege to viſit thoſe caves and bodies: otherwiſe, an attempt might have coſt him his life. The corpſes are ſewed up in goat's-ſkins with thongs of the ſame, in a very curious manner; particularly as to the ſeams, which are remarkably even and exact. The ſkins are made very tight to fit the corpſe, which for the moſt part, are entire: in thoſe of both ſexes are ſtill found the eyes, (but cloſed) hair on their heads, ears, noſes, teeth, lips and beards; likewiſe the pudenda all perfect, only diſcoloured, and a little ſhrivelled. The doctor ſaw about three or four hundred in ſeveral caves, ſome of them ſtanding, others lying on beds of wood, ſo hardened by an art they had, that no iron could pierce or hurt it.

Being one day a huntiug, a ferret, (which is much in uſe there) having a bell about his neck, ran after a coney into a hole, where they loſt the ſound of the bell. The owner being afraid he ſhould loſe his ferret, ſeeking about the rocks and ſhrubs, found the mouth of a cave; and entering in, was ſo affrighted, that he cried out. It was at the ſight of one of theſe bodies, very tall and large, lying with the head on a great ſtone, the feet ſupported with a little wall of ſtone, the body itſelf reſting on a bed of wood (as before mentioned). The fellow being now a little out of his fright, entered in, and cut off a great piece of the ſkin that lay on the breaſt of his body; which, the doctor ſays, was more flexible and pliant than ever he felt any kid-leather glove: yet ſo far from being rotten, that the man uſed it for his flail many years after. Theſe bodies are very light as if made of ſtraw: and in ſome that were broken, the nerves and tendons were obſerved, as alſo the veins and arteries, like ſtrings, very diſtinctly.

By the relation of the moſt antient among them, there was a particular tribe that had this art only among themſelves; which they kept as a thing ſacred, and not to be communicated to the vulgar. Theſe, who were alſo their prieſts, mixed not with the reſt, nor married out of their own tribe. But when the Spaniards conquered the place, moſt of them were deſtroyed, and the art periſhed with them; only they had preſerved by tradition a few of the ingredients uſed in this buſineſs, viz. they took butter mixed (ſome ſay) with bear's greaſe, kept for the purpoſe in ſkins. In this they boiled certain herbs, as a kind of wild lavender growing plentifully on the rocks; likewiſe an herb called Lara, of a very gummy and glutinous conſiſtence, found under the tops of mountains: thirdly, a kind of cyclamen, or ſow-bread: fourthly, wild-ſage, of which there is plenty here: and ſome others unknown, rendering it thus a perfect balſam. This being prepared, they firſt unboweled the corpſe, and waſhed it with a lixivium, made of the bark of pine trees; drying it in the ſun in ſummer, and in a ſtove in winter. This was repeated very often. Then, they began their unction both without and within, drying it as before. This they continued till the balſam penetrated into the whole habit, the muſcles in all parts appeared through the contracted ſkin, and the body became exceeding light. After this, they ſewed them in the goat-ſkins, as above mentioned. It is obſervable, that in the poorer ſort, to ſave charges, they took out the brain behind; they ſewed them up alſo in ſkins, with the hair on: whereas the richer ſort were put up in ſkins ſo finely and exactly dreſſed, that they remain extremely pliant and ſupple to this day.

Their ancient people ſay, that they have above twenty caves of their kings and great perſonages, with their whole families; yet unknown to any but themſelves, and which they never diſcover: laſtly, this author obſerves, that bodies are found in the caves of the Grand Canaria in ſacks, quite conſumed, and not intire as theſe in Teneriffe.—— They have earthen pots ſo hard, that they cannot be broken; of theſe, ſome are found in the caves, and are generally uſed by the poorer people that find them to boil their meat in. In order to give all the light we can into the embalming uſed by the Guanchies, we ſhall ſubjoin what Sir Edmund Scory ſays of the matter.

"The ancient Guanchies had an appointed officer, or embalmer, anſwerable to each ſex, whoſe buſineſs was to make a certain preſervation compounded of the powder of furzes, and a kind of rough ſtones, the rinds of pine-trees, and ſeveral herbs incorporated together, with goat's butter melted; and, after waſhing the dead corpſe, they ſtuffed it with this balſam for fifteen days ſucceſſively, laying it in the ſun to dry: the friends of the deceaſed keeping theſe as days of mourning for them. This done, they wrapped the body in goat-ſkins, ſewed together with great nicety, and carried it, thus made up, to a deep cave, to which none could have acceſs."

It is obſerved that Teneriffe abounds with wheat, and barley, and excels the reſt in plenty of all ſuch kind of proviſions, fruits and flowers, as grow upon any of the iſlands. Captain Roberts ſaw here a great coral tree, "perhaps the largeſt (ſays he) yet known in the world." Another voyager, beſides the dragon-tree and Aloes plant, mentions the pine, a native of Teneriffe. This tree yields a certain gum or pitch, which they extract in this manner: they lay the cleft wood croſs-ways over a pit, and then ſet fire to them at top, which forces the pitch to run out below.

The iſland produces three ſorts of excellent wines, Canary, Malmſey and Verdona, which may all go under the denomination of Sack. The vines which yield the Canary, are ſaid to have been tranſplanted hither from the Rhine by the Spaniards, where meeting with a better ſoil, inſtead of ſharp Rheniſh, they produce that delicious wine, vended all over Europe.

We are told by Captain Roberts that there is a gold mine lying within the Point de Negos. On which occaſion he obſerves, that a poor man, more haſty to get rich than his neighbours, was taken up on one of theſe golden mountains, with ſuch tools and inſtruments

ſtruments about him, as plainly ſhewed what he had been ſearching for, and that ſome gold alſo being found upon him, he was hanged but a few days before the author's arrival.

The vines, which produce the excellent wines peculiar to this iſland, all grow about the city, within a mile of the ſea, ſuch as are planted farther up in the land not being eſteemed, nor will they thrive in any of the other iſlands.

In ſome places of this iſland grows a ſhrub called Legnan, which is brought to England for ſweet wood. Here are likewiſe apricots, peach and pear-trees, that bear twice a year; and the Pregnada lemon, which hath a ſmall one within it, from whence it takes its name, is found here. They have ſome cotton and coloquintida. —— The roſes blow at Chriſtmas; here are good carnations; but no tulips will thrive. Samphire covers all the rocks, and the ground abounds in clover. Another graſs grows near the ſea of a broader leaf, ſo luſcious and rank, that it will kill a horſe, yet is not ſo pernicious to other beaſts. Eighty ears of wheat have been found to ſpring from one root; the grain of this kind is tranſparent like the pureſt yellow amber; and in a good year, one buſhel of ſeed had yielded a hundred.

The Canary birds, which are brought to England, breed in the channels, made by the water pouring down from the mountains, and are very cold. Here are alſo quails and partridges larger than thoſe in England, and very beautiful. Great wood-pigeons, turtles in the ſpring, and crows;—and ſometimes the falcons fly from the coaſt of Barbary. Bees proſper in the mountains exceedingly.

Of fiſh, there is the cherna, very large, and of a finer reliſh than any in England. The mero, dolphius, ſharks, and lobſters, which have no great claws, which are reckoned the very beſt ſhell fiſh in the world; they grow in the rocks five or ſix under one great ſhell, through the top holes of which, they peep out with their heads; by which, the ſhells being a little more broken open, they are drawn out. There is alſo another ſort of fiſh like an eel, which has ſix or ſeven tails, of a ſpan long, pointed to one body, and a head about the ſame length. Beſides theſe, they have turtles, and cabrido's, which are better than turtles.

Santa Cruz is a haven lying on the north-eaſt ſide; beſides which, there are three fine cities. St. Chriſtoval de la Laguna, Oratava, and Garrachico, already noticed.

The iſland is parted in the midſt with a ridge of mountains, and looks, in this reſpect, not much unlike the roof of a church, having the Peak for a ſteeple. The land is divided into twelve parts, ten of them are taken up in impaſſable rocky hills, woods, or vineyards, the remainder only arable land. In 1582, 5200 hannacks of wheat were gathered, beſides infinite ſtore of rice and barley. Four hannacks and a half make one quarter Engliſh. It is a rich ſoil, and with proper tillage would bare every thing that is valuable and rare. The vineyards are chiefly in Bona Viſta, Dante, Oratava, Tigueſte, and eſpecially the Ramble, which laſt produces the beſt wine of all. There are two ſorts, viz. Vidonia, and Malmſey. Vidonia comes from a long grape, and is a heavier wine; the Malmſey from a large round grape; it never ſours with heat, nor freezes into ice with cold. For fruits there are no where to be found better melons. Pomegranates, pomecitrons, figs, oranges, lemons, almonds and dates, honey, and conſequently wax, and ſilk of an excellent quality.

The north ſide abounds with wood as well as water. There grow the cedar, cypreſs, and bay-tree, the wild olive, maſtic, and ſavine, with beautiful palm and pine-trees, very tall and ſtrait. There are abundance of them all over the iſland; and all the wine-caſks and wooden utenſils are made of this wood. Beſides the ſtraight pine, there is another ſort which grows ſpreading like Engliſh oaks; this they call The immortal Tree, becauſe it never rots either under ground, or in the water. It is almoſt as red as Braſil wood, and as hard, but not ſo unctuous as the other pine. Here is alſo the dragon-tree; the trunk is very thick, and riſes vaſtly high, the bark being like the ſcale of a ſerpent, whence he ſuppoſes it had its name. The branches all iſſuing from the top are all wove in pairs like the mandragora; they are formed as round and ſmooth as a man's arm, the leaves about two feet long, growing as it were out of the fingers. It is not of a woody ſubſtance within the bark, but conſiſts only of a light ſpongy pith, with which they commonly make bee-hives. Towards the full of the moon, it ſweats out a clear vermilion gum, which they call Botter, and far more aſtringent than what comes from Goa, and the Eaſt Indies, which the Jews adulterate.

Teneriffe is the beſt peopled, for its bigneſs, of any iſland in the ocean, containing about 15000 inhabitants. According to ſome, it was reported the iſland could raiſe 12,000 men with proper arms and accoutrement.—As to the Spaniſh inhabitants, the people of quality are very affable and courteous, but the vulgar ſort, like thoſe in Spain, very proud and lazy.——

Gomera ſtands to the weſtward of Teneriffe, at ſix leagues diſtant. It is but a ſmall iſland, being no more than eight leagues in length, yet an earldom; but in caſe of controverſy, the vaſſals of the earl of Gomera, have an appeal to the king's judges, who reſide as above-mentioned in Canaria.

Here is one good town, called Gomera, which has an excellent port or harbour for ſhips, where the Indian fleet often take in refreſhments for their voyage. There is alſo grain with fruit ſufficient for ſupport of its inhabitants; and one ſugar-work; with great plenty of wine, with ſeveral ſorts of fruit, ſuch as Canaria and Teneriffe produce. This iſland yields no other commodity, but Orchel. It ſtands in 27 degrees north latitude.

Palma is 12 leagues diſtant from Gomera, north-weſt. It lies round, being in circuit near twenty-five leagues. It abounds in wine and ſugar. It has a handſome city, called Palma, where there is a great trade in wines for the Weſt-Indies, and other parts. The city has one church, and a governor, and an alderman to adminiſter juſtice. This iſland had alſo another pretty town, called St. Andrew's. Here are four works, where they make excellent ſugar, two of them are called Zauzes, and the other two Taſſacort; but the land yields but little corn, with which the inhabitants are ſupplied from Teneriffe, and other places. Their beſt wines grow in a ſoil called the Brenia, where there is made yearly 12,000 buts of wine, like Malmſey. It has great plenty of every ſort of fruit, as Canaria and Teneriffe have, and plenty of cattle.

About the year 1652, there broke out a volcano on this iſland, with ſo violent an earthquake, that it was felt at Teneriffe, where the noiſe of the flaming brimſtone was heard like thunder by the gentlemen who gave the account, as well as others; and the fire was ſeen for ſix weeks together, as plain by night as a candle in the room. A great quantity of aſhes and ſand were alſo carried ſo far as to that iſland.

Ferro, or the Iſle of iron, ſtands two leagues diſtant from Palma, north-weſt. It is but ſmall, about ſix leagues in circuit, and belongs to the earl of Gomera. It is ſituate in the latitude of 27 degrees.—— The chief commodities of this place are goats fleſh, and orchel. There was never a vineyard upon the iſland but one, which was planted by an Engliſhman of Taunton in the weſt, whoſe name was John Hill. It has no freſh water but what comes by rain, which is gathered in the following manner: In the middle of the iſland grows a great tree, with leaves like an olive. This tree is conſtantly covered with clouds, and they ſay the leaves drop very ſweet and wholeſome water into a great ciſtern, which is built under the tree. The water thus caught not only ſerves all the wants of the people, but there is enough alſo for

the cattle. Some obſerve that this tree is about two fathoms thick in the trunk, 40 feet in height, and extends its branches round to the diameter of 120. Dapper writes that the miſts or clouds which cover the tree at all times, except the hotteſt part of the day, caſt ſo great a dew upon it, that the leaves continually drop clear water, to the quantity of 20 tons in the day, which falls into two ſtone ciſterns, each twenty feet ſquare, and 16 hands deep, made for that purpoſe, on the north ſide of the tree. He adds, that the inhabitants call this tree Garoc, and the Spaniards, Santa, or Holy; that it is of a competent ſize, and has leaves always green, like the laurel, but not much bigger than thoſe of a nut-tree, and a fruit like an acorn in the ſhell, with a very ſweet and ſpicy kernel. For better preſervation, it is incloſed with a ſtone-wall.—This account is indeed extraordinary.

When the Spaniards, at the conqueſt of this iſland, found no ſprings, wells, nor rivers of freſh water, the natives told them, that they preſerved the rain-water in veſſels; for they had concealed the tree, covering it with canes, earth, and other things, in hopes the Spaniards, by this means, would be forced to leave the iſland. But this did not long remain a ſecret, for a woman diſcovered it to her Spaniſh gallant.

There is generally ſuppoſed to be but one tree concerned in collecting the water; but Sir Richard Hawkins introduces a great number to ſerve that purpoſe. He tells us, that the tree ſtands in a valley, ſurrounded by a thick wood of lofty pines, which, being ſhaded from the ſun a great part of the day, by the high mountains to the ſouth-eaſt, the vapours and exhalations riſing out of the valley gather into a cloud or thick miſt, which falls in dew upon the pines, and from them to this tree in the bottom, and ſo into a ciſtern or baſon built round the foot of it. This affords great relief to the people as well as the cattle. But, however the main ſupply in this article depends upon the rain, which they catch with great diligence, and reſerve it in ciſterns for that purpoſe.

Le Maire treats this account, which others have delivered ſo ſeriouſly, as a fiction. As he had formerly heard of this tree, when he was there he inquired into the truth of it, mentioning the particulars as above related; and the inhabitants he tells us, confirmed him in the opinion he had before entertained of it, that it was a mere fable. It may be objected, perhaps, to the account of Le Maire, that the inhabitants, he had made his inquiry of, were thoſe of Teneriffe, and not of Ferro itſelf, and that what follows ſeems to prove the fact in the main, viz. That ſome of the inhabitants informed him, that there was ſuch a ſort of trees in the iſland, but that they never furniſhed ſuch a prodigious quantity of water as was pretended.

A traveller, called Lewis Jackſon, ſaid he ſaw this tree in 1618, when he was upon the iſland; that it is as big as an oak, and has a bark as hard as timber, fit for beams; that it is ſix or ſeven yards high, with ragged boughs, and a leaf like a bay-tree, but white on the under ſide. It bears neither flowers nor fruit, is ſituate on the ſide of a hill, looks withered in the day, and drops in the night, (a cloud then hanging upon it) yielding water enough for the whole iſland. The water is conveyed in leaden pipes from the tree to a large reſervoir, which is intirely walled round with bricks, and floored with ſtones, from whence it is conducted (being carried up hill in barrels) to ſeveral leſſer ciſterns all through the iſland. The great baſon is filled every night.

The matter is thus left doubtful in regard to this circumſtance. Linſchoten indeed, ſays, "There is water to be had in ſome places towards the ſea-coaſt, but that it is ſo hard to come at, that it is of little uſe to the inhabitants; and that the ſoil is ſo dry, that there is not a drop of water to be met with all over the iſland beſides, exeept at the ſaid tree. He ſays alſo, that the iſland is unfruitful and barren." However, others, ſince he wrote, informs us, That this iſland produces corn, and ſugar-canes, plenty of fruit and plants, beſides great plenty of cattle, which furniſh the inhabitants with milk and cheeſe. There is a volcano upon it, which ſometimes has irruptions: it was ſeen for five days in November, 1677, and again in 1692, ſix weeks together, when it broke out with earthquakes.

LANZAROTA lies in 26 degrees of latitude, 18 leagues from Grand Canaria, ſouth-eaſt, and is in length 12 leagues. The only commodities here were goats fleſh and orchel. It is an earldom, and belongs to Don Auguſtino de Herrera, as earl of Forteventura and Lanzarota; but the vaſſals of all thoſe earldoms have, in caſe of any grievance, an appeal to the king's judges, who reſide in Canaria, Teneriffe, and Palma, where are boats laden with dried goats fleſh, which is a very good meal.

This iſland is about 13 leagues from north to ſouth, nine in breadth, and forty in circuit. Gramaya, in his deſcription of Africa, places the city Cayas here, which, together with the iſland, was pillaged by the Algerines, who carried away captive 1460 men.

Here is on the iſland a city of the ſame name, and lower down, on the eaſtern coaſt are two ports, one called Puerto de Navos, or the Port of ſhips. The other, Puerto de Cavallos, or of Horſes. They are bad havens, and about a cannon ſhot aſunder. The firſt of them, which is deepeſt, goes between two ledges of rocks, the channel being uneven and rocky, ſo that if the ſhip ſhould ſtrike, it would preſently be daſhed to pieces. There are no houſes near the ports; only at Cavallos there is a little church. They go from thence, between the mountains to the town; which is three leagues.

This place was taken by the earl of Cumberland in 1556, who ſetting forward on this expedition on Thurſday the 13th of April, 1596, had ſight of Alegranza, the moſt northerly of the Canaries, and ſoon after they deſcried three hills or iſlands, called the Grange, leaving all to the weſt, in the afternoon they came up with Lanzarota; and next morning anchored in a road, which bears eaſt ſouth-eaſt of the iſland, near a dangerous ledge of rocks.

The earl having been informed that the marquis, who was lord both of this town and Fortuventura, reſided here, and was poſſeſſed of riches to the value of one hundred thouſand pounds; diſpatched Sir John Berkeley, his lieutenant-general, being himſelf a little indiſpoſed, with a force of between five and ſix hundred men, to attack the town, which was ten miles at leaſt from their landing place. The way they went, in their opinion, was the neareſt, but a very bad road, full of ſtones and ſand. When they arrived at the town, they found it deſerted by the inhabitants, who had carried off almoſt every thing: they found, however, ſome excellent wine and plenty of cheeſe.

From hence Sir John ſent a detachment to the caſtle, a ſtrong fortreſs lying up hill about half a mile off the town; where eighty of an hundred Spaniards and iſlanders, who were in and about it; flying on their approach, they entered, and found above a dozen braſs guns, the leaſt baſes; but moſt culverins, and demi-culverins all diſmounted: and great heaps of ſtones laid in the moſt advantageous places. It was built of hewn ſtone, and flanked very ſtrongly and ſkilfully, both for offence and defence: with this remarkable contrivance; that the part or entrance into it, was raiſed about a pike's length from the ground, ſo that if they drew in their ladder, twenty might have kept it againſt 500. The town conſiſted of upwards of 1000 houſes, all poor buildings, generally but of one ſtory, covered only with canes or ſtones laid upon a few rafters, and over all a coat of dirt, which hardened by the ſun, became rain proof. There was a church without a window, the light coming in at the door only. There was no partition for a chancel, but ſtone ſeats along the ſides, and at one end an altar, with the proper furniture;——the people quite full of the Romiſh ſuperſtition.

"The inhabitants (says the author) were of a black complexion, very strong and active, tall, and as swift in that mountainous country, almost as their camels, nor could the English, whom they attacked in their march, ever come up with any of them. Their arms are pikes and staves; and when a piece is presented to fire at them, as soon as they perceive the cock or match fall, they throw themselves immediately flat upon the ground; and no sooner is the report heard, but they are up again, and sling their stones out of their hands, and charging with their pikes in a scattered way, each by himself, they very much annoy a regular battalion.

"The isle stretches north north-east and south-west; it stands in 28 degrees and some minutes north, and is parted quite through (as the Appenines mountains part Italy) by a bridge of hills, serving only to feed goats and sheep, which they had a pretty store of; as also of asses. But there were few cattle, fewer camels, and less gennets, and these too of no great stature. The valleys were very dry and sandy, somewhat like rye fields in England; but yet they yielded tolerable good barley and wheat; and they had two harvests every year."

FORTEVENTURA stands in the latitude of 27 degrees, 50 leagues from the promontory of Cabo de Guer, on the continent of Africa, and 24 leagues distant from Canaria, eastward. It is 15 leagues long, and ten broad, and belongs to the Lord of Lanzarota. It produces great plenty of wheat and barley, also of cows, goats, and orchel. But neither this nor Lanzarota have any quantity of wine of their own growth. On the north side lies a little island called Gratiosa, about a league's distance. The gut between is navigable for ships of any burthen. Its length, from south-west to north-east, is about 25 leagues; but the breadth is very irregular; for it consists of two peninsulas, joined in the middle by an isthmus, no more than four leagues broad, across which formerly there ranged a wall. The circuit is near 70 leagues, by reason of the two gulphs made by the isthmus.

It has three cities on the sea-coast, viz. Langala, Tarafalo, and Pozzo Negro. On the north side there is a haven, called Chabras; and another very commodious one on the west. And between this island and Lanzarota there opens a fine sound, big enough to receive the largest fleet on a rendezvous; but the coast, at the north-east end, is very foul, with many reefs that lie out, on which the sea breaks exceedingly.

THE VOYAGE OF ALUISE DA CADA MOSTO, IN 1455, ALONG THE COAST OF AFRICA, AS FAR AS RIO GRANDE.

WE have two voyages of Cada Mosto, one of which was that to Gambia, and Rio Grande, the other to the Cape Verde islands, as has been already described.

The author informs us, that he was twenty-two years of age when he set out upon this voyage; and had, before that, sailed in some parts of the Mediterranean, under the jurisdiction of the republic, and had been in Flanders, whither his intention was to have returned, in order to better his fortune; for his whole thoughts were bent on employing his youth in the acquisition of riches, that afterwards, with the experience he should have of the world, he might attain to some degree of honour.

Having resolved to return to Flanders with what little money he had, embarked on board the Venetian galleys, commanded by Captain Marco Zen, knight; they departed from Venice on the 8th of August, 1454. Being detained by contrary winds, near Cape St. Vincent, it happened, that Prince Henry of Portugal, was at that time lodged in a village called Reposera, near the Cape, having retired from the noise of business to this agreeable retreat, for the sake of his studies. Hearing of their arrival, he sent Antonio Gonsalez, his secretary, accompanied by one Patricio di Conti, who said he was a Venetian, and consul from the republic in Portugal, as appeared by his commission. He had likewise a salary from Prince Henry. These gentlemen brought some samples of Madeira sugars, Dragon's blood, and other commodities of the countries and islands belonging to that prince. They asked those on board the galleys several questions; and informed them, that Prince Henry had caused some desart islands lately discovered, to be inhabited, and that as a proof thereof, they had shewn them the said valuable productions. They added, That all this was nothing in comparison to greater things which that prince had performed, declaring, that since such a year, he had discovered seas which had never been sailed through before, and lands of divers strange nations, where wonderful things were found. That the Portuguese, who had been in those remote parts, had made great advantage by trading with the inhabitants, and gained 700 or 1000 per cent. They related so many things on this head, that the Venetians were very much astonished, and Cada Mosto in particular, being inflamed with a desire of visiting these places, asked, if the prince would suffer any person to go who had a mind? They answered in the affirmative, and likewise acquainted him with the terms required of the person who should undertake such a voyage, which was either to be at the whole expence of fitting out and freighting a vessel, or else at the charge of freight only; the prince providing him with a caraval. That, in the first case, he should, on his return, allow the prince one fourth part of his cargo, as a duty, the rest to remain his own property; and in the second case to divide whatever was brought from those places equally with the prince; and in case of no returns at all, then the whole expence to be defrayed by the prince. They declared, however, that it was impossible to make a voyage without great profit. They added, That the prince would be very well pleased with any Venetian who should undertake such a voyage, and shew him great favour; because he was of opinion, that spices, and other rich merchandise, might be found in those parts, and knew that the Venetians understood those commodities considerably better than many other nations.

Cada Mosto went along with the secretary and the consul to see Don Henriquez, who confirmed what they had told him, and encouraged him by promises of honour and profit, to go. The author being young, and of a constitution able to bear fatigue, as well as desirous to see those parts of the world, never

before known to any Venetian, and also to advance his fortune, accepted of the invitation. After this, he informed himself concerning the merchandise proper for such a voyage, and then returned to the galleys: where having disposed of all the goods which he had shipped for the low countries, he brought on board such things as he thought necessary for the expedition, and then landed; leaving the galleys to proceed on their voyage for Flanders. The Prince shewed great satisfaction at Cada Mosto's resolution, and entertained him very handsomely at Cape St. Vincent, where having waited a great many days; at length, the prince ordered him to rig a new caraval of about 90 tons burthen, of which one Vincent Diaz, a native of Lago, (a place about 16 miles distant) was commander. The caraval being ready, and furnished with every thing necessary, they began their voyage on the 22d of March, 1455, with a full wind at north-east, and by-north, steering their course towards the islands of Madeira. On the 25th, they came to the island of Puerto Santo, about 600 miles southward from the Cape whence they set out.

From Puerto Santo, which was discovered near twenty-seven years before; they sailed on the 28th of March, and the same day came into Monchrico, one of the islands of Madeira, forty miles distant.—As we have already described this and the seven Canary islands: we shall not trouble the reader with the voyager's observations on them, but shall only quote one of his observations on the customs of the nation, when he was in those parts. "These islanders, (says he) have the following remarkable customs. when their lords first enter on their new possession, some offer to die, in order to do honour to the feast. On which they all repair to the brink of a certain deep valley, where, after having performed some ceremonies, and said a few words, he who is willing to die for love of the new lord, throws himself into the valley, and is dashed to pieces. The lord, in return, is obliged to do great honour and service to the relations of the deceased. This account was confirmed by the Canary Christians, who escaped from among them.

"They are very active and nimble, great runners and leapers, being accustomed to traverse the cliffs of the mountains. They skip barefooted, from stone to stone, like goats; and sometimes take leaps, which are scarcely to be believed. They throw a stone with great strength, and exactness; so as to hit where they please. Both sexes know how to paint their bodies, green, red, and yellow, with the juice of herbs; and they look upon such colours as ornamental, as Europeans do fine cloaths." Cada Mosto was in two of the Canary Islands, viz. Gomera and Ferro: he also touched at Palma, but did not land.

Holding on his course towards Ethiopia, Cada Mosto, in a few days arrived at Cape Blanco, distant from the Canaries about 870 miles. It is to be observed, that in this passage, steering south, they kept a great distance from the African Coast, which was on the left hand, the Canaries being advanced far into the sea towards the west, the one more than the other. Thus they sailed till they had run two thirds of their way from the islands to the cape; and then kept closer to the left, till they got sight of land, that they might not pass the cape without seeing it; for afterwards no land appears for a considerable while. The coast runs in from this cape, and forms a gulph, called the Forna of Argin, from a little island situated in the gulph; and so named by the inhabitants of the country of Argin. The gulph enters about fifty miles; and has three other islands, to which the Portuguese gave names. The first they called Blanco, or White, on account of its sands: the second, the Island of the Garze, or White Herons; (for there they found as many of these birds eggs as filled two boats): the third, they called Cuori. They are all small, sandy, and uninhabited islands. In that of Argin, there is plenty of fresh water: but in the rest none.

It is said, that southwards from the Streights of Gibraltar, the coast, which is that of Barbary, is inhabited no farther than Cape Cantin: from whence to Cape Blanco, is the sandy country of Desart, (separated from Barbary by the mountains on the north) called Sarra by the natives; but on the south confines with the negro coast, and would require fifty or sixty days to cross; in some places more, some less. This desart reaches to the ocean, and is all sandy, white, and dry; the country low, and so plain, that it does not seem to be higher in one place than another, till Cape Blanco appears. It is a most beautiful cape, as being triangular, that is, having three points in front, about a mile distant from each other. Various sorts of large fish and exceeding good, are found on this coast: the Gulph of Argin is all over shallow, being full of shoals, boath of rocks and sands. There are great currents in this gulph; and no safe sailing but by day, with the lead in hand; and that according to the stream: two ships had been already lost on these shoals. Cape Blanco lies south-west of Cape Cantin.

Behind Cape Blanco, on the continent, there is a place called Hoden, six days journey on camels, from the shore. This place is not walled; but much frequented by the Arabs, and the caravans, which come from Tombuto, and other places belonging to the negros to this side of Barbary. Their provision consists of dates and barley; of which they have plenty. They drink camels milk, and that of other animals; for they have no wine. They have cows and goats, but not many, because the land is very dry. Their oxen and cows are very small in comparison to those of Italy. The inhabitants are Mahometans, and great enemies to Christians. They are never settled, but wander continually over the desarts. They frequent the countries of the negros, and visit that side of Barbary which is next the Mediterranean. They travel in great numbers, with a numerous train of camels, on which they carry brass, silver, and other things from Barbary to Tombuto, and the country of the negros: from which they bring gold and malhegetle. They are of a tawny colour. Both sexes wear a single white garment, with a red border, without any linen underneath, next their skin. The men have turbans on their heads, in the Moorish fashion; and always go barefooted. There are, in the sandy desart, many lions, leopards, and ostriches.

Prince Henry had made an ordinance, which was to be observed for ten years, on the island of Argin, viz. that no person should enter into this gulph, to trade with the Arabs, except such as were there described, and had habitations and factors on the island, who dealt with the Arabs that came to the coast and sell them several sorts of goods; such as cloth, stuffs, silver, frocks, tapestry, and other merchandise; and take in return, negroes and gold. The prince also caused a castle to be built on the island to secure the trade, and caravals from Portugal arrive there every year.

They have many Barbary horses, which they carry to the country of the negroes, and there barter with the great men for slaves, having from ten to eighteen for each horse, according to its goodness: they also bring wrought silks of Granada and Tunis; silver, and a great many other things; for which they receive plenty of slaves, and some gold. These slaves are brought to Hoden, from whence they are sent to the mountains of Bartea, and from thence to Sicily; part of them are also brought to Tunis, and along the coast of Barbary; and also the rest to Argin, and sold to the licensed Portuguese; every year between seven and eight hundred slaves are sent from Argin to Portugal.

Before this trade was settled, the Portuguese caravals, (sometimes four, and sometimes more,) used to come to the gulph of Argin, well armed, and, landing by night, surprised some fishermens villages: they even entered into the country, and carried off

Arabs

Arabs of both ſexes, which they ſold in Portugal. They ſailed in this manner along the coaſt to the river Senega, which is very large, and divides the Azanaghi (or Azanghi) from the negros.

The Azanaghi are tawny, or rather of a deep brown complexion, and live in ſome places on the coaſt, beyond Cape Blanco. They range the deſerts, and confine with the Arabs of Hoden. They live on dates, barley, and camel's milk. But as they are nearer the negro countries, they carry on a trade with them; from whence they have millet and pulſe, ſuch as beans for their ſupport. They are but ſmall eaters, and ſuffer hunger patiently.

Theſe Azanaghi have a cuſtom of wearing a handkerchief round their heads; a piece of which covers their eyes, with part of the noſe and mouth. They reckoned the mouth to be a thing ſhould be always kept out of ſight. They have no lords among them, but the rich are reſpected ſomething more than the reſt. The people are very poor, and egregious liars; the greateſt thieves in the world, and very treacherous; lean, and of a common ſtature. They wear their hair, which is black, frizzed over their ſhoulders, like the Germans, and oil it every day with the fat of fiſh, which makes them ſmell very ſtrong, yet they repute it very modiſh. The Azanaghi never heard of any Chriſtians except the Portugueſe, with whom they had war for thirteen or fourteen years; in which ſeveral of them were carried off and ſold for ſlaves. Cada Moſto affirms, that when they firſt ſaw ſhips at ſea (a thing never beheld by any of their anceſtors) they took them for large birds with white wings, that had come from foreign parts. When the ſails were furled they concluded that the ſhips were fiſh by their length; others believed they were ſpirits. The truth of what the author relates was certified by many Azanaghi, who were then ſlaves in Portugal, as well as by the Portugueſe, who frequented thoſe ſeas at that time in their caravels.

About ſix days journey by land from Hoden, there is a place called Tegazza, which ſignifies a cheſt of gold; where large quantities of rock ſalt are dug every year, and carried on caravels of camels by the Arabs and Azanaghi in ſeparate companies to Tombuto, and from thence to the empire of Melli, belonging to the negros. Being arrived here, they diſpoſe of their ſalt in eight days, at the rate of between two and three hundred mitigals (the value of a ducat each) the load, according to the quantity thereof; after which they return home with their gold.

"This empire (ſays the author) affords very bad nouriſhment for beaſts, inſomuch that out of one hundred which go with caravans, ſcarce twenty-five return. Neither are there any quadrupeds in this empire, for they all die. Several of the Arabians and Azanaghi ſicken and die likewiſe, through the exceſſive heat. They reckon it to be forty days journey on horſeback, from Tegazza to Tombuto; and from Tombuto to Melli, thirty. Cada Moſto having inquired of them, what uſe the merchants of Melli made of the ſalt? was anſwered, firſt, that a ſmall quantity of it was conſumed in their own country; for, that as they lay near the Line, where the days and nights are of an equal length, at certain ſeaſons of the year the heats were exceſſive, and putrified the blood; ſo that but for that ſalt, they would certainly die. There is no art in preparing it; they only take a piece every day, and diſſolve it in a porringer of water, drink it off; and by this means preſerve their health, as they imagine. The remainder of the ſalt is carried a long way in pieces, by men, on their heads, every piece being as much as a man can bear. The ſalt is brought to Melli in large pieces taken out of the rocks, each camel being loaded with two. There the negros break them in ſmaller pieces, for the conveniency of carrying on the head; and muſter a large number of footmen for that purpoſe. Theſe porters have a large fork in each hand; which, when tired, they fix in the ground and reſt their loads on. The negros are hired to carry it in this manner, for want of camels or other beaſts of burden, as before mentioned: and from what has been related, it is eaſy to ſee, that the number, both of the carriers and conſumers, muſt be very great.

"When they arrive at the water-ſide, the proprietors of the ſalt place their ſhares in hoops together in a row, every one ſetting a mark on his own: this done, thoſe of the caravan retire half a day's journey. Then the negros they went to deal with, who will not be ſeen nor ſpoken to, and ſeem to be the inhabitants of ſome iſlands, come in large boats, and having viewed the ſalt, lay a ſum of gold on every heap, and then withdraw. When they are gone, the negros, who own the ſalt, return: and if the quantity of gold pleaſes them, they take it, and leave the ſalt, if not, they leave both, and withdraw again. the other Moors then come on, and the heaps they find without gold, they carry with them, and either advance more gold to the other parcels, or leave the ſalt. In this manner they trade, without ſeeing or ſpeaking to one another; which has been a very ancient cuſtom among them." This account, the author owns, appears ſomewhat improbable; yet affirms, that he had it from ſeveral Arabs, and Azanaghi merchants, as well as other perſons, who were worthy of credit.

The ſame merchants being aſked why the emperor of Melli, being ſuch a great lord as they reported, did not find means, by friendſhip or force, to diſcover who theſe people were, that would not ſuffer themſelves to be ſeen or talked to? On this they told him, that not many years before, an emperor, having determined to get ſome of theſe inviſible beings into his hands, held a council on the occaſion: wherein it was ordered, that before the ſalt caravan returned from their half-day's journey, ſome of his men ſhould go and make pits by the water-ſide, near where the ſalt was left, that they ſhould hide themſelves; and that when the negros came to leave the gold on the ſalt, they ſhould attack them, and make two or three priſoners. This project was executed, and four were taken; the reſt having fled; three alſo of thoſe who had been ſurpriſed, were ſet at liberty by the captors, who judged that one would be ſufficient to ſatisfy the emperor's deſire, and that the negros would be leſs provoked. But after all, the deſign miſcarried, becauſe the priſoner would neither ſpeak (though talked to in various languages) nor eat any victuals; ſo that at four days end he died. This croſs accident was much regretted by the negros of Melli, becauſe their lord was thus prevented from obtaining his ends: and the captain having brought the emperor an account of the man's death, he received it with great diſpleaſure, and aſked, of what ſtature they were?——He was anſwered They were exceeding black, well ſhaped, and a ſpan taller than themſelves: that their under lip was thicker than a man's fiſt, and hung down on their breaſts; that it was very red, and ſomething like blood dropped from it; but their upper-lip was as ſmall as other peoples. The form of their lips expoſed to view their gums and teeth, which were larger than their own; and that they had great teeth in the corner of their mouths: that their eyes were large and black, in ſhort, that they made a terrible figure, blood dropping from their gums as well as teeth. Thus the ſucceeding emperors were prevented from making any farther attempts of this kind; becauſe, on account of the negro's death, his countrymen, for the ſpace of three years, forbore coming to buy any ſalt; as they uſed to do. Yet the emperor does not regard whether thoſe blacks ſpeak or not, if he has but the profit of their gold.

The gold brought to Melli is divided into three parts; the firſt, ſent by the Melli caravan to Cochin, which lies in the road to Syria and Cairo; the other two ſhares are ſent by another caravan from Melli to Tombuto, from whence the gold is ſent by diviſions; firſt to Toet, and from thence along the coaſt to Tunis in Barbary, within the Streights of Gibraltar;

and to Fez and Morocco, Arzila, Azafi, and Moffa, towns without the Streights, where the Italians and other Chriſtians had it from the Moors, in return for divers merchandiſes. In ſhort, this is the beſt commodity that is brought from the Azanaghi's country; for of the gold ſent to Hoden every year, as before obſerved, they bring ſome to the ſea-coaſt, and barter it with the Portugueſe at Argin. In this diſtrict no money is coined, nor do they ever uſe money any more than in the neighbouring countries, but all their trade is carried on by bartering one thing for another, and ſometimes two for one, while in their towns within land, they uſe little white ſhells, which are brought to Venice from the Levant, of which they pay certain numbers, according to the goodneſs of what they are to buy. They give the gold they ſell, by Mitigal weight, which is about a ducat in value.

The inhabitants of this deſart, have neither religion nor ſovereign, only thoſe who are the richeſt, and have the largeſt retinues, are lords, as is cuſtomary in many places. The women are tawny, and wear cottons that come from the country of the negros, and ſome of them frocks, which are called Alchezdi, but no ſmocks; and ſhe who has the largeſt breaſts, is reputed the greateſt beauty.

The men ride horſes in the Mooriſh faſhion, but have not many, for the barrenneſs of the country will not allow them to keep any, neither could they live long in ſuch great heats. The deſarts throughout are very hot, and have but little water, which makes the country dry and barren. It rains here only three months in the year; that is in Auguſt, September, and October.

The author was alſo informed, that in ſome years, large ſwarms of locuſts appear in this country: they are like graſs-hoppers, the length of a man's finger, and of a red and yellow colour. They appear ſometimes in ſuch clouds in the air, as to obſcure the ſun, covering the horizon as far as the ſight can reach, which is from 12 to 16 miles, and where they lodge they ſtrip the ground quite bare, which they look upon as a great peſtilence, but providence has ſo ordered it, that they ſeldom come above once in four years.

After doubling Cape Blanco, they continued their courſe to the river called Senega, which divides the deſart and the Azanaghi from the fruit lands and negros. Five years before Cada Moſto made this voyage, this river was diſcovered by three caravals belonging to Prince Henry, which entering it, made peace, and ſettled a trade with the Moors, ſince which time, ſhips have been ſent every year to traffic with them.

This river is large, above a mile wide at the mouth, and ſufficiently deep. A little farther, it has another entrance. Between the two there is an iſland, which forms a cape running into the ſea, and at each mouth there are ſand-banks and ſhoals, reaching about a mile from ſhore. From Cape Blanco, which is 380 miles of the river, it is called the Coaſt of Anterota, and belongs to the Azanaghi, or tawny Moors. The author was ſurpriſed to find ſo great a difference in ſo narrow a ſpace; for on the ſouth ſide of the river, the inhabitants are exceeding black, tall, corpulent and well made; the country is all green, and full of fruit trees, and on the other ſide the men are tawny, meagre, and ſmall of ſtature, and the country dry and barren.

The kingdom of the negros lies in the river Senega, and thoſe who inhabit the banks of it are called Jaloſs; all the country is low, not only to that river, but alſo beyond it, as far as Cape de Verde, which is the higheſt land on all this coaſt, and 400 miles diſtant from Cape Blanco. The king, who reigned in Senega, in Cada Maſtato Irine, was called Zucholin, and 20 years of age. This kingdom is not hereditary, but commonly three or four lords (of which there are many in the country) chuſe a king to their own liking, (yet always of noble parentage) who reigns as long as he pleaſes them. They after dethrone their kings by force, and the kings many times render themſelves ſo powerful, as to ſtand on their defence, which makes the government unſettled, as that of the ſultan of Cairo is, who is always in fear of being killed or baniſhed. Theſe kings are not like thoſe of Europe, for their ſubjects are ſavages, and very poor. They have no walled towns, but only villages, with thatched houſes. They uſe neither lime or ſtone for building, not knowing how to make the one or form the other. The kingdom is ſmall, extending (as the author was informed) no more than 200 miles along the coaſt, and the ſame within land. The king has no certain revenues, but the lords of the country to court his favour, make him preſents every year of horſes (which are very much eſteemed here, being ſcarce) together with furniture, and other beaſts, ſuch as cows and goats, alſo pulſe, millet, and ſuch like things. He likewiſe lives by robberies, and forcing ſome of his ſubjects and thoſe of neighbouring provinces into ſlavery, part of which he employs in cultivating the lands aſſigned him, and ſells the reſt to the Azanaghi and Arabian merchants, who trade with horſes, and other things, as well as to the Chriſtians, ſince trade has been open between them.

Every man here may entertain as many women as he pleaſes. The king has always upwards of thirty, and diſtinguiſhes them according to their deſcent and rank of the lords whoſe daughters they are. He keeps them in certain villages and places of his own, eight or ten together, each of them having a ſeparate houſe to dwell in, and a fixed number of young women to attend on her, with ſlaves to cultivate the land aſſigned her, that they may maintain themſelves with the produce thereof. They have likewiſe cows and goats, which the ſlaves alſo take care of; and thus they ſow, reap and live. When the king comes to any of theſe villages, he brings no proviſions along with him, theſe women being obliged to bear the expences of him and his retinue whenever he viſits them. Every morning at ſun-riſe, each of the women in the place he arrives at, prepares three or four covers of different viands, ſuch as fleſh, fiſh, and other dainties, according to the Mooriſh taſte, which are carried by the ſlaves to the king's pantry; ſo that in leſs than an hour, there are 40 or 50 diſhes brought; and when his majeſty has a mind to eat, he finds every thing ready to his hand. After he has eaten of ſuch diſhes as he likes beſt, the remainder is given to his retinue; but as this diet is never in plenty, they are always hungry. Thus he travels from one place to another, viſiting his women, by which means he has a very numerous iſſue; but from the inſtant any of his women proves with child, he goes near them no more. All the lords live in the ſame manner.

Theſe negros profeſs the Mahometan religion, but are not ſo well inſtructed therein as the white Moors, particularly the common people. The lords have always about them ſome of the Azanaghi for that purpoſe, or elſe Arabs, who come to reſide there. Theſe have inculcated, that it would be a diſgrace for them, who are lords, to live without obſerving any of God's laws, and to eat as the inferior people do, without any religion. It is owing to their never having converſed with any but the Azanaghi's or Arabs, that they are Mahometans; but ſince they became acquainted with Chriſtians, they are not ſo fond of that faith.

Theſe negros, for the generality, go quite naked, except covering their privy parts with a goat's ſkin, made in the form of a pair of breeches; but the lords, and thoſe who are able, wear cotton ſhirts of the product of the country, which is ſpun by their women. They weave pieces of cotton a ſpan wide, but never any wider, not having the art of making larger looms; ſo that they are obliged to ſew five or ſix of theſe pieces together, when they would make any large work. Their ſhirts reach to half their thighs, the ſleeves of which are large, but cover only half of the arm. They uſe cotton drawers, which hang down to the ſmall of the leg, and monſtrouſly wide, being from 30 to 35 and forty palms in circumference; ſo

that when tied on, they are full of plaits, and though like a ſack before, the hind part trails on the ground like a tail, reſembling large petticoats with a train. In ſhort, nothing can make a more prepoſterous figure in the world; yet they aſked the Europeans, if they had ever ſeen a finer dreſs? For in their own opinion, nothing comes up to it for elegance. Their women, married or unmarried, go naked from the waiſt upwards, and downwards they wear a piece of cotton up half the leg. Both ſexes go barefooted and uncovered, but weave their hair into beautiful treſſes, which they tie in various knots, though it be very ſhort. The men employ themſelves in women's work; ſuch as ſpinning, waſhing of cloaths, and the like.

It is very hot here, not being ſo cold in January, as it is in Italy in the month of April; and the farther one travels, the more the heat encreaſes. Both men and women waſh themſelves four or five times a day, being very cleanly as to their perſons, but not ſo in eating, in which they obſerve no rule. Although very ignorant and aukward in going about any thing which they have not been accuſtomed to, yet in their own buſineſs, which they are acquainted with, they are as expert as any Europeans can be. They are full of words, and never have done talking; and are for the moſt part, liars and cheats. Yet on the other hand, they are very charitable; for they give a dinner or a night's lodging, and a ſupper to all ſtrangers who come to their houſes, without expecting any return.

Theſe negros often make war among themſelves, and with their neighbours. They have no cavalry, for want of horſes; they wear no arms except a large target for their defence, made of the ſkin of a beaſt, called danta, which is very difficult to be pierced: and azagays, or light darts, in throwing of which, they are very dexterous. Theſe darts are pointed with iron, the length of a ſpan, barbed in different manners; ſo that they make dangerous wounds in the body wherever they enter. They alſo have a Mooriſh weapon, which is like a Turkiſh half ſword; that is bent like a bow, and made of iron, (without any ſteel) brought from the kingdom of Gambra by the negros, who thereof make their arms: and if they have any iron in their own country, they know nothing of it, or want induſtry to work it. They uſe alſo another ſpeared weapon, like our javelin: beſides which, they have but few arms; their wars are very bloody, for their ſtrokes do not fall in vain. They are exceeding bold and fierce, chooſing rather to be killed, than to ſave their lives by flight. They have no ſhips, neither did they ever ſee any before the Portugueſe came upon their coaſt. Thoſe inhabiting near the river, and ſome who live by the ſea, have zappolies or almaidas, made out of a ſingle piece of wood, the largeſt whereof carries three or four men. In theſe they fiſh ſometimes, and go up and down the river. Theſe negros are ſurprizing great ſwimmers.

Cada Moſto having paſſed the river of Senega with his caraval, ſailed along the coaſt to the country of Budomel, about 800 miles farther; the country between being all low land, and without mountains. He ſtopped at this place to know ſomething of the Lord Budomel, from whom the country took its name; certain Portugueſe, who had dealt with him, having repreſented him as a very juſt perſon, who might be confided in, as he paid for every thing he took. Our adventurer had ſome Spaniſh horſes on board, which were much eſteemed among the negros; beſides cloth, Mooriſh wrought ſilks, and many other commodities.

As ſoon therefore, as he came to anchor at a place called the Palm of Budomel, which is a road and not a port, he ſent his interpreter, who was a negro, to give their lord notice of his arrival, and the goods he had on board. Not long after, Lord Budomel himſelf, with about fifteen horſe, and an hundred and fifty foot, came to the ſea ſide, and ſent to deſire Cada Moſto to land, for that he would do him a piece of ſervice. He accordingly went, and was received with great civility. After ſome diſcourſe, the author delivered him ſeven horſes with their furniture, and every thing elſe that he wanted, which coſt in all three hundred ducats; truſting to his honour for payment, which he propoſed to make at his houſe, twenty-five miles diſtant from the ſhore; intreating Cada Moſto to go down with him to wait a few days, becauſe he was to pay for what goods he had in ſlaves. Cada Moſto readily agreed to go, induced as much by the deſire of making diſcoveries, as of being paid. But before they ſet out, the lord made him a preſent of a beautiful female black, of about twelve years old; telling him at the ſame time, that he gave her to him to ſerve him in his cabin. The gift was willingly accepted of, and ſent on board.

Budomel furniſhed the author with horſes, as well as every thing elſe neceſſary for a journey; and when they came within four miles of his habitation, gave him in charge to Biſboror, his nephew, who was lord of a little town where they had arrived. Biſboror took him to his own houſe, and treated him all the while he ſtaid there, (which was twenty-eight days) with great civility and good company. This was in November, during which time, he went often to ſee Lord Budomel, in company with his nephew, and obſerved many things relating to their way of living. He had the greater opportunity to make remarks, as he travelled back, as far as the River Senega, on account of the tempeſtuous weather; which ariſing on this coaſt, ſo that he could not go on board, he was obliged to ſend the ſhip before to this river, and go by land himſelf.

The author obſerves, that upon this occaſion, that being deſirous to ſend inſtructions to thoſe in the ſhip, to meet him at the River Senega, he enquired among the blacks, if any of them would undertake to carry a letter for him on board? to which ſeveral of them anſwered in the affirmative. The ſhip lay about three miles from ſhore; the ſea ran high, and there was a great wind; inſomuch, that he thought it impoſſible for any man to perform it, eſpecially as ſeveral ſand banks lay near the ſhore, and about half way, other banks, with a great current running between them, ſometimes backwards and ſometimes forwards, that it is a moſt difficult taſk for any man to ſwim through them, without being carried away by the ſtream. Beſides the ſea breaks over the banks with ſo much violence, that it ſeemed impoſſible to ſurmount ſuch obſtructions. Yet two of theſe negros offered to go, and having demanded what they expected for their labour? they anſwered, two mavulgis of tin for each of them, the mavulgi being worth no more than one groſſon, (a groſſon is about three farthings). At this price they undertook to carry the letter to the ſhip, and took the water winds. I cannot expreſs the difficulties, ſays the author, which they were to encounter with, in paſſing the ſand bank, in ſo high a ſea. Sometimes they were out of ſight for a conſiderable time, and I often thought they had been drowned. At laſt, one of them not being able any longer to reſiſt the violence of the waves which broke over him, turned back; but the other being ſtronger, after ſtruggling a long hour on the bank, got paſt it; and having carried the letter to the caraval, returned with an anſwer, which to me ſeemed very wonderful, and thence I concluded, that the negros of this coaſt muſt be the beſt ſwimmers in the world.

It has been already obſerved, that thoſe who are called lords, have neither caſtles nor cities. The king of this country has nothing but villages, with thatched houſes. Budomel was lord of one part of this kingdom, which is ſmall. Theſe are not lords on account of their riches or treaſure; becauſe they have none; neither is their any coin made uſe of among them; but they are conſidered as ſuch out of courteſy, and by reaſon of the great retinues, with which they are always attended; being reſpected and feared by their ſubjects, more than any Italian lords. The place of Budomel's reſidence was neither a walled

houſe

houſe nor palace; but, according to their manner of living, he has ſome villages aſſigned for the habitation of himſelf and his wives, with their reſpective families, becauſe he never fixes in one place.

The village, where the author reſided, was one of his habitations, and had forty or fifty thatched houſes built near one another, and ſurrounded with ditches and large trees, only a paſſage or two was left for entrance; and every houſe had a court, incloſed with a hedge.

This prince had nine wives in this place, and more or leſs in other villages. Each of theſe women had five or ſix young negros to attend her, with whom the lord may lie when he pleaſes; nor are the wives offended at it, it being the cuſtom, both ſexes being very laſcivious. They are very jealous, and ſuffer nobody to enter the houſe where any of their women dwell; nor would they even truſt their own ſons.

Budomel has always at leaſt 200 negros in his retinue; who change from time to time; ſome going and others coming in their room: beſides, many people repair from the adjacent places to meet him; at the entrance of his houſe, before his apartment, there are ſeven large courts, leading from one to the other, with a tree in the middle of each; where thoſe wait who come upon buſineſs. His family is diſtributed in theſe courts, according to the rank of the perſon; the moſt conſiderable being ſtationed neareſt; and the meaneſt the fartheſt from his apartment; which few approach, except the Chriſtians and Azanaghi, who have free admiſſion; more liberty being allowed them than the negros.

But (ſays the author) Budomel affects great ſtate and gravity, for he will not be ſeen, except one hour in the morning, and, for a little while, towards the evening, at which times he appears in the firſt court, near the door of the apartment, into which none but perſons of note are permitted to enter. The pride of theſe lords appears moſt in giving audience; for when any perſon came to ſpeak to Budomel, were his condition ever ſo great, he was obliged firſt to ſtrip himſelf ſtark naked, except the ſkins which covered his privities; then, the inſtant he enters the court he fell upon his knees, and bowed down his head as low as the earth. Laſtly, with both his hands he covered his head and ſhoulders with ſand. This is the manner in which they ſalute their lord; nor is there any perſon whoever, exempt from theſe duties, not even their own relations. The perſon, who ſolicits the audience, remains a great while in this penetential poſture, dabbing himſelf with ſand, and crawling on his knees, till he approach the great man. When the ſupplicant is within two paces of this lord he ſtops, and begins to relate his caſe, but ſtill continues to lay on ſand, with his head down, in token of great humility. All this while the lord ſcarce ſeems to take notice of him, being in diſcourſe with other perſons; and when his vaſſal has told his ſtory, with an arrogant aſpect makes the anſwer in two words. Such is his affected pride and grandeur, and ſuch is the ſubmiſſion paid him. Budomel however behaved with great compliance to Cada Moſto, and carried him into the Moſques; for, towards evening, he ordered the Azanaghi or Arabs, whom he always had about him, to ſay prayers. His manner was thus: being entered into the moſque (which was in one of the courts) with ſome of the principal negros, he firſt ſtood with his eyes lifted up, then he advanced two ſteps, and ſpoke a few words ſoftly. After which he ſtretched himſelf on the ground, and kiſſed it: the Azanaghi, and all the reſt, did the ſame. Then riſing, he repeated the ſame acts over again ten or twelve times, which took up half an hour ——. This prince's table, like thoſe of all other lords, and men of condition, is ſupplied by their wives, in the ſame manner as the king of Senega is furniſhed; each ſending him ſo many diſhes, they eat on the ground, without regulating the inferior people, out of a baſket, ten or twelve in a meſs.

No bread-corn, rye, oats, or wine, grows in the kingdom of Senega, or any of the negro countries on that coaſt, on account of the great heats: this they made tryal of by the ſeeds they had from the ſhip; for wheat requires a temperate ſoil, and frequent rains, which are wanting here. They have no rain for nine months in the year; that is, from October till June. However, they have large and ſmall millet beans, and the fineſt kidney beans in the world; they are as large as hazle-nuts, but longer than the Venetian, and ſpeckled with various colours, as if painted, ſo that they make a beautiful ſhow, the bean is large, flat, and of a lively red; there are alſo white beans. They ſow in July and reap in September, at which time rain falls, and the rivers are ſwelled.

They prepare the ſoil, ſow and get in their harveſt, all in three months time. They are bad huſbandmen, no lovers of labour, and ſow no more than what barely ſerves them the year round, for they lay up no ſtore of oats for ſale. Their method of turning up the earth is thus; four or five of them go into a field with ſpades, (inſtead of ſhovels uſed in Italy) and throw up the earth, running it not above four inches deep in the ground. This is all their plowing; but as the ſoil is ſo fertile and kind, it produces every thing they ſow, without any farther pains.

Their liquors are water, milk, and palm-wine, which latter is taken from trees (here very numerous) like the date trees, though not the ſame. They yield this liquor, (called by the negros Nighol) all the year round. Being tapped in two or three places near the foot, a brown water runs out, as thin as ſkim-milk, into the calabaſes, ſet from morning till night. It is exceeding good to drink, and intoxicates like wine, if not mixed with water. It is as ſweet the firſt day as any wine in the world; but the luſcious taſte goes off every day more and more, till at length, it becomes ſour. It drinks better the third or fourth day than the firſt, becauſe it purges a little, and is not ſo ſweet. Cada Modo drank plentifully of it every day while he was in that country, and liked it better than wine of Italy. This nighol is not in ſuch plenty that every body may have it at diſcretion; however, they all have ſome, eſpecially the chief men; for the trees are not planted in gardens like the fruits or vines of Europe, but grow in the foreſts, and is common to all.

They have ſeveral ſorts of fruits, like the European though not exactly the ſame; and notwithſtanding they grow wild, yet they are very good. Were they cultivated in gardens they would prove much better than thoſe in the northern climates; the quality of the air and ſoil being nutritives. The country is all plain and fertile, abounding with good paſtures, beſides an infinite number of large and beautiful trees, not known in Europe. Here are likewiſe ſeveral lakes of freſh water, not large, but very deep and full of good fiſh, which differ from ſuch as are found in Italy. Alſo many water ſerpents, by them called Calcatrici.—— They have an oil, which they uſe in victuals; but the author could not tell what it was made of. It is remarkable for three qualities, viz. the ſmell of a violet, the taſte of olive-oil, and a colour that dyes the victuals better than ſaffron. There is a plant here likewiſe that produces ſmall kidney-beans in great quantities.

There are no tame animals in the kingdom of Senega, except oxen, cows and goats; ſheep they have none, neither could they live in this hot climate, for theſe love a temperate air, and live better in cold than in hot countries. Indeed the negros who live in ſuch intenſe heat, have no occaſion for woolen cloaths. The cattle of this country, ſuch as they have, are ſmaller than thoſe of Italy. A red cow here is a rarety: they are in general black or white; ſome however are pied or mottled. Here are many ſorts of beaſts of prey, ſuch as lions, and leopards. Hares and ſome other ſorts of wild animals are found here. They have alſo elephants of a large ſize. The author makes the following remarks upon this animal. His ſize may very nearly be judged from his teeth, which are brought into Europe; of theſe, each elephant

has

has but two in the under jaw, like the wild boar, without any other difference, except that the points of the wild boar's teeth turn upwards, and thoſe of the elephant down. Cada Moſto had been told, before he ſailed to thoſe parts, that the elephants could not bend their knees, and that they ſleep ſtanding, which he declares to be an egregious falſhood; for that their knees may be plainly diſcerned in walking, and that they lie down and riſe like all other animals.

They never ſhed their large teeth before death, nor do harm to any man, unleſs provoked by him; in that caſe, the elephant attacks him with his trunk, which is in the place of a noſe, of an exceeding length. He can contract and extend the proboſcis at pleaſure, and will toſs a man with it as far as a ſling can throw a ſtone. It is in vain to think to eſcape by running, let the perſon be ever ſo ſwift, provided the elephant follows him in earneſt, and fetches large ſtrides. They are more dangerous when they have young ones, than at any other time; and have but three or four at a birth. They feed on leaves of trees and fruit, pulling down the large boughs, and bringing them to the mouth with their trunk, which is a very thick cartilage. The author could hear of no other animals in this kingdom, except the abovementioned.

There are ſeveral ſorts of birds in this country, particularly parrots, in great numbers. The negros hate them, becauſe they do great damage to their millet and pulſe. They ſay there are ſeveral ſorts of them; but Cada Moſto could ſee no more than two. The one, like thoſe brought from Alexandria, but a little ſmaller. The other ſort is much larger, has a brown head, neck, beak and legs, the body yellow and green. He had a number of theſe two ſorts, particularly the ſmall ones; many died; the reſt, being about an hundred and fifty, he carried to Spain, and ſold them for half a ducat a piece. Theſe birds are very induſtrious in making their neſts, which they build with bullruſhes and ſmall leaves of the palm, and other trees. The parrot chips out the ſlendereſt branch, at the end of which ſhe faſtens the bullruſh; to which, being about two ſpans length, ſhe ſticks her neſt, weaving it in a moſt beautiful manner; and when finiſhed, it hangs like a ball at the end of the bullruſh, having only one paſſage into it. Thus they continue to ſave their young from the devouring ſerpents, whoſe weight theſe ſmall branches cannot ſupport. There is plenty of others called Pharaoh's Hens in Europe, whither they are brought from the Levant.

The author went three or four times to ſee one of their markets or fairs, which was kept on Mondays and Fridays in a meadow, not far from the place he lodged. Hither repaired, with their wares, both men and women, for four or five miles about; and thoſe who lived at a greater diſtance, went to other markets nearer them. The great poverty of this people appeared in the goods found in theſe fairs, which were ſmall quantities of goods, a few pieces of cotton cloth, cotton yarns, pulſe, oil, millet, wooden tubs, palm-mats, and every thing elſe for the uſe of life.

They have no money or coin of any kind; all trade is carried on by way of barter, exchanging one thing for another, and ſometimes two or three for one, according to the different values. Theſe blacks, both men and women, came to gaze on Cada Moſto, as if he had been a prodigy; and thought it a great curioſity to behold a white man, for they had never ſeen any before; they were as much aſtoniſhed at his dreſs as his colour, being cloathed after the Spaniſh faſhion, with a black damaſk waiſtcoat and a cloak over it. They admired the woolen cloth, of which they have none, and ſeemed much ſurpriſed at the ſight of the waiſtcoat. Some catched him by the arms and hands, which they rubbed with ſpittle, to ſee if the whiteneſs was natural or artificial; and finding that his ſkin was not painted, their wonder continued.

In this country horſes are ſcarce, being brought from thoſe parts of Barbary next Europe, by the Arabs and Azanaghi. Beſides, the great heat will not ſuffer them to live long; for they grow ſo fat, that they cannot make water, and ſo burſt. They feed them with the bean leaves, which they gather after the beans are brought from the fields. Theſe are cut ſmall, being as dry as hay, and ſerve inſtead of oats; they give them millet alſo, which fattens them much. A horſe and furniture is ſold for from nine to fourteen ſlaves, according to his goodneſs and beauty.

When a lord buys one, he ſends for his horſe-ſorcerers; who cauſing a fire to be made of certain ſtalks of herbs, hold the head by the bridle over the ſmoak, while they repeat a few words. They afterwards have him anointed all over with fine oil, and keeping eighteen or twenty days, without ſuffering any body to ſee him, fix to his neck ſome Mooriſh charms, (which doubled-up, are like ſmall ſquare billets) covered with red leather.

The women of this country are very pleaſant and merry, and delight in ſinging and dancing, particularly the young ones. Theſe diverſions they take only at night, by the light of the moon. Several things belonging to the ſailors ſeemed wonderful to the negros, among which was the croſs-bow, but much more the artillery: ſome of them coming on board, Cada Moſto cauſed one of his guns to be fired off: which put them into a fright, their dread increaſed on his telling them, that one cannon ſhot would kill an hundred men: on which occaſion they ſaid, that it muſt be an infernal inſtrument. The ſhip and its contrivance offered them alſo matter of great admiration, as well as the maſts, ſails, ſhrouds and anchor. They took the port holes made in the ſtern, for real eyes, with which ſhe found her way by ſea. They ſaid the Europeans were ſorcerers, and not inferior to the devil himſelf: that travellers by land found difficulties in tracing the road from one place to another; yet they travelled by ſea where there were no tracks, which ſeemed much more difficult; and though they were ſo many days without ſight of land, yet they knew what courſe they ſteered. What they moſt of all wondered at, was to ſee a candle lighted in a candleſtick, which to them, who had never ſeen the like before, appeared both beautiful and ſurpriſing; for in this country they have no other light than that of the fire.

They ſuck out the honey from the combs, and throw the wax away as uſeleſs. The author having bought ſome of the combs from a negro, ſhewed how the honey was taken out; and then aſked if they knew what that was which remained? they anſwered, that they knew it to be good for nothing: but they were greatly aſtoniſhed when they ſaw it made into candles, and lighted in their preſence; ſaying, that the Chriſtians had knowledge of all things, which increaſed their reſpect for thoſe who were deſtined to do their countrymen ſo many injuries.

Budomel's country being examined, the author determined to double Cape de Verde, in order to make new diſcoveries, and try his fortune, ſtill farther: for before his departure from Portugal, he was informed by Prince Henry, that a perſon, well acquainted with the countries of the negros, had aſſured him, that not far from the kingdom of Senega, there was another called Gambra: out of which, according to the report of the natives, large quantities of gold were carried into Spain; and that the Chriſtians who ſhould go thither might enrich themſelves.

Cada Moſto having left Budomel, repaired to the caraval, and ſet ſail without delay. One morning he diſcovered two ſhips, and coming up with them, found that one belonged to Antoniotto Uſo di Mare, a Genoeſe gentleman, and the other to ſome gentlemen in the ſervice of Don Enriquez; who came in company with a deſign to paſs Cape de Verde, and ſeek their fortunes, by making new diſcoveries. As the author had the ſame views, he joined in company

with them, and all ſailed together ſouthward along the coaſt, in ſight of land, for the Cape, which they deſcried next day.

Cape Verde is high and beautiful, it runs into the ſea, and has two little hills, or mountains, at the point thereof. There are ſeveral villages of negros from Senega, on and about the promontory, who dwell in thatched houſes cloſe to the ſhore, and in ſight of thoſe who are ſailing. There are alſo ſome ſand banks that run off it, about half a mile into the ſea.

Doubling this cape, they came to three little deſart iſlands full of large green trees; and as they wanted water, they anchored at one of them, which ſeemed to be the largeſt and moſt fruitful, in hopes of meeting with ſprings; but on landing, they found no ſign of any, except in one place, which was of no ſervice to them. They met however, with ſeveral birds neſts, and eggs of different ſorts, ſuch as they had never ſeen before. They continued here all that day fiſhing with lines and large hooks, and catched a great number of fiſh. The next day they proceeded on their courſe, keeping always in ſight of land. This ſide of the cape forms a gulph. The coaſt is all low, and full of fine large trees which are continually green, that is, they do not wither as thoſe in Europe do, for the new leaves grow before the old ones fall off. Theſe trees are cloſe to the ſhore; it is a moſt beautiful coaſt to behold, and is watered every where by ſeveral ſmall rivers; but they turn to no account, becauſe great ſhips cannot enter them.

Beyond this gulph the coaſt is inhabited by two negro nations, the one called Barbaſini; the other Serreri, but not ſubject to the king of Senega, for they have neither king nor lord of their own; but one is more honoured than another, according to the condition and quality of the perſon. They will ſuffer no lord among them, perhaps to prevent their wives and children being taken from them and ſold for ſlaves, as they are in the other negro countries which have kings and lords. They are great idolaters without any law, and extremely cruel. They uſe bows and arrows more than any other weapons, whoſe wounds are incurable, if any blood is drawn by them, the creature immediately dying. They are exceedingly black, and well made. The place is full of woods, lakes and other waters, which are a great ſecurity to them; for they cannot be invaded but through narrow defiles, for which reaſon they do not fear any of the neighbouring lords. In former times the kings of Senega had attempted to reduce theſe two nations to their obedience, but were always worſted by them, to which their arrows, and the natural ſtrength of the country very conſiderably contributed.

Coaſting along with a good wind to the ſouth, they diſcovered the mouth of a river which is about a bow-ſhot wide, but not deep. To this they gave the name of Barbaſini, being 60 miles from Cape Verde. They ſailed along this coaſt by day, and at ſun-ſet always came to an anchor in ten or twelve fathoms water, about four or five miles from land. At ſun-riſe, they hoiſted ſail again, having a man continually on the top, and two at the prow, to ſee if the ſea broke over rocks or ſhoals. Sailing forward, they came to the mouth of another river, which ſeemed to be as large as the Senega. At the ſight of ſo fine a river, and very beautiful with trees down to the ſhore, they caſt anchor, and determined to ſend one of their negro interpreters to land, of which every ſhip brought ſome from Portugal. Theſe had been ſold as ſlaves by the lords of Senega, to the firſt Portugueſe who touched on their coaſt, were become Chriſtians, and underſtood the Spaniſh very well. They had them of their maſters, conditionally on their return to give each for his wages a ſlave to be choſen out of their ſtock, and when any of theſe interpreters could furniſh his maſter with four ſlaves, he was made free.

Having caſt lots to ſee which of the three ſhips ſhould ſend an interpreter on ſhore, it fell to the Genoeſe gentleman's turn, therefore he diſpatched an armed bark, with orders to the men not to touch on ſhore; but when they landed, the interpreter, who was charged to inform himſelf concerning the condition as well as government of the country, and if there was any gold or other things to be had worth coming for. The interpreter being landed, and the boat put back to ſome diſtance, ſeveral negros of the country came to meet him. Theſe, as ſoon as ever they perceived the ſhips approach the coaſt, lay in ambuſh with bows, arrows, and other weapons, in hopes of taking ſome of the ſtrangers.

After a ſhort diſcourſe with the interpreter, whatever the ſubject was, they fell furiouſly on him with their gomies, and killed him, thoſe in the boat not being able to aſſiſt him. When thoſe on board the ſhip received this news, it gave them great ſurpriſe; and concluding that thoſe who could commit ſuch a piece of barbarity on one of their own race, would treat them with more cruelty. They immediately weighed their anchors, and proceeded on their voyage to the ſouth, ſailing in ſight of the land, which improved in beautiful green trees, in proportion as they advanced, all the coaſts being low. At laſt they came to the mouth of a very large river, being no leſs than three or four miles wide in the narroweſt part, as they found they could ſafely ſail into it, they concluded to reſt there, to learn what kingdom it was. The next day being come to this river, which does not appear to be leſs than ſix or eight miles wide at the entrance, they judged it to belong to the ſo much deſired country of Gambra, and that near it they ſhould diſcover ſome rich land, when at once they might make their fortunes.

The day following, having but a ſmall breeze, they ſent the ſmall caraval before, well manned, with orders, that as their ſhip was ſmall, and drew but little water, ſhe ſhould proceed as far as ſhe could. If they met with any banks in the river's mouth, they were to ſound the depth, and if the river was navigable, then to turn back, and caſting anchor, give ſignals of the ſame. Having found four fathoms water they did as they were ordered. On this, it was thought proper to ſend another armed boat along with the veſſels, (which was but ſmall) into the river, with orders by no means to fight or diſpute with the natives of the country.

Theſe boats proceeded up the river, which they ſounded, and finding no leſs than 16 fathoms water for two miles, they advanced farther, and ſaw the banks of the river very beautiful, and full of trees; but as they perceived it made ſeveral turnings and windings into the country, they did not think proper to proceed any farther. In their way back, near the mouth of a little river, which ran into the great one, they ſaw three almeydas, each made out of one piece of large wood, lik a ſkiff. Though they were ſtrong enough to defend themſelves, yet in fear of being attacked with poiſoned arrows (uſed by all the inhabitants of Gambra, as the other negros had informed them) they took to their oars, making all poſſible haſte back to the ſhip. When they got on board, the almedyas, which followed them cloſe, were within arrow-ſhot. There were about 25 or 30 Moors in her, who ſtood for ſome time looking at a ſight quite new to them, but would neither come nearer, nor ſpeak, notwithſtanding all the endeavours that were uſed by ſigns to induce them; and at laſt they returned, having ſatisfied their curioſity.

About three o'clock, next morning, the two caravals, which ſtayed behind, ſailed with the current and a ſmall breeze, in order to join their companion, and entered into the river; hoping to meet with more humane people than thoſe they had ſeen before. They ſailed into the river one after another, the ſmall caraval being foremoſt, and by the time they had got four miles up it, they perceived themſelves followed by a number of almeydas, without knowing from whence they came. They tacked about, and bore down upon them, having firſt covered their ſhips in the beſt manner

ner they could, to ſerve as a defence againſt their ſuppoſed envenomed arrows. They made every thing ready to fight, though ill provided with arms, and ſoon met them. The almeydas came under the prow of Cada Moſto's ſhip, which was foremoſt; and dividing themſelves into two diviſions, took them in their centre. This gave them an opportunity to count their number, which was fifteen, and as large as barks. They ceaſed to row, raiſed their oars, and looked upon the caraval with wonder. There were about 150 negros, all well made, of a good ſize, and very black. They wore white cotton ſhirts on their bodies, and caps on their heads, like the Germans; but with a wing on each ſide, and a feather in the middle, by which they diſtinguiſh themſelves as warriors. At the prow of each veſſel there ſtood a negro, with a round target (which ſeemed to be of leather) on his arm; yet they neither attacked the caraval, nor did ſhe chuſe to begin the fight. Thus they continued peaceable till they ſaw the other two ſhips bear down upon them: then they dropped their oars, and ſhot arrows at them: the veſſel diſcharged four pieces of cannon at the enemy; the report of which, ſo ſurpriſed them, that they threw down their bows; and looking ſometimes one way, and ſometimes another, remained ſurpriſed to ſee the ſtones ſhattered by the cannon fall in the water near them. They continued in this ſuſpence for a conſiderable time: but ſeeing the cannon fired no more at them, layed hold of their bows, renewed the fight with great fury, approaching within a ſtone's ſhot of the ſhips. On this the ſailors began to diſcharge their croſs-bows at them. The firſt ſhot was made by the baſtard ſon of the Genoeſe gentleman, which, hitting a negro in the breaſt, he immediately dropped down dead. Thoſe in the almeyda took up the dart, and gazed on it with wonder, but did not give over the attack, which they carried on vigorouſly, and were ſo fiercely oppoſed by the caravals, that in a little time many of them were killed, without the loſs of one European. Obſerving the diſadvantage they laboured under, all the almeydas ſeemed to agree to attack the little caraval aſtern, which was both ill manned and ill armed. They executed this deſign with great fury, which Cada Moſto obſerving, moved forward to her aſſiſtance: and getting her between the two large caravals, they all diſcharged their cannon and croſs-bows at the almeydas, which made them retire. After this, they linked the three caravals together, and dropped an anchor that held them all, as it was calm.

They next attempted to have ſome talk with the negros, by means of their interpreters, who often hailed them. At laſt one of the almeydas drawing near, they aſked thoſe in her the reaſon for attacking ſtrangers, who came to trade with them, as they had done with the negros of the kingdom of Senega: that they were willing to be upon the ſame terms with them, if they thought proper, and were come from remote parts with great preſents to their king or lord, in behalf of the king of Portugal, who was deſirous of peace and friendſhip with him.

They then intreated the negros to let them know what country they were in, who was king of it, and what was the name of the river? adding, that they might freely come and take what goods they thought proper out of their ſhip: that they would take in return ſome of their commodities, in ſuch ſmall quantities as they pleaſed themſelves, and that in caſe they gave them none at all, they ſhould be very well contented. To this they made anſwer, That they had ſome intelligence of them before, and of their dealings with the negros of Senega, who they ſaid, muſt certainly be very wicked men, for deſiring to have any friendſhip with them: for they were well aſſured Chriſtians were men-eaters, and bought negros for no other uſe than to devour them: that for the ſame reaſon, they would have no manner of correſpondence with them; but would endeavour to kill them, and then make preſents of their effects to their lords, who lived about three days journey diſtant, and added, that the country was called Gambra. In this inſtant the wind began to riſe, and as they had diſcovered the evil inclinations of the negros, they bore down upon them; but they fled to the ſhore; and thus ended their war with them.

The commanders of the caravals then came to a reſolution to proceed about 100 miles up the river, in hopes of meeting with a better diſpoſed people: But the ſailors, who were impatient to return home, not caring to run any farther hazard, unanimouſly, and loudly oppoſed their determination: declaring, that they would conſent to no ſuch thing, and that they had done enough already for this voyage. Therefore being obliged to come into their meaſures, the next day they ſailed for Cape Verde on their return to Spain.

During their ſtay in this river, they ſaw the north ſtar but once, and that very low. In this place, the firſt of July, they found the night to be eleven hours and a half long, and the day twelve and a half. This climate is always hot, and the author was told that the rain which falls within land is warm, through the heat of the air. There is, however, ſome difference in the heat, which is ſometimes greater, at other times leſs. When this laſt is the caſe, they call it winter: for the rain begins in July, and continues all October, and falls every day about noon, when certain clouds riſe in the north-eaſt-by-eaſt or eaſt-ſouth-eaſt point, accompanied with much thunder, lightning, and a prodigious quantity of rain. In this ſeaſon the negros begin to ſow their grain, in the ſame manner as thoſe in Senega do. Their food is millet, pulſe, fleſh, and milk.

Cada Moſto could ſay nothing concerning the condition of the country of Gambra, as having been obliged to return to Spain without proceeding any farther; partly through the untractableneſs of the natives, who are a fierce, wild people, eſpecially thoſe on the ſea coaſt, and partly through the perverſeneſs of the ſailors, who had refuſed to follow them, and we find nothing more noticed till his return. ——

The next year he and the Genoeſe gentleman jointly fitted out two caravals, in order to return to that river. Prince Henry having heard of their deſign (which indeed they could not have undertaken without his leave) was highly pleaſed at it, and determined to ſend a caraval of his own along with them. Every thing being got ready for the voyage, they ſailed from Lagos, not far from Cape St. Vincent, in the beginning of May, with a proſperous wind. They ſteered for the Canaries, and made them in a few days: but as the wind continued favourable, they did not touch at them, continuing their courſe ſoutherly; the current, which ran to the ſouth-weſt, alſo favouring them, they ſailed at a great rate. At laſt, coming in ſight of Cape Blanco, they kept out to ſea, and the night following were taken in a great ſtorm from the ſouth-weſt, which made them ſteer weſt-by-north for two nights and three days, rather than turn back, in order to weather the tempeſt.

On the third day, they deſcried land, to the great joy as well as ſurpriſe of every one, to find it in thoſe parts, where they thought there was none. Having immediately ordered two men to the main-top, they diſcovered two large iſlands: this being made public, their ſatisfaction was ſtill the greater; for they were ſenſible, theſe iſlands were not known in Spain. As they imagined the places might be inhabited, and were eager to puſh their fortunes; they ſteered for one of them, which ſoon coming up with, they ſailed round part of it, till they came to ſafe anchorage. The weather growing calm, they ſent their boat well manned and armed on ſhore: the men landed, and having gone over ſome part of it, brought word back, that they could meet with no ſigns of inhabitants. Next morning to clear up all doubts, Cada Moſto ſent ten men well armed with guns, croſs-bows, and other weapons, ordering them to go to the

top of ſome mountains in view, and thence look out not only for people, but alſo for more iſlands. Theſe men having executed their commands, found no inhabitants, but an incredible number of pigeons, which they caught with their hands, ſuch ſtrangers were the birds to man, and brought great quantities of them to the caravals. What was of much more importance they diſcovered three other large iſlands, one of which was to the leeward toward the north, which thoſe in the ſhips did not ſee; the other two lay to the ſouth, and in their courſe, all within ſight of one another. Theſe men likewiſe obſerved ſomething like iſlands to the weſt, but at ſo great a diſtance, that they could not diſtinguiſh them clearly, neither did Cada Moſto care to ſail to them, leſt he ſhould loſe time, and meet with nothing but deſart iſlands, like thoſe he touched at. (The news of his having diſcovered theſe four iſlands, brought others this way afterwards, who, being deſirous to ſee how many iſlands there were in all, found them to be ten in number both great and ſmall, inhabited only by pigeons and other birds: but a fine fiſhery).

Proceeding on their voyage they ſailed from this iſland, and coming in ſight of the other two, ſearched for an anchoring place near one of them which was full of trees. Here they diſcovered the mouth of a river, and being in need of water, they came to an anchor, and landed in order to ſupply their wants. Some of the author's men went a little way up the river, and met with ſome lakes of beautiful fine ſalt, large quantities of which they brought to the ſhip: laying in what ſtock they thought neceſſary; as they did likewiſe of the water, which was exceeding good. Tortoiſes they found here in great numbers; they took a good many of them, whoſe ſhells were larger than a great target. The ſailors dreſſed them in different diſhes, as they had done before in the gulph of Argin, where alſo theſe fiſh are plenty, though not ſo large. The author, out of curioſity ate ſome of the fleſh, which ſeemed to be very good, and nothing inferior to veal, having a good ſmell and taſte. They ſalted a number of them, which proved good proviſion on the voyage. They caught alſo ſuch a large quantity of other fiſh about the mouth, as well as in this river, as is ſcarcely credible; and though they knew not the kind, yet it was large and well taſted. A veſſel of an hundred and fifty tons might ſail into the river, which was a full arrow's ſhot wide. Here they remained two days to refreſh, and took in the abovementioned proviſions, beſides large quantities of pigeons, which they killed without number. To the firſt iſland they anchored at, they gave the name of Bona Viſta, as has been already obſerved, being the firſt they had ſight of in thoſe parts, and to the other, which ſeemed the largeſt of the four, St. Jago, having caſt anchor there on the firſt of May.

Every thing being in readineſs for purſuing their voyage, they ſet ſail from theſe iſlands; and ſteering their courſe for Cape de Verde, arrived at Spedegar; and keeping within ſight of land, came afterwards to a place called, The two Palms, lying between Cape Verde and the river Senega. They knew the courſe ſo well that they doubled the Cape next day, and paſſing forward came once more to the river Gambia, into which they ſpeedily entered, and without any oppoſition from the negros or their almeydas, ſailed up the river, always by day, with the lead in hand. Such of the almeydas of the negros as they met with kept at a diſtance, and rowed cloſe to the bank of the river, not preſuming to venture near them.

About ten miles within the river they caſt anchor, on a Sunday morning, at an iſland in the ſhape of a ſmoothing-iron, where one of the ſailors, who had died of a fever, was buried; and as his name was Andrew, being well-beloved, they gave the iſland the name of St. Andrew, which it goes by.

Leaving this iſland they proceeded up the river, and ſome of the negro almeydas followed, though wide of them, being hailed, the interpreter ſpoke to them, and ſhewed them a few trinkets, which were offered to be given them, telling them that they might ſafely come near. One of them who came on board Cada Moſto's veſſel, was much ſurpriſed at the ſight of the ſails and rigging, theſe people making uſe of no ſuch tackle in the conſtruction of their almeydas.

Being aſked ſeveral queſtions relative to the country, this man ſaid it was called Gambra, and that Foroſangali was their lord, whoſe reſidence it appeared was at the diſtance of about nine days journey. This prince, he obſerved, was tributary to the emperor of Melli. And this man introduced Cada Moſto (after a paſſage of forty miles up the river) to the reſidence of a prince or lord called Battimanſa, with whom he adviſed them to enter into a treaty of peace and friendſhip. The autbor made him a preſent of a ſilken Mooriſh garment, and told him, that they came from the chriſtian king of Portugal, who wiſhed to enter into a treaty of commerce with their countrymen.

Battimanſa agreed, and received the embaſſy with much civility. A trade was afterwards eſtabliſhed, and cotton, cotton yarn, civet, and other commodities (beſides monkeys and baboons) were traded and bartered for, as alſo negro ſlaves and ſome gold; but the latter not in ſo large a quantity as Cada Moſto had expected.

Every day he ſaw his veſſels crowded with people of different complexions and of various languages, the negros continuing to go up and down in their almeydas with men and women on board, from one place to another. The natives here, like thoſe of other places already deſcribed, put great faith in ſorcery. But there are ſome Mahometans among them, the Moors having inſinuated themſelves by trade, or gained footing by force, along moſt part of the coaſts of Africa.

The natives of this country live nearly after the manner of thoſe of Senega. Their clothing is of cotton; and the women, when they are young, make figures on their necks, breaſts and arms, with the point of a hot needle. At a ſpring near the banks of a river, the ſailors found a very large tree full of holes and hollow, the branches make a large ſhade. There were other trees larger than this, by which the richneſs of the ſoil is eaſily conceived; the country being watered by ſeveral ſtreams.

The author ſays the country is full of elephants; but the inhabitants know not how to tame them, as in other countries. As they lay at anchor in the middle of the river, three elephants came out of the woods, and walked by the river-ſide: they put out their boat, and ſome hands to go to them, being at ſome diſtance; but on their approach, theſe animals returned into the woods.

Theſe were all the author ſaw alive. Afterwards a negro gentleman, out of complaiſance ſhewed him a young one dead, which this negro (who lived near the river's mouth) had killed after two days chace. Theſe people hunt on foot in the woods, with bows and aſſaguays only, which are envenomed. Their method is to place themſelves behind the trees, and ſometimes mount to the tops, leaping from one to another, in the purſuit of the elephant; which being a large animal, is wounded in many places before it can turn about, without having power to make any reſiſtance; though in an open field, no man durſt attack one; or could eſcape, were he ever ſo ſwift. But he will never hurt any perſon unleſs provoked to it.

The gentleman made the author a preſent of what part of the dead elephant he liked beſt; and gave the remainder to the huntſmen to feaſt on. When Cada Moſto underſtood that this elephant was eaten by the negros, he had a piece of it cut off for roaſting and boiling. Of this he ate, that he might ſay he had fed on the fleſh of an animal, which none of his country had ever done; however, he could not reliſh it; for he found it hard and of no pleaſant taſte. He brought one of the legs, and part of the trunk, to

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the caraval, together with ſome of its hair, taken off the body, which was very black and thick, being a ſpan and a half long. [This hair, with part of the fleſh, ſalted on purpoſe, he on his return preſented to the prince, who received it with great pleaſure, as it was the firſt that came from this country, diſcovered by his own encouragement.]

It muſt be obſerved that the elephant's foot is round like that of a horſe, but without hoofs, which are ſupplied by a hard, black, and very thick ſkin, beſet with five nails on the forepart, which are round. The foot of this elephant, though young, was not ſo ſmall but that the ſole meaſured a ſpan and an half every way.

In the Gambra, as well as all other rivers on this coaſt, beſides the Calcatrici, and other animals, there is one called the River-horſe, of the ſame nature almoſt with the ſea-cow, which lives both in land and in the water. It is as large as a cow in the body, and has but ſhort legs with cloven feet, and a large head like that of an horſe, with two large teeth like the wild boar's huſks, ſome of which the author had ſeen above two ſpans in length. This animal getting out of the river, walks along the ſide like other four-footed beaſts, and was never before diſcovered by any of the Chriſtians that Cada Moſto could learn, except perhaps in the Nile. He alſo ſaw bats upwards of three ſpans long, and ſeveral other birds very different from thoſe in our parts, both in taſte and ſhape, but very good to eat.

Having left Battimanſa's country, in a few days they got out of the river, having ſtocked themſelves with a ſufficiency of commodities, they agreed to continue their courſe along the coaſt; but as they found themſelves too near the river Gambra, and the land ran a great way to the ſouth-weſt, as far as to a point which they took for a cape, they kept to the weſt, in order to gain the ſea, though the coaſt was very low, and full of trees. This being done, at laſt they perceived that it was not a cape, as they had ſuppoſed, the ſhore appearing ſtrait on the other ſide of the point. However, they ſailed at a diſtance, and kept good watch, as they diſcovered breakers upon it.

"Within three days afterwards, (ſays our author) they diſcovered the mouth of a river, which appeared to be about half a mile wide, and towards evening, ſaw a little gulph, which they took for the entrance of a river. But as it grew late, they came to an anchor, and ſailing into the gulph the next morning, found a river not much ſmaller than that of Gambra, (or Gambia.) Caſting anchor here, they agreed to arm two of their boats, and to ſend their interpreters on ſhore, in order to get intelligence relating to the ſituation of the country, and the diſpoſition of its inhabitants. The interpreter returning, brought word that the river was called, The River Caſamanſa, taking its name from a negro chief who reſided about 30 miles up the country. Having received this intelligence, they ſailed from this river the next day. Its ſituation was about 25 leagues from Gambra. They afterwards came to a cape about ſeven leagues diſtant, which was ſomewhat higher than the reſt of the coaſt. The front of it appeared to be red; for which reaſon it was denominated Cape Roxo: ſtill proceeding, they arrived at the mouth of two other large rivers, one of which they called S. Anne's, and the other S. Dominick's.

The next day they came to another large river, which appeared to be a gulph, and they perceived ſeveral beautiful trees on the ſouthern ſide of it. Having ſailed acroſs, they ſaw ſome iſlands in the ſea, and came to an anchor, as uſual, in order to get intelligence of the country. Two large almeydas came off to them, the day after they had anchored, and theſe rowed on board the ſhips. One of them was as large as a caraval, with about 30 hands in her, and the other had about 16. The Portugueſe obſerving that they came on with great eagerneſs, took to their arms, not knowing what their deſigns might be; and being thus prepared, waited their arrival. However, as they drew near, they hoiſted out ſomething white, as a ſignal of peace, which the Portugueſe anſwering, the negros came along-ſide. The largeſt of the two almeydas advanced towards Cada Moſto's veſſel, and ſeemed ſtruck with admiration as they contemplated its form, examining the main-ſails, yards, and rigging, with the moſt minute attention. The interpreter, by order, aſked them what place it was; but to the great mortification of the voyagers, as he could not underſtand a word of their language, no intelligence was to be gained. However, a few gold rings were bought here, the price of them being agreed upon by ſignals.

As our voyages found themſelves in a country where their interpreters could not poſſibly be of any uſe to them, they had little encouragement to proceed. In this river, called Rio Grande (which De Faria ſays was diſcovered by Nunnez Triſtan nine years before) they remained two days, and, during their ſtay there, experienced great contrarity in the tides and currents, which ſet in with ſuch violence, that it was with difficulty they bore up againſt them, having often three anchors a-head; and ſometimes they were forced to hoiſt their ſails, the current exceeding the force of the wind by its impetuoſity.

Leaving the mouth of this river, they directed their courſe towards two large iſlands, and ſome ſmall ones, that lay about 30 miles diſtant from the continent. Theſe two large iſlands were inhabited by negros: the country was low, but full of beautiful trees. But meeting with ſome difficulty as before in regard to language, Cada Moſto thought fit to quit them, and continue his courſe to Europe, where he arrived in ſafety, after a proſperous voyage.

VOYAGE OF THE SIEUR D' ELBEE, TO ARDRAH, ON THE COAST OF AFRICA.

THE Portugueſe, Engliſh and Dutch, had reſpectively viſited the African coaſts; the enterpriſing genius of the French would not ſuffer them to be idle. Guinea, the Eaſt and Weſt Indies were objects of their attention, and they failed not to make voyages to thoſe places with a view to eſtabliſh ſettlements in them. as well as in the weſtern hemiſphere, where they envied the ſucceſs of the Spaniards, who under the auſpices of Columbus, had added a new quarter to the globe.

The French Weſt Indian company, eſtabliſhed in 1664, finding the want it had of negro ſlaves, equipped two veſſels at Havre de Grace, viz. The Juſtice, and the Concorde, each of 250 tons, and carrying 32 guns. The Sieur d' Elbee, commiſſioner of the marines, was named commodore of theſe ſhips, and

went on board the Juſtice, having with him the Sieur du Bourg, who was appointed commander of the intended fort and factory on the coaſt of Ardrah. Amongſt the under factors who went on this expedition, was one Carlof, who knew the country by having reſided there in the Dutch ſervice, and was now entered into that of the French company. Theſe veſſels departing November 1, 1669, ſailed along the coaſt of Africa, and having touched at Cape Blanco, and ſeveral other places, came to an anchor in the road of Ardrah, January the 4th, 1670.

The next day the Sieur Carlof landed, and went to Offra. He was informed at Praya, by the governor, that the Dutch being appriſed of the company's deſign, uſed all methods to traverſe and ruin the enterpriſe. This governor did not fail, according to his ſovereign's orders, to diſpatch a courier to Ardrah, to notify to the court the arrival of the French ſhips, and the Sieur Carlof ſent off another with letters to Offra; he was moſt kindly received by the viceroy, and returned on board to give the Sieur D' Elbee an account of what he had learned by this journey. The Second of the Dutch factory came on board the Juſtice to compliment the commodore, and made him a preſent of freſh proviſions. Both his compliment and preſent were received, and though the commodore was ſecretly convinced of his ſecret ill will, yet he was regaled, and ſent back with preſents, as if he had been a real friend. The Sieur du Bourg landed, and went to Offra, where the Engliſh factor provided him a lodging and proviſions; for the natives were not allowed to furniſh any, till, by the king's orders, the trade was opened. The viceroy, however, received him with great civility. Three days paſſed without any anſwer from court. This ſurpriſed the Sieur Carlof the more, as he had written a letter to the king, reminding his majeſty of their ancient friendſhip, and that, in their youth, they had drank mouth to mouth, that is, out of the ſame glaſs; which, amongſt theſe people, is a ſort of pledge or token of perpetual friendſhip.

In the mean time the company's preſents for the king were landed. Amongſt theſe was a fine gilt coach, with a magnificent ſet of harneſſes, which ſort of carriage had been introduced by the Portugueſe.

It is the cuſtom of the court of Ardrah to make ſtrangers wait a long time for an anſwer. The king, in conſideration of his former friendſhip for the Sieur Carlof, was pleaſed to ſhorten the time. The deputy captain of his majeſty arrived at Offra, July the 16th, ten days after the date of the letters. He waited on the Sieur Carlof (who was at the Sieur du Bourg's lodgings) in the king's name, and told him, that prince was overjoyed to find any of his friends alive, who were worthy to ſee him; that he ſhould have that honour immediately; and that the king, to ſhew his remembrance of their former friendſhip, would not receive his preſents before hand, as he did of other nations: he added, that the king was well diſpoſed to favour the French, and grant them the ſame privileges enjoyed by other nations, and even greater, and that his majeſty had commanded the prince his ſon, and the great captain, to repair as ſoon as poſſible to Offra, and conduct him to court. This news, which the French took care to publiſh, greatly mortified the Dutch. Two days after, the hereditary prince, and the great captain of trade, arrived together at Offra. The Sieur du Bourg, attended by the Sieur Carlof, went immediately to viſit the prince. The meeting paſſed in mutual compliments, and, as it was late, no motion was made of buſineſs. Next day the prince, attended by the great captain, returned the viſit; and after the firſt civilities, told him, that he was ſent by the king his father to conduct him to Aſſem, (or Great Ardrah) but that firſt he would entertain and drink with him at the ſea-ſide; from whence, returning to Offra, he would proceed to court. After this viſit, the French had the liberty of buying from the natives what they wanted, not only on ſhore, but for the veſſels in the road, although they wanted little, having been plentifully ſupplied by the coaſt negros in the night. January the 20th, the prince was carried to the ſea-ſide, where a large tent had been erected for him. He was attended by the great captain of trade, the Sieur du Bourg and Carlof, the Engliſh factors, and the under clerks of the Dutch factory. He arrived at the ſhore about nine o'clock in the morning. As ſoon as he appeared, the Sieur d' Elbee, who was on board, ſaluted him with four diſcharges of twelve guns each, at ſmall intervals, after which he went on ſhore. As ſoon as the boat came near land, the prince ſent ſome of his retinue, who took him on their ſhoulders, and brought him on ſhore; others lifted up the boat with all the crew, and ſet it down twenty fathoms from the ſea, with as much dexterity as ſtrength. Theſe negros were all large and robuſt men, but quite naked, except a piece of cotton cloth round their waiſt.

After the Sieur de Elbee had advanced ſome paces, an officer deſired him in Portugueſe, to ſtop where he was; which he did, and all the people, who had crouded to ſee him, retired, out of reſpect, ſo that he remained alone with his attendants at the negro officer's. Soon after, they perceived a company of negros approach, who carried crooked ſticks, in the ſhape of an S, at the end of which were fixed little banners, which they ſhouted with, playing a thouſand tricks of dexterity. After theſe, came the drummers, their drums being painted and taper at each end. They beat well, and made an agreeable cadence. They were followed by others, who bore the inſtruments of poliſhed iron, like ſmall bells, on which they made muſic with rods jingling in concert with the drums; next came a large troop of comedians, or players, ſome dancing, others ſinging, and ſhewed ſeveral antic poſtures; ſome telling diverting ſtories, and amongſt them ſome had braſs and ivory trumpets of different ſizes, whoſe ſounds kept time with the other muſic. All theſe compoſed the prince's band of muſic, and always attend him, when he appears in ſtate. They paſſed in good order by the Sieur d' Elbee, entertaining him with their beſt trumpets. The officers of the prince's houſhold appeared next, at ſome diſtance at the head of his guards, who marched with their muſquets on their ſhoulders, and had by their ſides ſabres with gilt handles. Theſe were followed by the great equerry, or maſter of the horſe, who walked ſingle, richly dreſſed, his hat on his head, and bearing on his ſhoulders the prince's ſabre, as the ſword of ſtate is carried before the doge of Genoa. The prince came next, having borne over his head a large umbrella. He walked ſlowly, leaning on two of his officers; the great captain (or general) of horſe marched at his right ſide, and the great captain of trade on his left. He was followed by ſeveral of the nobles, or grandees, and the proceſſion cloſed with above 10,000 negros.

When the prince approached within ten paces of the Sieur d'Elbee, he ſtopped, and then the officers, who attended the latter, told him it was time to advance. He did ſo, ſaluting with a low bow, in the French faſhion, the prince, who preſented him his hand, and d'Elbee gave his to the prince, who ſqueezed it gently, looking at him ſteadfaſtly, without ſpeaking. D'Elbee was ſilent a moment, to expreſs his reſpect, and then made him his compliment in Portugueſe, which the prince, out of ſtate, had interpreted, though he both underſtood and ſpoke the Portugueſe well. He made uſe of the ſame interpreter, to tell the Sieur D'Elbee for anſwer, that he was glad to ſee him; that he would employ all his credit with the king, his father, in his favour; and that he thanked him for his obliging offers. After this, he took him by the hand, and made him walk by his ſide beneath the umbrella. He would ſee the boat which brought him on ſhore; he examined it with attention, and taking the flag which it had, cauſed it to be ſet up before his tent, where was drawn up a company of muſ-

muſqueteers, whoſe pieces were in good order, and they had all ſabres and pouches.

The Sieur D'Elbee and the prince converſed and dined together, after the manner of the country, and the latter on his coming out, cauſed ſeveral handfuls of bujis to be diſtributed to the people, from whom he received loud acclamations. After this, trade was open, and the French had full liberty to deal with the king's ſubjects.

The prince appeared to be about thirty or thirty-five. He had on but two pagnes or robes, both of which trained on the ground; one was of ſatin, the other of taffyte, with a broad taffyte ſcarf tied like a belt. The reſt of his body was naked. He had on a hat with red and white feathers, and red pumps on his feet.—At the Sieur D'Elbee's taking leave in the evening, the prince ſhewed him new civilities, promiſing him his protection to the French nation on all occaſions, and would even ſee him to his boat: which a number of ſtout negros took on their ſhoulders and carried into the ſea, beyond the large waves. The commodore ſaluted the prince with many huzzas, and his ſhip with four ſalvos of twelve guns each.

In the mean time the prince placed himſelf in his hammock, which was carried by two luſty negros. The Sieurs du Bourg and Carlof alſo got into theirs; and like him had umbrellas carried over their heads. The prince ſet out thus, attended by his guards, his muſic, and a great crowd of people. It was late before they reached Offra.

The next day, January the 21ſt, the prince attended by the two grand captains, paid a viſit to Du Bourg, and invited him to accompany him to Aſſem, ordering hammocks to be given him and Carlof. They ſet out on the 24th, and as they travelled in the prince's company, had the advantage of ſeeing the country by day, which is a privilege denied to all ſtrangers. The prince gave them a grand entertainment at Great Foro, a large village, which lies half way between Offra and Aſſem; and as they ſet out late, it was night when they arrived at the capital. They were conducted to an apartment in the king's palace, deſigned for the French, where the king ſent them their ſupper.

Mean time D'Elbee landed the merchandize, which was carried from the ſhore to Offra by negros. Theſe had twenty bujis for the journey: a ſmall rate for porterage, but proportioned to their burdens, which never exceeded two bars of iron, or a weight equivalent, which they call Tonge. The bar of iron here, is nine foot long, two inches broad, and one fourth thick. From Offra to Aſſem they tranſported the king's preſents, and the goods deſigned to trade with the grandees.

The Sieur Du Bourg had his firſt audience of the king, on the 27th of January, in which he appeared under the character of ambaſſador, from Louis the 14th and in that quality was introduced by the prince, the prieſt, and two great captains of trade and horſe. The king made him ſit down on a bed of cotton, placed near his armed chair. Du Bourg paid his compliments in Portugueſe, which, though the king underſtood and ſpoke perfectly well, yet he had his addreſs explained by his two interpreters, Matteo and Franciſco, who kneeled at his feet. The office of interpreter here is very conſiderable, but the leaſt miſtake or falſification is as much as his life is worth.

The king having given an obliging anſwer to the Sieur Du Bourg's compliments, the latter preſented his majeſty the coach and other preſents ſent him by the company, after which, he intreated his permiſſion to build a lodge or factory at Offra; engaging that four ſhips ſhould be ſent regularly every year to trade in his dominions. The king replied, With reſpect to trade, the Dutch ſent more ſhips annually than he could load, that the laſt year ſome had been forced to go away without their cargoes, that there were then actually ſix on the coaſt, and four at Mina, that only waited advice from their factory to come; ſo that he neither wanted ſhips nor merchandiſe: that the Dutch had made him very conſiderable offers to contract an alliance with him, in order to have an excluſive right to trade in his dominions; and that he had the greateſt reaſon to comply with them, as the Engliſh ſeemed to neglect his commerce, and the French, who had formerly traded with him, and kept their words no better, which was a fault he could not accuſe the Dutch with. His majeſty added, notwithſtanding all this, the great things he had heard of the king of France, and of the care one of his miniſters ſhewed to extend commerce, raiſed in him a fondneſs to merit the eſteem of ſo great a prince, by treating his ſubjects well: for which end he had given orders to his great captain for trade, to build a factory at Offra, to protect their commerce, and give them all the encouragement in his power. After this, the boxes of the richeſt goods were brought, of which the king had his choice, and the Sieur Du Bourg left the price to his majeſty. This compliment produced a good effect, and gave him an high eſteem for the French. Du Bourg falling ſick here, left the direction of the trade to Carlof, who immediately raiſed the price of ſlaves to eighteen bars a head, which before never exceeded twelve. This was a piece of policy deſigned to ruin the Dutch trade, who choſe rather to keep their goods in their hands, than not get as much by them as they had done before.

The Sieur Carlof ſent preſents to the queen-mother and the queen, after which, he traded for about 300 ſlaves, which he bought from the prince, the prieſt, and the great captains. Theſe ſlaves he ſent on board his ſhips. The deputy captain of trade alſo conducted ſeventy-five, which the king paid for the goods he had taken.

Proclamation was made through the country, on the 8th of February, of the liberty of trade for ſlaves granted by the king to the company. As this trade was ſettled at Offra, the king's receivers fixed the duty there, the ſame as at Aſſem, ſlaves bought from the king paid no duty.

By the 1ſt of March, the Juſtice having her cargo compleated, was ready to ſail, but waited for her conſort.—In order to forward matters, the Sieur D'Elbee took a ſecond journey to court, attended by the Sieur Carlof, with his domeſtics. They arrived before day at Aſſem. During the time of the Sieur D'Elbee's ſtay, he viſited the town and the adjacent parts, attended by two of the king's officers. On his arrival, he was carried to the French apartment in the palace, where the king immediately ſent him all ſorts of refreſhments: as meat, boiled and roaſt, bread of different kinds, as well as liquors. The prince, the grand prieſt, and other grandees did the ſame, ſo that he had proviſions enough for 200 people. As ſoon as it was day, he was viſited by all the grandees; but the prince ſent to excuſe himſelf from ſeeing him, on account of the death of one of his children. He was confined and ſaw nobody, which with them is a mark of extreme grief.

The king was in one of his gardens, ſeated in a damaſk arm-chair beneath a gallery, when D'Elbee was admitted to an audience. This prince called Tozifon, appeared to be about ſeventy, tall and big in proportion; his eyes large and lively, and in his countenance there was an appearance of penetration and judgment. He was dreſſed in two pagnes like under petticoats, in the Perſian mode, one over the other; the undermoſt was taffyte, the other of a pricked ſatin; a broad taffyte ſcarf ſerved him for a belt or girdle; the reſt of his body was naked. He wore on his head a ſort of night-cap of fine linen edged with lace, and over it a crown of wood, black and ſhining like ebony, of a fragrant ſmell. In his hand he held a ſmall whip, the handle of which was of black wood, and loaded with ornaments, the cord or whip being of ſilk or pete.

After the uſual compliments the Sieur D'Elbee intreated the king would allow the French to build a factory in their own way, the one being built too

little, and otherwiſe incommodious; and that he would give his orders for the ſafety of the directors and factors at Offra. The king replied, He took thoſe officers under his protection, and would take particular care they ſhould be ſafe, and have no cauſe of complaint; that he would iſſue his immediate orders; that the debts due by his ſubjects to the company ſhould be diſcharged in twenty-four hours; with regard to the factory at Offra, he would give direction to the prince and the two great captains to go in perſon there and augment the buildings; but that he could not allow them to build a factory in their manner, "You will (ſays the king) make a houſe, in which you will at firſt put two little pieces of cannon; the next year you will mount four; and in a little time your factory will be changed into a fort, that will make you maſters of my dominions, and enable you to give laws to me." He accompanied theſe arguments with ſo many apt and witty ſimiles, and ſuch an air of good humour and pleaſantry, that Sieur d'Elbee could not be diſpleaſed at ſo obliging and polite a refuſal. The king added, that he wondered the kingdom of France being ſo large and full of able workmen, the company ſhould load their veſſel with common merchandiſe, like thoſe brought by the Engliſh and Dutch. D'Elbee anſwered, That this firſt voyage being only to try the trade, the Company had judged it proper to ſend only ſuch ſorts of goods as the Engliſh and Dutch did; but that for the future they would ſupply his majeſty with whatever was rare and curious; deſiring he would be ſo good as to name ſuch things as would be agreeable to him. The king named a French ſilver-hilted ſword and cutlaſs, large looking-glaſſes the fineſt linen, and laced ſhoes and ſlippers of velvet and ſcarlet cloth, ſcented gloves, ſilk ſtockings, and ſome other things, which the commodore promiſed to bring or ſend him by the firſt veſſels that ſhould ſail after his return to France. After this converſation, the Sieur D'Elbee made his majeſty a preſent of a fowling-piece, and a pair of piſtols mounted with ſilver. The king received this preſent very agreeably, inviting him to go and ſee the prince his eldeſt ſon, ſaying, that on his account the prince would receive his viſit, though at ſuch a time of mourning. After this, he took the Sieur D'Elbee by the hand, and diſmiſſed him with ſuch marks of his favour as he had never ſhewn to any European before.

The king is ſo reverenced by his ſubjects, that except his ſon and the chief prieſts, nobody muſt appear before him, but with his face proſtrate to the ground, not ever daring to look up: only when obliged to anſwer, they raiſe their heads a little, but lay them down again as ſoon as they have done ſpeaking, as was done by the two great captains of trade and horſe at this audience. Only the prince and the chief prieſt are exempted from this ſubmiſſion. Theſe ſpeak to the king ſtanding, and have the privilege of entering the palace at all hours, day or night, without being ſent for.

The Sieur d'Elbee having, by the king's favour, been taken to the palace and gardens, viſited all the apartments except that of the women, where nobody is permitted to enter. He received the Sieur d'Elbee with a great deal of politeneſs; and on his account diſpenſed with the ceremony, which admits no perſon of diſtinction to ſee company during the time of mourning. The hall where he gave audience was large, and covered with a Turkey carpet. The prince was ſeated on a mat. He cauſed others to be brought for the Sieur d'Elbee and his two officers. After an hour's converſation, in which he aſſured the French nation of his protection and friendſhip. He called for liquors, and drank mouth to mouth with the Sieur d'Elbee, cauſing ſome to be preſented to the others; after which he roſe up. The Sieur d'Elbee took his leave and returned to the town the ſame way he came, alighting at the houſe of the chief prieſt, who had invited him to ſupper, and they had an entertainment which was heightened by muſic, which began about the middle of the repaſt. Voices, like thoſe of little children, were heard, as coming from a great diſtance, accompanied with the tinkling of little bells. The French commander obſerved with great attention. The great prieſt, who ſpoke Portugueſe perfectly well, aſked him what he thought of theſe voices? He replied, They are little children, who ſing well and keep good time to their inſtruments. "They are my wives," ſays the prieſt, "who give you this little diverſion: it is not the cuſtom here to ſhew our wives to any: but to convince you of the eſteem I have for the French, I will give you that ſatisfaction if you pleaſe." D'Elbee returned him thanks; and when ſupper was over, the prieſt conducted him up to a high gallery, which had a window looking into the hall where they ſupped. Theſe women were there, to the number of between ſeventy and eighty. They had only petticoats or ſacques, of taffyte, which covered them from the waiſt downwards, leaving the upper part naked. Some of them had taffyte girdles. They ſat on mats at the end and ſides of the gallery, pretty cloſe to each other, and one by one. The arrival of the pontiff and ſtrangers ſeemed to give them neither emotion nor curioſity. They continued their ſinging and muſic, ſtriking with little rods on their bells of iron and metal, which were cylindrical and of different ſizes.

There was a figure about the bigneſs of a child of four years old, and all white, at the corner of this gallery. D'Elbee aſking what image it was, the prieſt told him it was the devil's: "But the devil is not white, ſays d'Elbee." In making him black, anſwered the prieſt, you commit a miſtake; for I can aſſure you he is very white, having ſeen him and ſpoken with him ſeveral times. It is ſix months ſince he informed me of the deſign you had formed in France to open trade there. You are obliged to him, added he; ſince, purſuant to this advice, we have neglected the other Europeans, that you might ſooner have your cargo of ſlaves." D'Elbee believed what he thought proper, but would not diſpute the point with the prieſt.

This great prieſt was about forty; tall, well made, and of an agreeable aſpect. He wore the ſame dreſs with the king's principal officers; that is two large pagnes of ſilk ſtuff in brocades, one over the other; a large ſcarf like a belt: cotton drawers, pretty long ſandals, or a kind of pumps of red Spaniſh leather; a cap or European hat, a large hanger with a gilt handle faſtened at his girdle, and a cane in his hand. This he quits when he enters the king's apartments, whoſe prime miniſter he is, not only as to what regards religion, but in affairs of ſtate. He is the only officer who has a right to enter the king's apartment by day, and to ſpeak to him face to face without proſtration. He ſhewed the Sieur d'Elbee all the civilities imaginable, waiting on him to the gate of the palace, which he would not re-enter till he had ſeen him in his hammock. The ſame night, he was carried back to Offra, with the ſame eſcorte which had attended him to Aſſem.

The dominions of Ardrah are not conſiderable towards the ſea, ſince the kingdoms of Whidah and Pape have been diſmembered from it. Their extent along the coaſt is not above twenty-five leagues, but they run a great way in-land, as their bounds eaſt and weſt are the rivers Volta and Benin, which are 100 leagues aſunder. Its extent to the north and north-eaſt is yet greater: however, they ſay it can raiſe but 40 or 50,000 men, which is a ſmall number to 200,000, which the king of Whidah can aſſemble: but it muſt be conſidered, that the troops of the king of Ardrah are not militia, like thoſe of Whidah, but regular troops, conſtantly kept up, who only wanted fire-arms and good officers to be able to recover the revolted provinces, and other countries the king of Ardrah has a title to.

The

The people can neither read nor write. They uſe ſmall cords tied: the knots of which, have their ſignification. Theſe are alſo uſed by ſeveral ſavage nations in America. The grandees however, who all underſtand the Portugueſe language, both read and write it well: but they have no characters of their own.

All men of rank here wear two petticoats of taffeta, or other ſilk. They have alſo ſilk ſcarves in the form of a ſhoulder-belt. They uſually go bare-headed and footed, though they wear caps or hats, and ſandals or buſkins of leather, except in the king's palace. The common people are covered from the waiſt to the knees with a piece of ſerge, which makes two foldings, and the ends croſs over the navel. The labourers and poorer ſort have only a bit of cotton cloth or mat, which cover their nudities, and the reſt is all naked.

The women of rank have petticoats and ſcarfs like the men, but as they ſeldom ſtir abroad, they have generally nothing on their head or feet. The poor women wear ſhort pagnes.——They have a ſtrange cuſtom here. If a married woman proſtitutes herſelf to a ſlave, and the maſter of the ſlave is a greater man than the maſter of the woman, the woman becomes his ſlave; but, if on the contrary the woman's huſband be of greater dignity, the adulterer becomes his ſlave.

All the officers of the king's houſhold take the title of captain, joined to the name of his office. Thus the maſter of the houſhold is called Captain of the Table; the purveyor, Captain of the victuals; the cup-bearer, Captain of the Wine, &c. No perſon ſees the king eat; and when he drinks, an officer makes a ſignal with two iron rods, that all thoſe preſent may proſtrate themſelves on the ground. It is death even to ſee him drink, though inadvertently. The officer who preſents the cup turns his back, and gives it in that poſture. They ſay this is done to prevent any charms or ſorcery at that time. A young child, a great favourite of the king's, having fallen aſleep by him, and awaking at the noiſe of the rods, had the misfortune to look at the king while he was drinking; the prieſt ordered the infant to be killed on the ſpot, and ſome drops of his blood ſprinkled on the king's cloaths and body, to prevent any ill conſequences.

The king is always ſerved on the knee; and the ſame reſpect is paid the diſhes, either carried to or from his table, thoſe who ſtand in the officers way being obliged to proſtrate themſelves as they paſs. It is ſuch a crime even to look at the king's victuals, that the offender is puniſhed with death, and his family made ſlaves. Though the king has a great number of wives, yet but one has the title of Queen, who is ſhe that bears him the firſt ſon. Her authority over the reſt, whom ſhe treats rather as her ſervants than companions, is ſo great, that ſhe ſometimes ſells them as ſlaves, without conſulting the king, who is forced to paſs by the matter. An affair of this kind happened while the Sieur d' Elbee traded here. The queen having been refuſed ſome goods or jewels ſhe had an inclination for, ordered them up privately, and in exchange ſent eight of his wives to the factory, who were immediately ſtamped with the company's mark, and ſent on board. Theſe poor princeſſes had ſunk under ſo ſevere a ſtroke, if the Sieur d' Elbee had not ſhewn them ſome diſtinction, by treating them in a kind manner, ſo he carried them in good health to Martinico.

As to their religion, it is a confuſed heap of ſuperſtition, hardly worth that name. Their notion of a Supreme Being, are extremely confuſed and obſcure: they have no temple, nor any form of worſhip: they offer neither prayers nor ſacrifices. They are only concerned about what relates to this life, having no idea of a future ſtate.

The king's Fetiſhes, as well as thoſe of the ſtate, are certain large, black birds, like crows in Europe. The palace-gardens are full of theſe, who are well fed, but by no means ſo reſpected as the ſerpents are at Whidah. They only imagine, that if one of them ſhould be killed, ſome great misfortune would happen to the ſtate. Private perſons have their particular Fetiſhes, ſome a mountain, others a tree; ſome a ſtone, a piece of wood, or ſuch like inanimate bodies.

There is but one ceremony in all the ſtate, the deſign and reaſons of which are not well known. The great prieſts has a houſe in each town, where he ſends the wives of free people by turns, to learn certain exerciſes, which might be ſuppoſed of a religious kind, if there was any religion in the country. Here they ſtay five or ſix months, and are inſtructed by old women, who teach them a ſort of dance and ſong; they make them enter by companies, day and night, into a hall deſtined for this purpoſe, and after fixing on their arms and feet ſlight irons and pieces of copper to make a noiſe, they oblige them to dance and ſing with all their force. The dance conſiſts in ſtamping with their feet, and a violent agitation of their body, which is very fatiguing and difficult to ſupport. This they accompany with ſinging, intermixed with cries, which ſound like howlings in time and meaſure. They purſue this extravagant exerciſe, till they drop down with faintneſs, when their old miſtreſſes ſubſtitute in their place, a new band of ſcholars, who continue the diverſion, to the great diſturbance of thoſe who live near ſuch roaring ſeminaries. The Sieur d'Elbee had this misfortune, and could get no reſt night nor day, till he removed. He found at Aſſem, ſome Chriſtian negros, who came to beg chaplets of him, and ſeemed deſirous of hearing maſs, but he had not brought his chaplain with him. It is probable theſe negros had been baptiſed by the Portugueſe during their ſettlement in Ardrah, for there were none of that nation here then.

The trade of Adrah is chiefly in proviſions and ſlaves, the king has his choice of all goods either for payment of his duties or for the ſlaves he ſells. As to his people, there is a regulated taiff for trade, the price of goods and ſlaves being ſettled, ſo that differences ſeldom ariſe, and when they do, the king preſently adjuſts them.

The Juſtice having completed her cargo, the Sieur d'Elbee ſailed, leaving the Concorde behind. She wanted her full complement, and ſet ſail March 13th, for S. Thomas, to get more proviſions for ſo long a voyage as that to Martinico.

After the Sieur d'Elbee's departure, the Dutch growing envious of the French trade, and two veſſels of the nation arriving, the new-comers attempted to take down the French flag at Praya, which occaſioned a tumult: and the king being informed of the matter, forbade any flag to be ſet up by the people of either country, at the ſame time he engaged to ſend one Matteo Lopez, his interpreter, in quality of an ambaſſador to the king of France, and he accordingly fulfilled his promiſe.

The caraval ſet ſail afterwards with near 600 ſlaves, having on board the ambaſſador and a preſent for the king, and arrived at Martinico on the 13th of September, they were well received by M. Baos, governor of the iſland, and by the Sieur Peliſieur, director general of the company. As winter approached, cloaths were made for Matteo Lopez and his family after the French faſhion, and they were furniſhed with all the neceſſaries for the voyage. Thus provided, they embarked on the 27th of September, 1670, on board a ſhip of one of the company's ſhips, but being delayed by contrary winds, did not reach France till the 3d of December, when they anchored in the road of Dieppe, after a paſſage of ſixty-four days from Martinico.——

As ſoon as all things were got in readineſs, the ambaſſador went to court, whither he was invited by the king, who received him in ſtate. Being introduced to the royal preſence, he began his compliment by raiſing his head a little, and ſpeaking in Portugueſe, told Louis XIV. that the king of Ardrah, his maſter, having

having learned the wonders reported of his majesty, he sent to assure him how much he desired to gain his favour, by offering himself and his kingdom at his service. Louis made him rise, and observing the ambassador, who was in confusion, held a paper in his hand, asked what it was? The Sieur d' Elbee, who officiated as interpreter, replied, That the ambassador, fearing that the awe of his majesty's presence might disorder the speech he designed, had wrote it the day before, and bid him translate it into French, that it might be read if he thought proper. The king consented, commanding d' Elbee to read it a-loud. It was as follows:

"Sire,

"THE king of Ardrah and Alghemi, my sovereign, has nominated me his ambassador to your majesty, to offer you all that his kingdoms can afford, and his protection for all the ships you shall please to send thence, assuring you, that his dominions, ports, and trade, are entirely at your devotion, and open to all your subjects.

"To convince your majesty farther of his sincere desire of maintaining the friendship he intreats of your majesty, he has charged me to declare, that, for the future, the gentlemen of the company settled at Offra, shall pay no more than 24 slaves custom, instead of 80 they pay at present, which is less than the Portuguese formerly paid, or than the Spaniards, Danes, Swedes, and English pay, on account of the Dutch, who have long traded with them; but he has ordered me to assure your majesty of his protecting your subjects against the Dutch, and to keep his word exactly on that head. He also engages, the French ships in this port, shall, on all occasions, be preferred to the Dutch, and loaded before the latter begin.

"He has also directed me to inform your majesty when on occasion of a dispute between your subjects at Ardrah and the Dutch, in relation to the flag, the king judging the distinction due to so great a prince, placed the factor, your subject, on the right hand, and lodged him in his palace, the Dutch factor having only the left hand, and being lodged with the prince his son. On this account he desires to know from your majesty the honours you would have paid to your flag, that he may order them to be paid it throughout all his dominions.

"Amongst other things, the king intreats of your majesty, that you will send two religious men to instruct some of his subjects, who have a little knowledge of Christianity, which they eagerly desire to cultivate. He also has commanded me to present your majesty my two sons here before you, and beseech you to accept them favourably, which I shall esteem as the greatest happiness can befal me, by the advantages they must receive in serving so great a prince; likewise to join with them two hangers, two assaguays, a vest and carpet. He earnestly intreats your majesty to accept of these, and to believe, that if his country produced any thing more curious, or that he thought could be more agreeable to your majesty, he would send it with great pleasure, as he desires nothing more than to persuade your majesty, that his determinations are yours, as entirely as your own."

This speech the king heard attentively, and was pleased in answer, to tell the ambassador, That he was much obliged to the king of Ardrah, his master, for his compliments, as well as for sending him for his ambassador, whose person was very agreeable to him; that he accepted the offer he made him of his two sons, who should stay with him while he resided at Paris, after which he would take care of them himself; and that as to what related to trade, his majesty referred him to the company. And thus ended the royal audience.

The next day the Sieur de Berliese came at two o'clock in the afternoon, and introduced him to the queen, who received him in state. He and his four sons prostrated themselves before her majesty, were graciously entertained; and, as is customary on such occasions, were attended to and from their coaches by a crowd of people.

In the next place the ambassador was conducted to the old Louvre, to the apartment of the Dauphin, where he was received by the duke of Montaucier, who introduced him to the prince. He observed the same ceremonies as he had done to the king and queen. He made the prince a compliment, in which he took notice of the happiness of the duke of Montaucier, in being chosen to educate the first prince in the world. He told the Dauphin, that the great prince of Ardrah had charged him to assure him of his respect, and to desire his favour and friendship, which he would do all he could to merit. After this he presented the Dauphin some arms, sent him by the prince. The Dauphin having answered these compliments in a graceful manner, the ambassador retired, and was reconducted as the day before. He next visited the king's ministers, and the chief lords of the court; he also in return received a great number of visits, and all the civilities that could be paid. The king's comedians entertained him with their performances, which much delighted him. He often assisted in divine service, in the principal churches, and shewed a very edifying attention.

He had also an audience of M. de Lionne, secretary of state for foreign affairs, and told him in Portuguese, that as he had come from the king his master to offer the king of France his services and dominions, he thought it his duty to beg that he would contribute his best offices to promote the good correspondence between the two princes, which commerce he was about to establish, and he hoped this the rather, as he was assured of his particular merit, and the zeal he had for the honour of the king his sovereign. M. de Lionne replied in Spanish, that he would use his interest and care in any thing that related to the interest and service of the king of Ardrah, and wished to remain in the good harmony he mentioned. After this he asked him, what ports there were in his master's dominions, if his kingdom was large, and if he had often wars with his neighbours? The ambassador replied, That the states of the king his master were of no great extent along the coast, but ran so far in land, that they were a fortnight's journey to pass; that neither on the coast of Ardrah, nor in all Guinea, were any ports or harbours, but only roads where ships might find good anchorage; and as tempests were rare on the coast, ships suffered no great inconvenience from that defect; except the violent surf the sea made on the shore; that the king his master had powerful neighbours, with whom he was often at war, and on these occasions marched an numerous army, composed of horse and foot, well armed, and very well disciplined.

The ambassador, taking leave of M. de Lionne, who reconducted him to his coach, was carried to the hotel of the company, where, alighting, he was received by the directors in a body, and conducted to the hall, where they assembled. Being desirous to hear what they had to propose in relation to trade, and answer their demands as far as their instructions would allow, one of the directors, in the name of the rest, made the following proposals:

First, That the company's ships, trading to Ardrah, should have the preference to all other nations.

Secondly, That they should pay but 24 slaves for duties instead of 80, paid by the Dutch vessels; and that this duty should be reduced for the French to the old footing, as in the time of the Portuguese.

Thirdly, That the king of Ardrah should oblige those of his subjects who were the company's debtors, to make speedy satisfaction.

Fourthly, That their factors should not be obliged to trust any lord or grandee, if they thought him not in condition to pay.

Fifthly, That leave should be granted to cover their magazines and factory with tiles instead of straw, which expose all their goods to fire.

Sixthly, That the king ſhould be pleaſed to take the company, its factors and effects under his immediate protection.

On granting theſe articles, the company engaged to keep its warehouſe conſtantly ſtocked with goods, ſo that there ſhould be always merchandiſe to the value of 500 ſlaves in reſerve, over and above the common call, which ſhould ſerve as ſecurity in the king's hands; likewiſe to ſend ſhips yearly, to ſupply the trade, and to trade with no other prince.

The ambaſſador having attentively heard theſe propoſals, readily agreed that all ſhould be granted without reſtriction, excepting the firſt and fifth. With regard to the firſt, he ſaid, That if the company would deal for ſlaves, only with the king his maſter, he could aſſure them, they ſhould always have the preference, and their ſhips be loaded before thoſe of any other nation in the road. As to the fifth, he promiſed to uſe his beſt offices with the king to obtain it: but not being ſure of his maſter's intentions, he could not give his word for the ſucceſs.

All the reſt of the ambaſſador's ſtay at Paris, was employed in paying or receiving viſits, and he was every where treated with all the kindneſs he could wiſh; ſeveral perſons of quality made him preſents.

He had his audience of leave with the ſame ceremonies as at firſt, and was by this time ſo well accuſtomed to the French manners, that he appeared neither conſtrained in his actions nor diſcourſe, which greatly pleaſed the king, queen and dauphin. He left Paris about the middle of January, 1671, to go to Havre-de-Grace, where two ſhips waited for him. By the king's orders, his charges were defrayed, and all honours imaginable paid him on the road. When the king of France's preſents for his maſter, and for himſelf were brought him, he beheld them with amazement, ſo much was he ſurpriſed at their number, value and beauty, he ſaid, "There is but one monarch in the world. All things muſt yield to the king of France; my maſter will never believe what I tell him, he will even doubt what he ſhall ſee."

From this embaſſy of Matteo Lopez, the company, had it laſted, might have gained great advantages; but it was ſuppreſſed in a few years after; and the iſlands and all its conceſſions re-united to the crown. The Senega company, which ſucceeded in the trade to Guinea, neglected this ſettlement, having its particular reaſons for fixing at Whidah. Thus the French fulfilled the general remark of ſetting out well, but ſeldom continuing in the ſame courſe.

It appears that as to the preſents above mentioned, they were committed to the care of Carlof; and Lopez arriving in the road of Ardrah on the 1ſt of October, 1671, pretended they ought to be put in his hands, that he might deliver them. This, Carlof would not conſent to, ſuſpecting he would convert ſome part to his own uſe, as it afterwards appeared he had intended. His refuſal ſo incenſed the black ambaſſador, that he employed all his intereſt in the country againſt the French, and much diſtracted their affairs. This at length, obliged Carlof to take other meaſures, till he could ſpeak with the king of Ardrah who was then buſy appeaſing a civil war in his own dominions, which ſtopped all the paſſages for carrying down ſlaves to Offra; ſo that ſcarcely 200 had arrived there in fifteen months; a thing ſo prejudicial to the Dutch trade, that five of their ſhips were ſent back empty to Mina. Carlof having before driven ſome trade at Great Popo, ſettled there a factory of his nation, by permiſſion of the king, upon condition he would pay the value of twenty-eight ſlaves for each ſhip's cargoe the French afterwards took in there; whereas he had contracted to pay 100 at Offra. Going from Popo to Whidah, the king of that country gave him a very favourable reception, with aſſurance that he would always protect the French nation and intereſt. On which, removing the factory from Ardrah, he fixed it at Whidah, keeping the king his maſter's preſents to be ſent back to France. And thus the matter ended.

VOYAGE OF THE SIEUR BRUE, TO BISSAO AND BISSAGOS.

IT was in the year, 1697, that the Sieur de Brue, a French adventurer, who ſailed from France on a voyage of trade and diſcovery to the weſtern parts of Africa. He touched at ſeveral places, which as we have already deſcribed, we ſhall not here trouble the reader with all the particular incidents attendant on his voyage to thoſe parts. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that he ſailed from Fort St. Louis up the River Senega, and coming to the reſidence of the prince of the country, found that it abounded in gold, ivory, gum and other valuable commodities; the whole traffic for which, the Moors endeavoured to ingroſs. Here he found the people called Fulips, of whom he reports many wonderful things, in which like many other travellers he appears willing to magnify facts. He alſo viſited the kingdom of Galam, which lies to the eaſt of that of the Fulips, as alſo Bantam; and made enquiries concerning the country of Tombuta, which was ſuppoſed to abound in gold, but ſeems to have met with little ſucceſs in regard to this particular: and the French, according to his account, were quite ſucceſsful in the termination of their diſputes with the Engliſh African company, which ended in favour of the former nation.

One of the moſt remarkable occurrences in the Sieur du Brue's voyages, was an expedition to the Iſles of Biſſao and Biſſagos. The French had traded to the former of theſe places before the above ſcheme was projected: nevertheleſs a flouriſhing commerce, which they bade fair to eſtabliſh there, had ſo far decreaſed, that when our voyager arrived at Senega, he could not find one ſervant of the company that had been at Biſſao.

The firſt deſign that had been formed, was that of ſettling at a place called the Iſle of Bourbon; but, found, on examination, that it was too ſmall for their purpoſe. Therefore dropping their original deſign, they reſolved to ſettle a colony at Bulam. Soon after, the Sieur Cartaing was diſpatched to Biſſao, where he opened an advantageous trade with the natives, and was countenanced by the king himſelf. However, the ſickneſs of his people, and the exactions of the Portugueſe governor, forced this gentleman to return in September, 1699. This miſadventure occaſioned the Sieur Brue to reſolve on going in perſon, to a place where he imagined much good might be done to the commerce of his nation.

Accordingly he ſet ſail from Albrade, where he then was, on the 21ſt of February, 1701, in the company's ſhip the Princeſs, attended by the Eleanor de Rois, as alſo the ſloops Mignion and Irondelle, the Syren bomb ketch, the St. George brigantine, and the bark Chriſtina. About eleven o'clock, this fleet was near the Iſle de Chiens (or Dogs) and in the morning of the 22d, came near the Point Bayna. They ſailed in the morning, with the tide at ebb, and continued their

their courſe till the 28th, when the Eleanor made a ſignal at day-break that ſhe ſaw a ſail. The commander immediately chaced the ſtrange ſhip, which bore away ſouth-ſouth-weſt, in order to gain the channel between the iſles of Caſegut and Carache. In the mean time, the Sieur De la Rue, truſting to a Dutch pilot, had his ſhip run a-ground upon the ſands, but ſo gently that the ſhock was ſcarcely to be perceived, the chace being on ground likewiſe, the boats were immediately manned in order to board her, but ſhe ſtruck without reſiſtance. She proved to be a Dane, commanded by Louis Bateman, who was a native of Dieppe, but had ſettled at one of the Virginia iſles. Having ſecured the prize, all means were taken to get the Princeſs a-float, which deſireable end was accompliſhed on the 4th of March, and they afterwards came to an anchor under Point Bernaſel, in the Iſle of Biſſao, about ſix leagues to the weſtward of the Portugueſe fort.

The ſame night they diſcovered lights at ſea, from whence they concluded that they were ſtrange veſſels upon the coaſt. The next morning, they ſaw two ſhips at anchor to windward of the fleet. The commander hoiſted ſail, reſolving to examine them, and ſoon after perceived that they were Dutch. Upon this, the Princeſs ſhewing her colours, bore up with the largeſt, and fired a gun to bring her to, but as ſhe was prepared to fight, poured above eighty ſhot into her, which had great effect. At the ſame time, the Eleanor gave chace to the other veſſel, the crew of which, at firſt made a vigorous reſiſtance, but, in the end, were obliged to run their veſſel on ſhore, and betook themſelves to their boat for ſafety. The negros breaking looſe took the opportunity of plundering, and the French boats did not arrive time enough to prevent the confuſion. Nor was this all; thoſe on the iſland obſerving that the veſſel was left dry, made an attack on the French with their arrows, but were repulſed with loſs, and ſhe was got off the next tide.

They anchored with their prizes, on the 5th of March at the Portugueſe fort of Biſſao, and though by the diſplay of their colours, the Portugueſe governor could not miſtake them, yet a gun loaded with ball, was fired at them. This ſo much incenſed the Sieur De la Rue, that he would certainly have battered the fort, had not the commander interpoſed.

He ſent the ſloop Mignon, commanded by Mr. Le Cerf, to anchor in a creek, and reſolved, if ſhe ſhould be fired upon, to make a deſcent and attack the place. Accordingly the ſloop anchored ſo cloſe to the fort, that the governor Don Rodrigo de Oliverez de Alfonſo hailed her, to know whence ſhe came, and ordered the captain to come on ſhore. He landed accordingly, and was conducted to this commander, who underſtanding they were French, aſked if the Sieur Cartaing was on board. The other replied, That he would be there ſoon, but did not mention that he was on board, which was really the caſe. The governor then ſaid, That if he ſhould appear there, he muſt return quicker than he came, as no French ſettlement would be permitted on the iſle, nor ſhould any of the natives land there. And the conference being ended, he ordered the captain to go on board, and weigh anchor immediately.

M. Le Cerf returning, related all that had paſſed to the Sieur Brue, who the next morning, ſent Cartaing on ſhore in a boat well manned, with orders to compliment the governor in his name, and alſo to complain of the circumſtance of firing a gun at them loaded with ball. He went accordingly, and found the governor in a calmer humour than before, and willing to make excuſes for the accident which, he ſaid, had happened; but he ſtill inſiſted, that permiſſion could not be granted for the French to ſettle at Biſſao, as it was within the limits of the Portugueſe African company, and he had the king of Portugal's expreſs orders to ſuffer no foreigners to ſettle here. He ſent his alfere, or enſign, to the Sieur Brue that evening, with a meſſage to the ſame effect, and with great offers of his ſervices.

The Sieur Brue anſwered, that he was ſurpriſed the governor, who had reſided ſo long in this country, ſhould forget that the French had always traded to Biſſao, even before the Portugueſe had a fort here: that he ought to make a diſtinction between the French Senega-company and interlopers; ſince this company claimed, by a charter, a right to trade along the coaſt from Cape Blanco to Sierra Leona, excluſive of other nations, as he might ſee by the prizes the fleet had juſt taken: that the governor's beſt way, was to live in good intelligence with the company, and carry on his trade, without moleſting theirs, which could no way prejudice him or his maſter.

As the commander foreſaw, that the Portugueſe governor would uſe all his influence with the king of Biſſao, to obſtruct the ſettlement, he ſent De la Rue and Cartaing, the ſame day, to deſire an immediate audience of that prince. The king received theſe gentlemen civilly, and promiſed in a day or two to come to Biſſas town, and deliberate with his grandees and chief men about the ſettlement the general propoſed. On the ninth of March, the king coming early in the morning to his palace, or houſe near the ſhore, gave notice of it to the Sieur Brue, who immediately, went in proceſſion to wait on him, the march began with two trumpets, and two hautboys. The Sieur de Seganzac, captain, followed with his half pike in his hand, at the head of 25 ſoldiers well armed, with two ſerjeants and two drums. Next came the factors of the company, two and two, before the Sieur Brue, who walked between two captains of his ſquadron; the other officers followed with ſome ſervants in livery; and a body of ſailors, with their cutlaſſes, cloſed the march. The commander was ſaluted by all the cannon of the fleet on his going into the boat, and this diſcharge was repeated on his landing. In this order he advanced to a large tree between the Portugueſe fort, and the convent of St. Francis, where he found the king ſeated on a neat chair, dreſſed in a green mohair doublet, trimmed with ſilver frogs, at the breaſt and ſleeves. A fine cotton cloth ſerved him for breeches. He had on his head a red cloth cap, like a ſugar loaf, with a double row of hemp-cord round the bottom. This laſt is the mark of the abſolute power which he has of making ſlaves. Four of his wives ſat at his feet, and all his grandees ſtood round, but at ſome diſtance. Behind theſe were three tall negros, who played on an inſtrument, reſembling the German Flute. There were ſome elbow chairs placed oppoſite to the king. The Sieur Brue being come near hand, the king aroſe, and they ſaluted each other by ſeveral times ſhaking hands: the king repeating each time, with a ſmiling air, you are welcome. The king and general being ſeated, the former made a ſign to the French officers to ſit near him, and the Sieur Brue began his compliment, which was explained by the company's chief interpreter, who was kneeling between the king and Sieur Brue. The ſubſtance was, That the great reputation of his majeſty's juſtice and equity, together with the fame of his victories obtained over his enemies, having ſpread through Europe as well as Africa, the company who had been likewiſe informed of his kindneſs to ſtrangers, and care to make his people rich and flouriſhing by encouraging trade, and had from time immemorial traded to his dominions, were deſirous of eſtabliſhing a factory, and building the neceſſary ſtore-houſes and magazines for that end, in hopes that his majeſty would give his conſent, and grant them his protection.

The king anſwered civilly, That he thanked him for this viſit, and wiſhed to maintain a good correſpondence with the French; but that with regard to the ſettlement, the commander requeſted, he could determine nothing till he had firſt conſulted his gods, and in preſence of the Portugueſe governor, whom he immediately ſent for, atended by his alfere, or enſign, with ſix negros fuſileers. He called at the Church to pay his devotions, and ſoon after joined the company at the tree. The Sieur Brue took the opportu-

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nity of this ſhort interval, to ſhew the king the great advantages of opening a trade, and particularly with the company. The king and his grandees ſeemed to liſten to this diſcourſe with pleaſure; and when the governor arrived, he ſaluted the Sieur Brue complaiſantly, and paid his reverence to the king; who received him familiarly without riſing, but bade him ſit down. After a moment's ſilence, he ſaid to the governor, with a ſevere tone, "You told me the French were come hither to build a ſtorehouſe and a fort. Is this true, or is it your own invention?" He made anſwer, That it was not likely the French would build a factory, without fortifying it in ſuch a manner as to ſecure their effects: that the king of Portugal, his maſter, would never ſuffer this; and that it was contrary to the treaties made with his majeſty and his predeceſſors. The Sieur Brue replied to this, That what he requeſted was no new favour, but only a renewal of the ancient alliance between the two nations: that the unjuſt pretenſions of the Portugueſe, had forced the Sieur Cartaing to retire the preceding year; that the company had no intention to build a fort, or warehouſe of ſtone, but were ſatisfied to truſt their effects to the king's protection; and that it was the king alone, who was maſter of his own iſle, and had the power to do what he pleaſed, without conſulting other people. This anſwer ſeemed to pleaſe that prince, who told the Portugueſe governor, with a ſtern air, he wondered how he could pretend to preſcribe laws to him in his own dominions; that he hoped to ſhew that he was maſter, and would be controuled by none; and that if any preſumed to diſpute his commands, he knew what to do. With theſe words he took the Sieur Brue by the hand, bidding him follow him. He advanced at the ſame time with his wives and chief men, preceded by three flutes, to the ſea-ſide. There he ſtopped beneath a great tree, which the natives regard as a kind of deity, as it holds the images of their gods. The court made a large circle round it, while the king and his wives approached nearer to it. A prieſt of theſe idols, dreſſed in a parti-coloured jacket, like a harlequin, and hung with little bells, preſented the king the half of a large calabaſh full of palm-wine. The king holding it up with the palm of his right-hand, his wives joined theirs to ſupport it. All the grandees, who had room to touch it, did the ſame; and ſuch as had not, ſupported the elbows of thoſe who did. When the king addreſſing himſelf to the divinities that were placed in the niches of the tree, repeated M. Brue's requeſt, and aſked their advice what he ſhould anſwer, M. Brue was in no great pain about the oracle. He had taken care to ſecond a favourable anſwer by the preſents ſecretly given to the prieſt, the king's wives, and the chief grandees. The king having ſprinkled the tree with part of the wine, and poured out the reſt at the foot of it, commanded an ox to be brought, which the prieſt ſacrificed, by cutting his throat; and receiving the blood in the ſame calabaſh, he again preſented it to the king, who ſprinkled it on the tree with the ſame ceremonies: then having dipped one of his fingers in it, he came near M. Brue, and touched his hand, which, with theſe people, is an oath of perpetual alliance.

This ceremony being over, the king took the commander by the hand, and reconducted him to the former place of audience; where, being all ſeated again, and the muſic ceaſed as before, a profound ſilence enſued for ſome minutes: After which, the king addreſſed the Sieur Brue thus: "You are welcome: you have liberty to ſettle a factoty and warehouſes where you pleaſe. I make a perpetual alliance with you and your nation: I take you under my care and protection; and till your houſes are built, I will lend you mine." When the king had done ſpeaking, his wives, his grandees, and all the ſpectators gave a loud ſhout, which was anſwered by a ſalute of the commander's ſmall arms, and the cannon of the ſquadron.

The Sieur Brue roſe, and having thanked the king for his goodneſs and favour, cauſed the preſents to be laid before him ſent by the company. Theſe conſiſted of fine calicoes, liquors, coral, burning-glaſſes, Teleſcopes, and cryſtals, ſeveral fine pair of piſtols, with a ſilver-hilted ſword, in an embroidered belt, which the king immediately put on. The king's wives had alſo their ſeparate preſents, conſiſting of trinkets, and all the people were treated with brandy, which occaſioned new acclamations of joy. The king, at parting, gave his hand ſeveral times to the commander, and ſent his flutes, with ſeveral of his grandees and guards, to conduct him to his boat. The Portugueſe governor, who had withdrawn on hearing the oracle, waited for him by the way, and made him a cold compliment on the advantage he had gained, with many offers of his ſervice. The Sieur Brue anſwered, That the beſt way was for the French and Portugueſe to live amicably together, till the difference ſhould be decided by their ſuperiors in Europe, which the other promiſed to do.

At the governor's earneſt intreaty, Sieur Brue dined with him at the fort, where he was ſaluted with 13 guns. One of theſe being loaded with ball, and levelled too low, broke off the ſtones in the port-hole, which wounded the king's ſon in the thigh, and a nobleman in the arm. Though this misfortune was quite accidental, the negros aſcribed it to deſign, and conceived that the Portugueſe had done it out of ſpite for what happened. They made great out-cries, ran to arms, and began to aſſemble from all parts. M. Brue ſent the Sieur Cartaing immediately to acquaint the king of the truth, and to beg he would give orders to ſtop the tumult. The king heard reaſon, and by his authority ſtopped the diſorder. After dinner, the Sieur Brue accompanied the governor to the convent of the Cordeliers, where they were handſomely entertained, and from thence returned on board.

This fort was but inconſiderable, being only a large ſquare, walled with three ſmall baſtions, the fourth, having never been begun) but neither ditches, covered way, nor paliſadoes. The curtains were ſo low, and in ſo bad a condition, that it was eaſy to walk over them. It had 20 guns, mounted like field-pieces, and 20 fuſils, beſides thoſe of the garriſon, which was, or ought to have conſiſted of fifteen or hired blacks. Only the governor and his lieutenant were whites; the ſerjeant being an old black Creolian of St. Jago.

The Sieur Brue ſet all his men to work the next morning, hiring negros to cut the wood he wanted; and inſtead of ſtraw, covered the roofs of the warehouſe, and the director's lodge, with tiles he brought as ballaſt to his ſhips. He built the walls of a large cloſet with bricks, which he over laid with clay, and white-waſhed it, to prevent the negros ſuſpicion of any deſign. He inſpected the work ſo diligently, that in a month's time, the factory was in a condition not only to receive goods and officers, but alſo to defend itſelf if attacked; for he cauſed loop-holes to be made all round the houſes, placing them ſo as to defend each other; and, under the idea of providing water for the labourers, and remedying any accident by fire, he formed a ditch round the factory, ſix feet broad and as many deep, with a double thorned hedge on the outſide, which prevented all acceſs. He took care to ply the negro workmen well with liquor, that they might make no diſcoveries; all the loop-holes were cloſed on the outſide with clay, and white-waſhed like the reſt.

Afterwards the commander viſited the emperor of Biſſaos at his country-houſe, about a quarter of a league from the Portugueſe fort. This place conſiſted of a number of cottages, like a little village, incloſed with a ſtraw fence, ſo well wrought, that at a diſtance it ſeemed a wall. At the gate were about 20 or 30 ſoldiers, armed with ſabres, bows and arrows; within was a labyrinth of banana-trees, with neat cottages interſperſed here and there for the king's wives and children, his domeſtics and ſlaves. In the centre was a court or area, with an orange-tree in the

middle, ſo high, that its branches covered all the court. The king was ſet under this tree, with about a dozen of his wives and children. He was in diſhabille, having only a pagne round his waiſt, with his high-crowned hat, and his diadem, or wreath of hempen-cord. The princeſſes his daughters had their hair clipped pretty cloſe, and cut out in flowers of different ſhapes. The king, after ordering wooden chairs, like that he ſat on, for the commander and his officers, ſpoke in good Portugueſe, which the Sieur Brue underſtood. He preſented the company with palm-wine, in which he drank the commander's health. After this, pipes were brought, and the converſation laſted three hours.

The iſland of Biſſao is between 35 and 40 leagues in circumference. The proſpect of it is agreeable; the land riſing inſenſibly, from the ſea to the centre of the iſle. This may be diſcovered from the tops of the mountains, or rather hills, between which lie vallies; where the water collecting, form rivulets and ſmall rivers, which diſcharge themſelves into the ſea, after fertilizing the country. The whole iſland is cultivated, and interſperſed with groves of palm-trees, which afford an agreeable ſhade from the heat. Here are alſo very large orange trees, and near the coaſts ſeveral other ſorts, eſpecially man-groves. The inhabitants in general, plant near their cottages bananas, guavas, citrons, and other trees. The ſoil is deep and rich, producing rice in abundance, and maiſe of both kinds, which grows very large. They have alſo plenty of a ſmall grain reſembling maiſe, which is very white, and eaſily reduced to flour: this they eat with melted butter or greaſe, and call it Fonde. They make neither bread nor kuſkus of their maiſe, as they do at the Senega, but eat it roaſted. Some of them indeed, leſs indolent, make a ſort of bread of it called Batango, which is a flat cake, a finger thick, baked on an earthen griddle, as they do the Caſſava bread in America. This bread creates an appetite, eſpecially when eaten freſh with butter. Rice comes here to perfection, and they dreſs it well either with fowls or butter. The commodore ate ſome dreſſed by the king's wives and daughters that was exceedingly agreeable.

The oxen and cows here are very large and fat, and bear a good price; but milk and palm-wine are plentiful and cheap, as well as bananas, guavas, and other fruits. Banana-trees are in ſuch plenty, that one part of the iſland takes its name from them.—— The Portugueſe, who have planted manioc here, make good flour of it, as they do in Braſil. The negros are not fond of it, perhaps on account of the trouble in preparing it, ſome of them notwithſtanding cultivate it.

Their cows ſerve them inſtead of horſes, travelling well, as they have a natural pace: a cord paſſed through a hole made through their noſtrils, ſerves for a bridle, and guides them with a great deal of eaſe.

The inhabitants live in cottages diſperſed all over the iſland; for, excepting a ſort of village that the Portugueſe have round their pariſh church and convent, which were both ſmall, there is nothing like a town in the whole iſland. This latter and its chapel diſcovers a great deal of poverty, but are neat enough. The Pariſh church which ſtands between the fort and convent, is built by the ſea-ſide, juſt like the Portugueſe houſes, that is, of earth, white-waſhed, and covered with ſtraw. It has two or three little bells, but the revenues are too ſmall to ſupport ſecular prieſts. The pariſhioners conſiſted of about one hundred and fifty negro men and women, who call themſelves Portugueſe, though they are quite of a black complexion. The iſle of Biſſao is very populous, and would be much more ſo, if it were not for the frequent incurſions made by the Biafaras, Balantes, and Biſſagots negros, who often infeſt the coaſt; with this difference, that of the priſoners the Biafaras take, they ſell half to the whites, and ſacrifice the remainder to their god China, by way of thankſgiving.

The iſle of Biſſao, and part of the adjacent iſles and coaſts, are inhabited by the papal negros, eſpecially to the ſouthward of Cachoa. They are on ill terms with the Portugueſe, from whom, however, they have borrowed many cuſtoms. Their women have only a cotton pagne or wrapper about their middle, with bracelets of beads or coral. The girls go ſtark naked. Thoſe of quality have their bodies marked with flowers and figures in an agreeable regular manner, ſo that their ſkin appears like a piece of regular wrought ſattin. The daughters of the emperor of Biſſao, were marked ſo, without any other dreſs, but ſtrings of coral, and a ſmall cotton apron. The dreſs of their chief men differs little from that of the common ſort, being only a goat-ſkin paſſed between their legs, and tucked up behind. They carry in their hands a naked ſabre, and two large iron rings; theſe, inſtead of ſtones, have a large plate of the ſame metal, which ſerves inſtead of caſtanets. One of theſe they wear on the thumb, and the other on the middle finger, and by ſtriking them together, converſe without being underſtood by thoſe who have not the method. Theſe negros are excellent boatmen, and reckoned the beſt rowers on the coaſt. They make uſe of pagales, or ſmall wooden ſhovels, for oars, and in rowing, make a ſort of muſic with a chorus or burthen to it, which is not unharmonious.

The Papal negros who inhabit Biſſao, have a language peculiar to the people of that denomination, as well as their particular cuſtoms. Trade has contributed to civilize them much. They are idolaters, but their religion is confuſed; and not eaſy to know in what it conſiſts. Their principal idol is a ſmall figure they call China, of which they can give no account. It is not their only one, each taking ſome deity according to his fancy. Conſecrated trees they regard either as gods, or the abode of gods. To theſe they ſacrifice dogs, cocks, and oxen, which they offer them, after killing them, and ſprinkling the blood partly at the foot or round the tree, and on the branches. They cut the victims in pieces, the king, grandees, and people, each taking their part. The deity has only the horns, which are faſtened to the tree, till they rot or drop off.

It does not appear that there ever have been any civil wars at Biſſao, which is a mark of the people's ſubmiſſion to the prince; the people however are at continual war with their neighbours, whom they invade, as often as they think it for their advantage; ſuch as the Biafaras, Biſſagots, Balantes, and Nalus, who ſurround them on all ſides, either on the continent or adjacent iſles. All theſe people are brave in their way, and fight deſperately when puſhed. They know not what it is to make a ſettled peace, nor have they any great correſpondence with each other. The Europeans are far from deſiring to act as peace-makers amongſt them, which would be contrary to their intereſt, ſince the greater the wars are, the more ſlaves; to the ſhame of human nature!

When the emperor of Biſſao judges proper to invade his enemies, he ſounds his bonbalon, and immediately the officers of his troops repair, with their ſoldiers armed, to the place directed. There they find the king's canoes of war, of which he has a fleet of about 30. They put 20 men in each canoe, the commander of which is reſponſible to the king for his charge; and, if he ſhould loſe his canoe, runs the riſque of his life. The king ſeldom ventures his perſon in theſe expeditions, but he always conſults his images before he undertakes them, and makes a great ſacrifice, of whoſe fleſh none partake but himſelf, his prieſts, and his army.

As theſe wooden gods are generally in the king's intereſt, the anſwer is uſually favourable. They embark then full of hope, and order matters ſo as to reach the enemies country by night. They land without noiſe, and if they find any lone cottages without defence, they immediaely ſet hem on fire; and carry off all the inhabitants and effects to their boats, and

then embark. If the villages prove ſtrong, they are not fond of attacking them, but rather plant themſelves in ambuſcade, on the ways to ſome river or ſpring, and endeavour to ſurpriſe or carry off the natives. On the leaſt advantage of this kind gained, they return in as great triumph, as if they had obtained a compleat victory. The king has for his duties, and the uſe of his fleet, the half of the booty; the reſt is divided among the captors. All the ſlaves in general are ſold to the Europeans, unleſs they are perſons of ſome rank, whoſe friends can redeem them, paying two ſlaves, or five or ſix oxen. The adventurers never fail to make a parade through the iſle, ſhewing their wounds, and carrying their priſoners along with them. They do not uſe them ill like the Iroquois, and other people of North-America, but load them with reproaches, praiſing the victors to the ſkies, and preſenting them with pagnes, and other things, which they ſell for palm-wine to get drunk. They call this ovation; but if, on the contrary, they have, on theſe expeditions, met any conſiderable loſs or misfortune, the priſoners run a great riſque of being ſacrificed, eſpecially if the relations of the perſons killed be of rank, or are rich. Thoſe who are killed on theſe occaſions, are honoured in their funeral obſequies by ſongs and dances to the ſound of their drums. The women, who are the chief actreſſes on theſe occaſions, expreſs their deſpair and grief in a manner capable of inſpiring thoſe paſſions in all who behold them, they tear their hair and fleſh, and ſhriek like furies. When they are tired of this, they give them palm-wine in plenty; this affords them freſh ſpirits to recommence the ſcene, and ſupplies them with new tears, which continue flowing till the body is interred.

The emperor of Biſſao is very deſpotic. He has a ſingular method of making himſelf rich at his ſubjects expence. This is to accept the donation a negro makes him of his neighbour's houſe; of which the king takes poſſeſſion without farther ceremony, and the proprietor muſt either ranſom it, or build a new one. Indeed he has it in his power to revenge himſelf by ſerving his neighbours in the ſame manner, but in this caſe the king loſes nothing, having two houſes inſtead of one.

"When the king of Biſſao dies, his favourite wives, and a number of ſlaves are killed, and buried near the place of his interment, to ſerve him in the other world. After this, the body of the deceaſed king is put into a coffin made of reeds, carried by four grandees to the place of ſepulture. When they arrive there, they throw up the coffin in the air, and let it fall on the great men, who are proſtrated round it, and he whom it falls upon, is acknowledged king: they however confine their election to ſome relation of the royal family. Formerly they had a cuſtom of ſacrificing or burning ſlaves alive, to accompany their chiefs into the other world: but this cuſtom ſeems to be almoſt aboliſhed; the laſt king having only one buried with him, and the preſent emperor ſeems very much bent on intirely deſtroying it. One of his nobles being old and near his end, had choſen three young girls to be buried with him; but at his death, the king ſold them, and gave the money they brought to his heirs.

The emperor has an inſtrument of light wood, before-mentioned, called a Bonbalon, made like a ſea-trumpet, but larger, and twice as long. It has no cord; they ſtrike on it with a hammer of hard wood, and ſay the ſound will reach four leagues. The king has ſeveral of theſe along the ſea-coaſts, and up the country, with a guard to each; and when the king's bonbalon ſtrikes, they repreſent the ſame number of ſtrokes in the ſame tone, and ſo tranſmit his orders through the iſle, which are known by the manner of conveying them. All who diſobey are ſold for ſlaves, which ſevere puniſhment keeps them in awe; and the king turns their diſobedience to his own emolument.

While the factory was building at Biſſao, the Sieur Brue reſolved to viſit the iſle of Bulam, where he had once an intention of ſettling a colony, which was found impracticable, on account of the bigneſs of the iſle. For this end he ſet out with two boats, manned with Goree Lapots, and ſome Papel negros, who had been through theſe channels in their expeditions. He took alſo ſome pilots, whom he intended to leave behind him to examine the coaſts, in order to extend the company's trade. They ſailed out between the iſle des Sorcieres, or of Witches, and Bourbon Iſle; ſteering ſouth, in order to make the eaſt point of the iſle, called by the Portugueſe Formoſa, or the Beautiful. Its appearance is anſwerable to the name, being covered with large trees, except the ſhores, which are low and full of mangroves. The ſoil appears level and rich, but the country is not inhabited, having no freſh water.

The commander had a great inclination to land and examine it, but was obliged to defer it. It is about two leagues long and one broad. They compute the diſtance from the ſouth-eaſt point of Formoſa, five leagues.

In doubling the point of Formoſa, one enters the arm of the great river which ſeparates the peninſula of the Biafaras from the iſle of Bulam. The entry of this channel is a league broad; the ſhores are about on which the ſea breaks with more or leſs violence in proportion to the tides. As the Sieur Brue's deſign was to examine thoſe paſſages, he ſounded as he went on, and found, that between the weſt point of the peninſula of Biafara, and the eaſt point of Formoſa, there was from two and three, to ſeven fathoms water, and it was neceſſary to keep the mid channel, in order to avoid the banks, which contract it conſiderably, till one reaches the north-eaſt point of the iſle of Bulam. In ſounding here, his two boats ran aground oppoſite to each other: the channel between, and the ebb being ſo quick, that they were left dry, and obliged to keep a good guard, and wait the return of the flood to carry them off.

The Biafara negros are very alert at prey; and when they ſee any veſſels or boats on ſhore, ſeldom fail to attack them. On theſe occaſions, they faſten to their feet barks of trees two feet long, and ſeven or eight inches broad, which hinder their ſinking in the ooze, as the Canada ſavages do, to prevent their ſinking in the ſnow. Though the boats were too well manned to fear ſuch enemies, the crew continued under arms, till the return of the tide enabled them to purſue their voyage.

In doubling the north-eaſt point of Bulam, there is a creek or bay about three leagues broad and the ſame depth, in the midſt of which is three or four fathoms water. The banks are covered with mangroves. It is a good retreat for ſmall veſſels in bad weather. From hence to the ſouth-eaſt point, the coaſt is ſafe, and the anchorage good all along, for large veſſels: but it is neceſſary to be well acquainted with the tides, and the conveniences and inconveniences they bring. This the Sieur Brue experienced, for he had ſcarcely weathered the eaſt point, when the tide, which carried him there, turned againſt him, and ſeemed a tide of ebb. He immediately put in for ſhore; and following the example of a Biſſagots canoe, which had moored to the trees, he faſtened his boat in the like manner. In this place they paſſed the night, notwithſtanding their tents were much wetted; and ſuffered greatly by a violent ſtorm which followed, attended with rain, thunder and lightning; beſides irregular currents, which were ſo rapid, that they dreaded being driven from their anchors, and left on the coaſt, for there was no venturing to ſea, the night being ſo dark, nor could they diſtinguiſh the neareſt object, but by the lightning. At day-break the ſtorm ceaſed. The Biſſagots, who had ſpent the night on ſhore, in great pain for their canoe, having obſerved the boats, approached them. The commander made ſigns of friendſhip, and ſpoke to them by his interpreters. On this, three came on board, whom he treated kindly, making them drink, and giving them

them ſmall preſents, which ſoon brought the reſt, to the number of 15. The Sieur Brue having informed them of his deſign of going through the iſle, and hunting by the way, they readily offered themſelves as guides. He took ſix or ſeven of them, leaving the reſt with his boat, under pretence of aſſiſting his men, but in reality as hoſtages for their countrymen's behaviour. They left the place where they had paſſed the night, and doubling the eaſtern point of Bulam, found a great river about a league broad, and of a ſufficient depth for the largeſt veſſels. Here they ſaw plainly the cauſe of the contrary tides and currents they had met with.

The channel or river between the iſland of Bulam, and the peninſula of the Biafaras, make a part of Rio Grande, which ſeparates into two branches at the ſouth-eaſt point of Bulam. Hence it is, that the tide entering by two openings, the flood in the ſouth channel runs ſtrongly to the eaſt, forcing that flowing in by the north channel (which is narrower and ſhallower than the other) to turn back on itſelf, and cauſes theſe rapid, uncertain currents which obliges veſſels to caſt anchor, that they may loſe by the reflux, what they have gained by the flood.

The boats being moored along with the Biſſagots canoe, the Sieur Brue landed with 18 whites, 12 armed Laptots, together with ſeven of the Biſſagots; leaving an officer, with the reſt of his men, to guard the boats, and have an eye on the Biſſagots canoe, and the eight men left in it. When they had marched an hundred yards, and had gotten clear of the woods, which ſurrounded the coaſts, they found a pleaſant country, that ſeemed to have been inhabited, and is ſtill yearly cultivated by three or four hundred Biſſagots, who came here to make their plantations of maiſe, rice, and other pulſe, and return home when their harveſt is finiſhed. The land is pleaſant, riſing inſenſibly for two leagues from the ſhore to the foot of ſome hills, which ſeem as the baſis of ſome larger mountains in the centre of the iſles.

Theſe mountains are neither ſteep nor bare, but are all covered with large trees. Their ſides are very improveable, and the frequent valleys between them are watered by rivulets of good water, which the Biſſagots aſſured the commander, were never dry, even in the hot ſeaſon.

The ſoil is fat, deep, and rich, as appears by the large trees it produces. It abounds with palm-trees of all ſorts. There are alſo green oaks, both ſtrait and crooked, very fit for building ſhips or houſes; as alſo pear-trees of the ſame kind with thoſe in the iſles of America. This iſle of Bulam formerly belonged to the Biafaras, but the Biſſagots their enemies, liking the ſituation, had made ſo cruel a war upon them, that, after carrying off numbers of them into ſlavery, the reſt thought fit to retire to the continent. The conquerors however, have not thought fit to take poſſeſſion of their acquiſition, but reſort hither yearly, to the number of three or four hundred, during the months of February, March, April and May, to make their plantations, and after harveſt return home. If any are found here at other times, as happened now, they are only adventurers, who are come to infeſt the Biafara coaſt, or hunters who come here to kill elephants; one of theſe animals being a good prize to the negros, who, beſides the profit of his teeth, feaſt heartily on the carcaſe. It is this deſtruction prevents theſe creatures from multiplying here as otherwiſe they would do, there being no lions or beaſts of prey to moleſt them.

"Here are alſo on this iſle, birds of all kinds, both ſuch as breed here, and birds of paſſage. The adjacent ſeas are full of fiſh. Tortoiſes, and ſhell-fiſh of various ſorts are plenty; ſo that a man muſt be lazy if he cannot live well here.

The Sieur Brue ſpent four days in making the circuit of the iſle, and examining it. He returned weary to his boat, but very well ſatisfied with his journey, and confirmed in his opinion of the project he had propoſed to the company of eſtabliſhing a colony here like that of the Iſle das Vaccas, or of Cows, on the coaſt of Hiſpaniola. By his beſt computation this iſle of Bulam is eight or ten leagues long from eaſt to weſt; five broad from north to ſouth, and 25 or 30 leagues in circumference. Having ſurveyed it by land, he thought proper to ſail round it, in order thoroughly to know the bays, rocks, ports, and ſoundings of the coaſt. He ſet out with his two boats, well provided with freſh victuals, boiled or dried, taking the ſame courſe he did in coming. He tried the ſoundings, and could find no paſſage between Bulam and Formoſa. It is one continued bank on which the ſea beats violently, if there is the leaſt wind. The Sieur Brue ſent through it the Biſſagots canoe with two pilots, and kept in their place four Biſſagots. Though it was high water, the canoe ſtuck in ſeveral places, and the negros were forced to get into the water, to draw it through the rocks, or a hard kind of ſhoal. The canoe rejoined the commander's boats at the weſt point of Formoſa, where they waited for it, having had a quicker paſſage.

Theſe rocks continue to run from point to point, forming a ſemi-circle to the north-weſt point of Bulam. They found, within two cables length of theſe ſhoals, from eight to ten fathoms water. Purſuing their courſe between the iſle of Bulam, and that of the Biſſagots, which the Portugueſe call the Iſle das Gallinas, or of Hens, from the plenty of poultry there. Here is a channel a league broad, which looks like a ſtreight ſtreet of five leagues long, lying ſouth-eaſt and north-weſt, and has all through it from 12 to 26 fathoms water. Between the banks and ſhoals, which begin at the Iſle of Hens, and continue to a deſart iſle, lying to the eaſt ſouth-eaſt, of Caſnabac (another of the Biſſagots iſles) there is at two cables diſtance, four or five fathoms water.

The ſhoals on the iſle of Bulam, begin two leagues from the north-weſt point. This ſpace forms the weſt road, as commodious and ſafe for anchorage, as that to the eaſt. The banks or ſhoals appear again, and form a right angle, two leagues diſtant from the point of the iſle, with a line winding back, which terminates at the ſouth ſouth-eaſt point. Between this point and the rocks, and that of Tombali on the main, inhabited by the Nalus negros, lies the largeſt branch of Rio Grande, which was every where from 20 to 30 fathoms water. The Sieur Brue entered this branch between the point of Nalus and that of the three fountains. In this place it is two leagues broad; and after running a large ſweep to the ſouth, it takes a turn, and runs north-eaſt, till it is divided in two branches by the iſle of Biſaghe.

All this country, on both ſides of Rio Grande, is well peopled. In the night the French commander heard their drums beating on each quarter, whether out of diverſion, as is uſual, or that they ſuſpected his boats, and did it to ſhew they were on their guard. The banks of Rio Grande are covered with large trees, which induced the Portugueſe to come hither and build their veſſels. Amongſt theſe there is a tree called Miſheri, of which they make planks, which, beſides their being eaſy to work, are free from the worms, not only on this coaſt, where they are ſo pernicious to ſhips, but in different parts of Europe, Africa and America, whither they have been carried. The unctuous ſap, which this wood abounds with, and is extremely bitter, is what, in all appearance, ſecures it from theſe worms. The trees do not grow very tall, ſeldom above 20 or 22 feet high; but they are very large in the trunk.

The banks of the rivulets here, and the marſhy grounds, produce certain trees of a middle ſize, reſembling in wood and leaves the American mahot, the bark of which ſerves for hemp to caulk the ſhips. Inſtead of pitch, which they often want, they uſe palm-oil, mixed with quick lime, and boiled to ſuch a conſiſtence as neceſſary. With reſpect to cables, the country furniſhes certain reeds or bamboos, which grow in the marſhy grounds; theſe they cut, and leave to ſteep in water, after which, beating them, to ſepa-

the groſſer part, they weave them into good ropes. All they want here is proper wood and maſting; the miſheri being too ſhort, and the mangrove and palm too heavy. All the other trees are too brittle, ſo that they are forced to uſe the palm, and to prevent the ill effects of its heavineſs, they are obliged to have no top-maſts.

[It is ſtrange, as the country ſo eaſily produces cocoa-trees, that they make no uſe of the huſks to make ropes and tow, as they do in the Eaſt Indies.]

Having paſſed the iſle of Biſaghe, which is perhaps the country whence the Biſſagots take their name, when they had proceeded about a league, he found a ſmall river on the left, in which entering, after a league's ſailing, he reached Ghinhala, inhabited by Portugueſe, who have been ſettled here, from father to ſon, for a long time. Here he found a ſmall Engliſh veſſel, belonging to Sierra Leona, commanded by one Glick, who was owner and captain. He was of the Romiſh perſuaſion, and had married a rich negro woman there, with whom he got, beſides money, a large iſle in the river of Sierra Leona.

The village is ſituated on the right ſide of the river of the ſame name; which alſo gives its name to the kingdom, ſometimes called the kingdom of the Biafaras. This kingdom is conſiderable by the number of its Portugueſe inhabitants, white, black, tawny, and mulattos, who all ſeem to live at their eaſe, and have tolerable houſes: their antichamber, where they receive their viſits, being pretty well furniſhed. No ſtrangers ſee beyond this, in a country where the men are as jealous of their miſtreſſes as their wives, and generally keep both under the ſame roof; except in this article, they are very civil and complaiſant.—— The Sieur Brue employed two days in returning theſe viſits, and inquiring into the ſtate of trade here. The third day early, he ſet out, attended by twenty of his men, well armed, and ſeveral Portugueſe, who waited on him out of reſpect, and went a league to ſee the king of Ghinhala, or Biafaras. This prince being known by both titles.

The king, informed of his approach, waited his coming, beneath a tree before his tapada, or incloſure. He had round his waiſt a black pagne, with a black under coat, in the Portugueſe faſhion, a cloak of the ſame colour, black pumps, without ſtockings, and a great black hat on his head, ſo that he was all over black, except his teeth, and the whites of his eyes.

He received the Sieur Brue's compliments civilly, as well as his preſents, and touching his hand ſeveral times, aſſured him, the French ſhould be welcome to his dominions; that he would protect them, and trade with them preferably to the other nations; that he gave them liberty to ſettle where they would, and erect warehouſes and incloſures as they pleaſed. And the Sieur Brue mentioning his deſire to make a ſettlement at Bulam, which he knew belonged to the king, his majeſty ſaid nothing could be more agreeable to him than to ſee the Biſſagots, his enemies, driven from that iſland; that he would make the French a preſent of it with all his heart, and if it was too little, he would give them lands near the Three Fountains, ſufficient for their ſettlements. After ſeeing the Sieur Brue's preſents, he expreſſed his gratitude, ſent for palm-wine, drank to the commander, and obliged him to pledge him. The king took ſuch pleaſure in the Sieur Brue's converſation, that he ſeemed uneaſy he would not ſtay a few days with him at his court, where he regaled him after the country way.

After the repaſt, the Sieur Brue viſited the villages, which is large, and the country round is delightful, on account of the banana, and other trees, which ſurround the houſes, with incloſures of thorn and green reeds. The village is ſituated on the bank of a middling river, which comes from the eaſt, and falls into that of Curbali. The ſoil here is rich, and well cultivated, and in other hands, might be greatly improved. There is a good trade for wax, ſilver, and ivory, and a great number of elephants, which, notwithſtanding, the continual perſecution of the negros, multiply exceedingly.

In the evening, the Sieur Brue returned to Ghinhala, and reſted there the next day; the day after he went ſix leagues up the place, where the conveniency of wood has induced ſeveral European traders to build veſſels. There was then on the ſtocks a ſquare-ſterned veſſel, of about 100 tons, as there is nothing wanting here but maſting. Moſt of the villages along the river are inhabited by Portugueſe, ſometimes intermixed with negros, from whoſe huts their houſes are eaſily diſtinguiſhed by their ſhape and bigneſs. The trade here, beſides wax, ſlaves and ivory, produces large dried hides, cotton, ſome oſtrich feathers, gum of different kinds, and gold, which comes from the inland to the ſouth and eaſt, but from whence is not yet known.

The French commander returned to Biſſao, after making the neceſſary obſervations for a ſettlement advantageous to the company. Here he found his buildings in good forwardneſs, and while they were finiſhing, ſailed in the Corvettes, to viſit the iſle of Biſſagots.

"The iſles of Biſſagots (ſays the author) are 13 or 14 in number, the moſt conſiderable and frequented of which are Caſnabac, Ilhas das Gallinas, Caſegut, Carache, Aranghena, Paſagaya, or the Iſland of Parots, Formoſa, Babachoca, Baſaghe, Waranghe, and ſome others leſs known, becauſe not frequented.—— Each of theſe iſles is governed by a chief called a King, or who has at leaſt the authority belonging to that title. Theſe chiefs are independant of each other, and frequently at war, but they unite in making war on the Biafaras on the continent, whom they have driven from the iſle of Bulam, as has been obſerved. They have canoes large enough to carry 25 or 30 men, with proviſions and their arms, which are ſabres and arrows.

"The negros of theſe iſles are large, ſtrong and robuſt, though their ordinary food is but ſhell-fiſh, palm-oil, and palm-nuts, called Chevaux, chuſing rather to ſell to the Europeans their maiſe, rice, and other pulſe. They are pagans, and very cruel to their enemies. They cut off the heads of thoſe they kill in war, and after carrying them up and down in triumph, they ſkin them, drying the ſcalps and hair, with which they adorn their houſes, as a mark of their victories.

"They are paſſionate lovers of brandy; whenever a ſhip brings any, they ſtrive who ſhall be the firſt, and ſtick at nothing to get it. The weaker becomes a prey to the ſtronger. They forget the laws of nature; the father ſells his children, and if they can ſeize their parents, they ſerve them in the ſame manner. Every thing goes for brandy.

"Formoſa is the eaſternmoſt of theſe iſles, but deſert and uninhabited. The iſles das Gallinas and Caſnabac, lying at the head of the banks and ſhoals, which ſurrounds this cluſter of iſles, are fertile, well peopled, and have plenty of water. The ſhores abound with all ſorts of fiſh, and if the natives were a little more induſtrious in cultivating their lands, they might be great gainers; for all theſe iſles in general are good ſoil, and capable of maintaining large colonies.

The iſle of Caſegut is one of the moſt conſiderable. It is ſurrounded with banks and ſhoals, except at the two points, lying north eaſt, and ſouth weſt, where ſhips may ride in ſafety. It is reckoned ten or twelve leagues from the point of Bernafal, in the iſle of Biſſao, to the north-eaſt point of Caſegut, and but five to St. Martin. The natives of Caſegut are, without diſpute, the moſt civiliſed of all theſe iſlanders, which is owing to trade.—

When the fly-boat was moored, the Sieur Brue hoiſted his flag, and fired a gun; ſoon after, three men appeared on the ſhore, and made a ſignal to come on board. The boat went and brought them off. One of theſe was a chief of the iſle, and a near relation of the king, accompanied with two of his

kinſmen. He had only a pagne round his waiſt, and a hat. His hair was greaſed with palm-oil, which made it quite red. He ſaluted the French commander civilly, pulling off his hat, and taking him by the hand, by the interpreter, welcomed him to the iſland, and inquired after the Sieur de la Fonde, who had been his particular friend.

While the commander was treating his friend with brandy, a canoe approached with five negros, one of whom came on deck, holding a cock in his left hand, and a knife in his right; after kneeling a minute before the Sieur Brue, without ſpeaking, he roſe, and turning to the eaſt, cut the cock's throat, and placing himſelf on his knees, let ſome drops of blood fall on the Sieur Brue's feet; he did the ſame to the maſt and pump of the ſhip, and returning to the commander, preſented him with the cock. That gentleman ordering him a bumper of brandy, aſked him the reaſon of this ceremony. He replied, That the people of his country looked on the whites as the gods of the ſea; that the maſt was a divinity, that made the ſhip walk, and the pump was a miracle, ſince it could make water riſe up, whoſe natural property was to deſcend.

The Sieur Brue, after regaling the negro grandee, and making him a preſent, ſent him on ſhore. Next day he returned his viſit, and was met on his landing by this lord, who conducted him to his habitation, about 300 paces from the ſhore, built in the Portugueſe way, well white-waſhed, with an open portico before it, ſurrounded with lofty palm-trees, and furniſhed with neat wooden chairs and ſtools. After ſome converſation, and a regale of palm-wine, he walked to a building about 50 paces from his houſe, which the commander, to his great ſurpriſe, found to be a chapel, with an altar, benches, and a bell of about thirty pounds weight, faſtened to a tree near the door. He cauſed it to be rung, and told the Sieur Brue, he built that chapel for the uſe of ſuch Chriſtians as ſhould come thither; adding, that though he was no Chriſtian, he loved them, and that if any prieſt would come and live with him, he ſhould want for nothing. After this, they went together to the king, who reſided about a mile from thence, and received the commander graciouſly. He was a venerable old man of about ſeventy, his beard curled, and almoſt white, his eyes and mouth handſome, and his air majeſtic. He had only a pagne about his waiſt, and a hat on his head, with which he ſaluted the commander, taking him by the hand, and repeating ſeveral times, You are welcome and offered him free liberty to ſettle on his iſland. The Sieur Brue made him a preſent of ſome curioſities, and two ankers of brandy. The king taſted it, and found it much beyond the Portugueſe rum, which is often adulterated with water. The king's houſe was not ſo commodious as that of his kinſman, but it had chairs and tables. He kept, however, the company to dinner, and treated them with fowls boiled in rice, veniſon, beef, and mutton, tolerably well dreſſed. His palm-wine was excellent; and the commander's brandy was not ſpared; after which the king fell to ſmoking, and made the Sieur Brue ſmoke in the ſame pipe, the tube of which was near five feet long, and the bowl big enough to hold a quarter of a pound of tobacco. It was adorned with ſeveral rings and ornaments of pewter. The king preſented the Sieur Brue with two cocks, which, amongſt the negros, is the higheſt mark of diſtinction and reſpect, the cock being a bird conſecrated to their deities.

The iſle of Caſegut is near three times as long as it is broad. The land is rich and good, and, as far as the Sieur Brue ſaw, well cultivated. It abounds with polon-trees, lataniers, palm and orange trees, as well as maiſe, rice, pompions, peaſe, and other kinds of pulſe. There were near the king's houſes forty or fifty negros armed with ſabres and arrows, whom the Sieur Brue judged to be his guard. Caſegut, Carache, Caſnabac, and las Gallinas, are the only Biſſagot iſlands, where foreigners may trade ſecurely. At the others, it is neceſſary to be on the guard, and not venture on ſhore, and the Portugueſe have experienced this, even in trafficking with them on board. Strangers cannot be too cautious, eſpecially in the night. Above all it is requiſite to keep a ſtrict guard, and anchor ſo, that the veſſels are not left dry at the tide of ebb.

"If the natives of theſe iſles have ſlaves to ſell, or other goods, they bring them in canoes; and it is then proper to have the crew under arms on deck, and the guns pointed, and to ſuffer them to enter only one at a time. Notwithſtanding theſe hazards, there are uſually three or four hundred ſlaves bought here every year, from fifteen to twenty bars a head, and the trade, if rightly managed, is very improveable. The goods proper for the iſles are, yellow amber, baiſe, cloth, ſerges, red and yellow; brandy in large quantities, braſs and copper bells, and fowling-pieces, and yellow worſted, cotton cloths or pagnes; pewter plates, braſs baſons, linen of different ſorts, with ſome few glaſs beads, red and black.

"In 1687, the Sieur de la Fonde, who traded here, was plundered of ſome goods by the natives. While he meditated revenge, there put in here a French man of war, called the Lion, commanded by the Sieur de Montiſier; he propoſed to this captain to pillage the iſle, for which end they landed 200 men, without reſiſtance. The king, called Dukermenay, who found himſelf ſurrounded in his houſes, choſe to burn himſelf rather than ſurrender. The inhabitants fled to the woods and mountains; ſo that of two or three thouſand natives, the French could take but ten or twelve. This unlucky enterpriſe made the Sieur de la Fonde afraid of loſing all trade with theſe people; but he found means to manage matters, ſo as to perſuade them he had no hand it, but that it was done by pirates.

"The natives, eſpecially thoſe of faſhion, rub their ſkin with palm-oil, which makes them quite red. The women and girls have nothing about their waiſts but a thick kind of fringe made of reeds, which drops to their knees. In cold weather they put another of the ſame kind round their ſhoulders. They have, beſides, copper and pewter bracelets on their arms and legs.

"In general, the natives of Caſegut are well ſhaped, have good features, of ſhining jet black colour, and have neither flat noſes, nor broad lips. They are ingenious and lively, and were it not for their indolence might be eaſily taught arts; but they are ſo impatient of ſlavery, eſpecially out of their own country, that it is very dangerous to have them on board."

At his return from Caſegut, the Sieur Brue found his building almoſt finiſhed. The ditch was not quite made, but the hedge was planted round it, and he judged a night or two would bring it to perfection.

His firſt viſit was to the king or emperor, who received him with great marks of friendſhip and aſſurance of his protection to the company. His majeſty's wives and grandees made him many offers of their ſervice. He had reaſon, both now, and at his return to Africa in quality of director in 1723, to believe them ſincerely in his intereſt. He went next to viſit the Portugueſe governor, with whom he lived in as good underſtanding, as could be ſuppoſed between two commanders of oppoſite intereſts. Finding the Sieur Brue intended to lodge in his new factory, he earneſtly preſſed him to take an apartment in the fort. The commander excuſing himſelf on the diſtance between the fort and his building, the governor offered him the Franciſcan convent, which he declining on the ſame account, Don Rodrigo preſſed him to accept a warehouſe belonging to the Portugueſe company, which lay convenient; this he accepted of, and the governor had it immediately fitted up for his reception. The Sunday after, while the Sieur Brue was at maſs with the governor, who had invited him, he obſerved, that a picture over the altar bore the arms of the French company; he took notice of it

to the Portugueſe governor, as a proof, that his nation had a ſettlement here, either before, or at leaſt as early as the Portugueſe, ſince the picture ſeemed as old as the altar, or church. The governor replied he could not pretend to decide that matter, but he aſſured him that a king of Biſſao had ſent his ſon to the king of Portugal to acknowledge him for his ſovereign; and that this prince made a treaty, whereby he gave the Portugueſe the privilege of trading here, excluſive of other nations, and allowed them to build a fort. But this account appeared a fable to the Sieur Brue, becauſe the governor could neither tell the time when this happened, nor the names of the kings of Portugal or Biſſao, concerned in this tranſaction, nor even the date of the erection of the fort. All theſe rendered the governor's account very doubtful, and no way hindered the French commander from purſuing his ſcheme of ſettling a trade here, ſo as to ruin that of the Portugueſe; as it happened ſoon after. Theſe two gentlemen, however, kept a fair outward correſpondence, viſiting each other, dining often together, and making preſents. But notwithſtanding theſe civilities, the Portugueſe underſtanding that the Sieur Brue was about to depart, ſent him his ſecretary with a formal proteſt againſt the French ſettlement, in the king of Portugal's name. The Sieur Brue returned this compliment by a counter-proteſt, dated on board the Ann in Biſſao road, April the 16th, 1700. This paper war, however, no way hindered the two chiefs from keeping up a good intelligence together, and to agree to refer their differences to their ſuperiors in Europe.

The king of Biſſao being informed, that the Sieur Brue was preparing to depart, and intended to demand an audience of leave, came, April the 20th, with all his court, to viſit him in his new factory. The commander met him at ſome diſtance, and ſaluted him with all the guns of his fleet, which was ordered as cloſe in ſhore as poſſible, ſhewing him all honours, except ſuch as might be made precedents of. The king aſked him, if he was ſatisfied with his ſettlement, offering to change it, or augment it as he pleaſed. The commander expreſſed his thanks for the king's favour, aſſuring him, that both the company and himſelf relied on his protection. He made the king ſome preſents, particularly a cap of crimſon velvet, embroidered with gold, which his majeſty immediately put on.

On the 26th of April, this year the Sieur Brue went to take his leave of the king, who was then at his country ſeat. He ordered chairs for the commander and his company, beneath a tree, near the gate of his Tapade, or incloſure. He appeared ſoon after, having over his pagne a ſcarlet cloak, lined with calico, with a grey hat on his head. The Sieur Brue thanked him for all his favours, preſenting the Sieur Cartaing as chief factor, and the ſix others he left at Biſſao, deſiring him to grant them his protection. The king replied, he might depart with content, for that he took them and the factory under his immediate protection, wiſhing him a happy voyage, and deſiring he might hear from him often.

The ſame day the king ſent the greateſt part of his courtiers and his wives, to compliment the commander, and carry him proviſions for his voyage. They entertained him with a dance to the king's drums; and this monarch, ſo haughty to other nations, on all occaſions it is ſaid, ſhewed the Sieur Brue an uncommon degree of reſpect, and complaiſance.

The commander left the factors a ſurgeon, two interpreters, and ſome Laptots; likewiſe a bark, a brigantine and a ſtout boat, with ſailors, pilots, and all things neceſſary. In the factory he put arms, ammunition, and merchandiſe for trade, with European proviſions, leaving the Sieur Cartaing full inſtructions how to proceed. He particularly gave him charge to diſcover the adjacent coaſts, and in caſe the Portugueſe ſhould quit their fort, as was reported, immediately to take poſſeſſion of it, before the negros could demoliſh it.

He went to the fort to take his leave of the Portugueſe governor, on the 13th of April, who, as before, received him at the outer gate, his garriſon being under arms, and the drums beating a march, and waited on him to the ſhore.

Notwithſtanding the civilities of the governor of Biſſao, and his promiſes of waiting the deciſion of his ſuperiors in Europe, he employed underhand, all poſſible artifices to engage the Sieur Brue to pay the 10 per cent. he claimed on all goods imported here.—— The Portugueſe governor at Cachao wrote to the commander on that head, ſhewing him it was a ſure way to ſell more goods in 15 days, than he could otherwiſe do in a year. He was offered a conſiderable abatement in the duty; and repreſented how much the Sieur de la Fonde had gained by his trade, becauſe he made no ſcruple of paying theſe duties: adding, that as his Portugueſe majeſty had given him a licenſe to trade with ſtrangers, he wiſhed the French would ſeize this favourable opportunity, before he offered it to the Engliſh and Dutch. The commander replied, that he would immediately acquaint the French company with his propoſals, though it appeared both prejudicial to their intereſt, and ſubverſive of their privileges; that the Sieur de la Fonde's example was no reaſon why they ſhould recede from their rights, becauſe he acted like a private trader, only for his own benefit.

In the mean time, as the Portugueſe trade here was declining ſo as not to be able to defray the expences of a governor and garriſon, they withdrew their ſtorekeeper, and the governor of Cachao adviſed the king of Portugal to abandon and raze the fort. The Sieur Brue gave the French company notice of this, who wrote to the preſident Rouſſlee, then ambaſſador at the court of Portugal, and the Sieur Brue arriving at Liſbon in 1703, they jointly endeavoured to engage the Portugueſe miniſtry to ſell the fort, but they choſe to demoliſh it, which was executed in October the ſame year.

The convent was Franciſcan, ſometimes poſſeſſed by Cordeliers, ſometimes by the Capuchins, and at others by Recollets, (all of that order.) The pariſh was governed by ſecular prieſts ſent here from St. Jago. When theſe failed, which often happened, the Franciſcans ſupplied their places. There were three on the ſpot when the Sieur Brue was here, but although they were zealous to exceſs, yet they were preparing to retire from a field ſo barren of proſelytes, occaſioned by the bad example of the whites, their debauchery and vices being (as the author ſays) an invincible bar to the converſion of theſe negros.

However, they had the pleaſure to baptiſe a negro of ſome diſtinction, who ſoon after renounced his new religion, and died without any ſigns of repentance. His relations brought the body to be buried at the church, becauſe the deceaſed had been baptiſed; but the Recollets, who were then curates, refuſed to bury it, on account of the apoſtacy and final impenitence of the deceaſed. This occaſioned a tumult, which was at laſt appeaſed. The friends buried the corpſe in the church in ſpite of the prieſt, who forbore divine ſervice, looking on the church as prophaned. This ſevere conduct, which was judged ill-timed, drew on the fathers the public odium. The grandees loaded them with injuries, and would have expelled them the country, but that they were under the protection of the king of Portugal. At laſt the viſitor (or vicar-general at Cachao) being informed of the affair, and fearing ill conſequences might attend it, ſent a prieſt to Biſſao, with full powers to ſettle matters.

The expedient he fell on was, to take up the body ſecretly by night, and inter it elſewhere, after which he re-conſecrated the church with the ſame privacy. But this ſtep did not ſatisfy the Recollets; they publiſhed a manifeſto to juſtify their conduct, and went ſo far as to condemn all Chriſtians, who kept other Chriſtians, though blacks, as ſlaves; alſo to thoſe who ſold ſlaves to the Engliſh or Dutch, with whom they

they were ſure to enjoy neither religion nor liberty, tho' baptiſed. They inveighed in too open a manner, taxing their countrymen with hindering, by their irregularities, the progreſs of the Romiſh faith. Copies of this paper they ſent into Spain and Portugal, and carried it with them to Martinico, whither they were obliged to ſail in a ſhip belonging to the French company, in order to get a paſſage thence to Portugal, having ſo exaſparated the negros and Portugueſe at Biſſao, that it was not ſafe for them to ſtay longer. Their Manifeſto was as little reliſhed at Martinico, the governor of which deſired that they would keep it to themſelves, and not talk of thoſe matters while they ſtayed in that iſland.

The Sieur Brue, when he undertook a voyage to Geſves, arrived there juſt at the time that Captain Manuel Alvas, governor here for the king of Portugal, died. He was a Chriſtian negro, knight of the order of Chriſt, and the moſt generous perſon in the country, a quality rare amongſt the negros, but which he carried ſo far, that, beſides the kind reception he gave all ſtrangers, no perſon left his houſe without a preſent of one or more ounces of gold, according to his quality.

When firſt the Sieur Brue landed at Geſves, he went to the houſe of the deceaſed, to pay his compliments of condolance to the widow and children. As ſoon as his retinue appeared, they gave a ſignal to the mourners, who began their lamentations, as if the perſon was juſt dead.

The Portugueſe and negros uſe much the ſame ceremony on the death of the chief perſon of a family. It is hard to tell which has borrowed from the other. As ſoon as a principal perſon dies, all the women in the neighbourhood aſſemble; and when the number is not ſufficient, they ſend to him others. Theſe women attend the widow or children of the deceaſed; and, when any ſtranger comes, begin their lamentations in a mournful tone, weeping in cadence, and ſhewing an affliction beyond all conſolation, to thoſe who do not know that it is all grimace. At the end of each crying ſcene, theſe mourners are ſerved with brandy, and palm-wine, which they drink as chearfully as if they had been laughing all day. Thus they divert themſelves till a new company arrives, and then the ſorrow begins again.

The children of Captain Manuel in deep mourning, attended by their relations, ſat on mats. After the Sieur Brue had made his compliments, he ſat down by them, and for a while there was a profound ſilence. After this, palm-wine was ſerved up, and after drinking a few cups, the converſation turned on news, while the mourners, who were in another room with the widow, cried their beſt, drinking in the interval, and repeating the great actions of the deceaſed. The Sieur Brue roſe, after aſſiſting an hour at this doleful ceremony. The relations waited on him to the door, but the children ſat ſtill on their mats; the ceremonial cuſtoms forbidding them to riſe or quit their mournful poſture, lying half ſtretched, their heads reclined on their arms, except when they drank.

This ceremony is obſerved and renewed at every new viſit, and when much company comes, they are obliged to drink freely in order to cry heartily. The Sieur Brue was invited to the burial of Captain Manuel, at which all the Portugueſe aſſiſted, in long cloaks, with their long ſwords, and poinards, as already deſcribed. Before the deceaſed governor's houſe were eight field pieces or carriages, which were fired as the proceſſion ſet out; a gun fired from time to time as it paſſed, and a whole diſcharge made when the ceremony was over, when the company returned to the houſe, and were treated with palm-wine and brandy, after which they retired.

This captain Manuel always kept an apartment for the French factors, who came to Geſves; but the ſtate of his family did not permit the Sieur Brue to expect ſuch an offer. A Portugueſe officer, called Don Franciſco Colleo, ſent to intreat he would accept a lodging joining to his houſe. The Sieur Brue embraced the offer, but thought it firſt proper to viſit his hoſt. Coming near the houſe, he was ſurpriſed to hear a man, who bawled as loud as his ſtrength would permit. If any other voice had been joined, the commander would have thought ſome perſon was dying here. Entering, he found a tall lean man lying in a hammock, who was making a forced penance for the ſins of his youth. His wife, who was a negro, was polite, handſome, and very agreeable in converſation. She had fitted up, in the beſt manner ſhe could, the apartment deſigned for the Sieur Brue;——ſhe had ſet hammocks up, chairs, mats, a table, wood, and water, and prudently left his own ſervants to dreſs his ſupper. Luckily he had brought with him proviſions and linen, which are ſcarcely poſſible to be had here. It requires a good deal of trouble and ſearch to get a goat or a fowl. The Portugueſe, though ſo long ſettled in a fertile country, ſo eaſily improveable, yet want even the neceſſaries of life, living like the negros, or rather worſe. This general want of proviſions keeps them very temperate, their common food being the fleſh of river horſes, a meat which indeed has the look of beef, but a wild fiſhy taſte. They ſeldom have any wine but that of the palm, or any ſpirits but rum; which is ſo ſtrong, as well as of ſo diſagreeable taſte and flavour, that, in the Leeward Iſles, none but the negros, or common people will drink it.

Hunting might eaſily ſupply their want of domeſtic animals and poultry, the country abounding with monkeys, antelopes, deer, and other game, as well as birds of all kinds in plenty; but this exerciſe is too violent for the people, who prefer ſitting ſtill and doing nothing to all other pleaſures. The Flamingo birds are here in great numbers, and are ſo reſpected by the Mandingo natives of a village half a league from Geſves; that they flock in thouſands. Theſe birds are of the ſize of a Turkey hen, with long legs: their plumage is of a bright red, with ſome black feathers intermixed. They are but indifferent meat, unleſs one is accuſtomed to it; their fleſh taſting both oily and fiſhy. They make a noiſe that may be heard a quarter of a league. The French killed ſome few, who had ventured out of their aſylum; but were forced to hide them in the graſs, for fear of the negros, who would not have failed to have revenged the death of their conſecrated birds. On ſeveral places of this coaſt, eſpecially at Geſves, are found a ſort of water birds, of the gooſe or duck kind, called Spatula birds, from the end of their bills, reſembling that inſtrument of ſurgery. Their fleſh is better than that of the Flamingo.

The Rio Grande lies ten or twelve leagues to the ſouth of Geſves. There are between them two ſmall rivers, not much frequented. According to the wars which theſe people have with each other, and their ſucceſſes, the ſlave trade here is better or worſe. There is alſo ſome trade for ivory, wax, and gold.

In going up the Rio Grande, about eighty leagues above the mouth, there lies a nation of negros who love trade, called Nalus. Here is to be had a great deal of ivory, rice, maiſe, and ſlaves. Sixteen leagues from the Rio Grande, to the ſouth, lies Rio Nongue, where there is an annual trade for 300 quintals of ivory, at eight or ten bars the quintal, and about 100 ſlaves, from 10 to 15 bars a head. Rice is here excellent and cheap. Sugar canes and indigo grow naturally. They uſe this trade from the month of March to Auguſt, in order to have the advantage of the ſouth winds, as they return.

The country near Nongue produces a ſalt which the Portugueſe highly eſteem, as an excellent counterpoiſon. Its virtues (as they ſay) were diſcovered by an elephant. The negros, who hunt theſe animals here, ſhoot them with poiſoned arrows, and when the beaſt falls, they cut out the place the arrows ſtruck, and after diſembowelling the body, eat the fleſh. An elephant being wounded thus, the negros were ſurpriſed to ſee him walk on and feed, without diſcover-

ing

ing any marks of pain from his wounds. They knew not what to make of this prodigy, when one of them obſerved that the elephant went to the river's ſide and took up ſomething in his trunk, which he eat. They immediately went to ſee what it was, and found it a white ſalt, taſting ſomething like alum. Upon this they wounded another elephant, and obſerved that he cured himſelf in the ſame manner. The Portugueſe, who are always on their guard againſt poiſon, made ſeveral trials of this ſalt, and found it to be the moſt effectual and univerſal counter-poiſon yet diſcovered. Whether the poiſon be received inwardly or outwardly, a drachm of this ſalt diſſolved in warm water is aſſerted to be a ſpecific cure.

There are five rivers between thoſe of Nongue and Sierra Leona, viz. of Poughe, Tafali, Samos, and Caſſares. The people inhabiting this coaſt, are the Zapez, the Fulis. the Coholis, and the Nalus. The Zapez are divided into four tribes. All other nations are idolaters, and yet acknowledge one Supreme Being, though without paying him any divine worſhip, on account of his goodneſs. They are very ſkilful in poiſoning their arrows, ſo that a ſimple ſcratch of them is often mortal in half an hour. They underſtand counter-poiſons and ſell them. The chief trade here is for ivory, and a certain fruit called colos, which are much uſed by the Portugueſe to reliſh their water, as hath been before obſerved.

The Engliſh have a ſmall fort on the river of Sierra Leona from whence they trade up the country, even as far as the Fulis, to the Eaſt, from whom they get ſlaves, ivory, and even a good deal of gold; but it is not known where the laſt is produced, or from whence it comes. This river limits the conceſſion to the French Senega company, to the ſouth.

VOYAGE FOR THE DISCOVERY OF THE LAKE OF CAYOR, IN 1714.

THE Lake of Cayor, is about fifteen leagues from St. Louis. It is partly formed by the inundations of the river, to the north of which it lies; but when the floods abate, a great part of it remains dry, and then the Moors and Negros, who inhabit the banks, plant their millet and rice, which thrive wonderfully in theſe grounds, enriched with the ſlime of the river. This lake has not been much frequented by the French, at leaſt for forty or forty-five years paſt; ſo that little can be ſaid of it, but from the report of the Moors and Negros, whoſe authority is not wholly to be relied on. They ſay, it is of ſo great an extent, that thoſe who ſail in it are forced to make uſe of the compaſs. Although this particular may admit of controverſy, yet it is agreed to be much larger than that of Panier Fuli. Formerly a profitable trade was carried on here. The country round it is inhabited by the Moors, and the Negros, ſubject to the Siratic.

The different changes in the oompany having occaſioned the loſs of this trade, the Sieur Chambonneau, director in 1693, intended to revive it, and for that end ſent out a bark, with a factor and goods. This officer entered the lake, not without difficulty, the entrance being obſtructed with reeds, ſo ſtrong in ſome places, as to render a paſſage impoſſible. Having ſurmounted theſe obſtacles, and entered the lake, he took a ſudden fright on ſeeing a body of Moors armed on ſhore, at a village where he intended to anchor; ſo that he returned as he came, and gave ſuch terrible reports, that the director could find no perſons willing to undertake the voyage a ſecond time.

The Sieur Brue coming into the direction in 1697, reſolved to attempt the renewal of this trade; but his affairs did not permit him to do it till October 1699, when he ſent a bark, well armed, under a ſkilful factor, with a proper cargo, and preſents for the chief Moors. He had the precaution to engage previouſly in the company's intereſt, the chief Marbuts, or prieſts, who had promiſed to engage the chiefs of their nation to conclude a treaty of commerce. This bark arrived ſafely in the river of Cayor, which is a natural canal, by which the waters of the lake communicate with the Senaga, and thoſe of the Senaga, in its overflowing, enter the lake, where there is a trade for millet, peaſe, and other pulſe. A little above this village, the river begins to be obſtructed by large woods and bulruſhes, which lie ſo thick, and are ſo ſtrong, that the bark was ſtopped, though ſhe had a freſh gale, and the waters were at their height. The factor, who was accompanied by ſeveral canoes of the village of Graine, went in one of them to examine the breadth of the river, and ſeek a paſſage, but his little boat was ſoon prevented by theſe reeds, which in ſome places roſe two fathoms above the ſurface of the water, ſo that he was forced to return, and tow his bark down the river. In 1774, the Sieur Brue went on the diſcovery in perſon.

The rainy ſeaſon had ſet in late this year, and as the rains had been greater than uſual, the floods were proportionately ſo, which gave the commander hopes he ſhould have water enough to enter the lake, and examine it, as well as to make a treaty with the natives. At worſt he reſolved, if diſappointed, to viſit the ſettlements on the Senaga, and renew his friendſhip with the prieſts of thoſe parts.

The Sieur Brue left Fort Louis the beginning of November, and the ſame evening arrived at Bucſar, fifteen leagues diſtant. This place is an aſſemblage of different villages, built on a great plain on the bank of the Senaga. The negros here keep great flocks of cattle, and live more at their eaſe than their neighbours the whites; yet theſe latter, being ſomewhat cleanly, cannot be reconciled to the negro way of milking; ſo that when they go to a coral, or a herd, they carry their own veſſels, by which means they are ſure of good milk, that of the negros ſouring almoſt as ſoon as it is in their veſſels, becauſe they never waſh or rinſe them, from a notion, that the old milk remaining at the bottom, helps the new to cream. Some imagine the milk is ſweeter and richer here than in Europe. What is extraordinary, their cows give no milk after they loſe their calves, ſo that they kill but few here, in order not to loſe the milk. They make pretty good cheeſe; but their butter will not keep, which obliges them to ſalt it.

Their cattle here, and from hence to the ſea, are ſmall; but as one goes higher up the river, they grow larger. At night they faſten them by the hind feet ſtakes circularly placed round the incloſure, and in the midſt they place their calves, ſheep, and goats. Their cattle here are much infeſted with certain birds, which faſten on their backs, and if no care be taken, eat their way to the bone. He made no ſtay here, but was towed up as far as the Iſle of Palm Trees. A little higher, on the north ſide of the Senega, is the Marigot, or river of Cayor. It is fifteen leagues long, lying nearly north and ſouth; its conflux with the Senaga is about eight fathoms broad, and on the

fourth of November, had four fathom water; but the floods were fallen more than the commander expected, conſidering the ſeaſon: yet this did not hinder him from purſuing his voyage. The farther he advanced, he obſerved the Marigot grew broader and ſhallower. Hereupon he was conſtrained to anchor near the village of Graine, or Ingrin, about three leagues from the Senaga to the weſt, and on the left bank of the river Cayor.

This village belongs to Riquet, one of the grandees of the kingdom of Hoval, and related to the Brak. Although this is not his principal ſeat, yet he keeps wives and ſervants here, that when he comes he may not want attendants. He was there as the Sieur Brue paſſed by, and preſented him a ſlave. The commander went aſhore with him, and ſhot ſome Pintado birds. He found the country pleaſant, well improved, and free from gnats, which infeſt all the marſhy and low ground. They ſaw here a great deal of rice and maize in the low grounds, near the river ſide, and many pompions, for ſo the negros call water-melons, which in Spain they call paſteques. The French and Spaniſh melon, that is the red and green ſorts, come to perfection here. The negroes ſave the ſeed of theſe melons, and eat them after roaſting them in a pan full of holes.

That night the Sieur Brue lay on board, and next day Riquet paid him a ſecond viſit, with his wife, who preſented him a fat ox. This lady was well ſhaped, handſome, and had teeth ſurpriſingly white. The Sieur Brue aſking how ſhe preſerved them ſo well, ſhe replied, by rubbing them with a certain wood, of which ſhe preſented him a piece, and ſent him more. It is called Ghelele, and grows by the river-ſide, much reſembling our oſiers. The taſte is bitter. Riquet, her huſband, appeared to be about ſeventy-five, but ſtrong and healthy, had a martial air, and a great deal of vivacity in his eyes. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in the wars between the negros and the Marbut Moors, having defeated the troops of the king of Morocco, in ſeveral rencounters.

After this viſit, the commander weighed anchor, and ſailed four leagues higher, to the village of Queda, on the right-ſide of the river, and ſubject to the Siratick emperor of the Fulis, whoſe dominions this river and the lake of Cayor ſeparate from thoſe of the Jalofs, or the Brak. The river grew very narrow here, and the water viſibly fell. There is a deep ditch in the Marigot, before the village of Queda, where large veſſels may lie afloat all the year round; but on going out, there is ſcarce water enough in the dry ſeaſon for the ſmalleſt bark.

The chief of this village came, as uſual to compliment the Sieur Brue, and bring us preſents. On the commander's conſulting him as to his voyage up the river, he replied, that unleſs he could finiſh it in forty-eight hours, he muſt defer it till the ſeaſon following, for the waters were never known to have fallen ſo ſuddenly before.

The next day, the commander received a viſit from the chief, or grandee of Cayor, who confirmed what the former lord had told him, and expreſſed a concern that he could not have an opportunity of entertaining him at his village, on account of the ſhallowneſs of the river. He aſſured the Sieur Brue, that if his barks came in the end of July or Auguſt, they might find a free paſſage, (for that the tops of the reeds would be then covered) as well as a very advantageous trade with the natives, who would be well pleaſed to ſave the trouble of carrying their goods over land to Arguin, Portendic, or the factories on the Senaga. He added, that if the commander would ſtay two or three days at Queda, he would furniſh him with maiſe and beans ſufficient to load his bark. The commander accepted this offer; and found him as good as his word.

The ſame day, a Mooriſh grandee, accompanied by two others, and ſeveral attendants, came on board. Theſe gentlemen were very tawny, they were bare-headed, and their hair was frizzled at the top, and twiſted behind. They had long beards with large muſtachos: their dreſs was like the negros; but their cotton cloths, or pagnes, were fine, cloſe woven, and of a fine ſhining gloſſy black. They were neither tall nor fat, but looked well, and ſeemed very polite. The principal made a compliment to the commander, and preſented him with two of the largeſt oxen that could be ſeen; but they were ſo wild, that he was forced to have them killed to prevent miſchief. The gifts of the two other Moors, were ſome fine pagnes. He did not fail to return their preſents, and kept them to dinner along with ſome of the negro lords, who drank brandy freely. The Moors were more ſcrupulous, and drank only hydromel. Theſe Moors had fine Barbary horſes, which they valued at 15 captives, or 450 livres. The next day by ſunriſe, there arrived above 500 Moors and negro merchants, with maiſe, rice, and beans in ſkins, loaded on camels, horſes, carriage-horſes, and aſſes.

The chiefs of Queda and Cayor fixed the price of the market. Their meaſure is a matas, or cube, containing about a Paris minot. The trade was tranſacted on board the bark, ſuffering only a few to enter at a time, to prevent confuſion. The earneſtneſs of theſe people to get goods, was ſo great, that ſome fell into the water, and the clamour was very much; yet there was no diſorder.

The Sieur Brue bought here 80 hogſheads of maiſe, rice and beans, for the value of 100 franks; beſides ſome ivory, oſtrich feathers, and ſome pounds of ambergreaſe; and yet he was obliged for want of room, to ſend back near 400 merchants. During his ſtay here, an accident happened, which retarded his voyage for ſome hours. This was the ſudden death of a principal man of the village. Scarce had a woman ſet her head out of the door, and given a cry, when the whole town was in as great an uproar, as if in France all the bells had been ſet ringing. In a moment terrible ſhrieks were heard on all ſides; the women come running out, and without knowing more of the matter, fell a taring themſelves, and ſcreaming as if they had loſt all their relations. But when it came to be known who the dead perſon was, they all ran to the hut of the deceaſed, and made a noiſe almoſt as loud as thunder. After ſome hours, the chief marbut arrived, waſhed the body, put on his beſt cloaths, and laid him on his bed, with his weapons by his ſide. The relations then entered one after the other, took the deceaſed by the hand, aſking ſeveral ridiculous queſtions. Then they concluded with tenders of their ſervices, and finding the dead made no anſwer to theſe civilities, they retired, ſaying, with great gravity, "He is dead." In the mean time his wives and children, leaving to others the care of his funeral, killed his oxen, and ſold his merchandiſe; it being eſſential, on theſe occaſions, to make folger, that is, to feaſt and rejoice after the body is interred.

The proceſſion was led by the gueriots, with their drums, and the men armed with all their weapons, followed ſilently; next came the body, carried by two men, and ſurrounded by all the marbuts they could aſſemble. The women followed, roaring, and tearing themſelves like bedlamites. When the body is interred in the houſe of the deceaſed, which is a priviledge granted to their king's and grandees, they make a ſhort proceſſion round the village, and when they come to the place where the grave is dug, the chief marbut approaches the body, and whiſpers in the ear, while four men hold up cotton cloths about it, ſo as to hide it from the view of the ſpectators. The bearers then puts it in the grave, covering it with earth and ſtones to prevent the wild beaſts from getting at it. The marbut next fixes the arms of the deceaſed on a pole, at the head of the grave, with a pot full of kuſcos, and another of water, which is to ſerve him for a year. This done, thoſe who held up the cotton cloths let them fall; and, at this ſignal, the women recommenced their lamentations, till the oldeſt or

chief marbut, orders the gueriots to beat a march to return to the village. That moment the grief ceaſes, and they fall to the feaſt as if nothing whatever had happened.

In ſome places they dig a trench round the grave, and plant a thorn hedge for its better ſecurity; for want of this precaution the body is often rooted up by wild beaſts in a night or two. In other places the funeral grief laſts ſeven or eight days; and if it be a boy, his companions run about the village with their ſabres in their hands, as if they were in ſearch for him, claſhing their weapons as they meet.

The French commander had much difficulty, tho' his bark was ſo ſmall, to get back into the Senaga, and from thence he returned to St. Louis, and thus ended the expedition.

A VOYAGE FOR THE DISCOVERY OF THE KINGDOM OF BAMBUK, AND ITS GOLD MINES.

THE Sieur Brue was the firſt of the French company's directors, who had advanced their affairs ſo much as to be able to diſcover from whence the gold came, which was brought down the Senaga, and carried to the Engliſh at Gambra, of which he had ſeen quantities, of 400 marks, arrive thither at a time. It was in proſecution of this grand deſign, that he made the voyage to the kingdom of Gulam, and reſolved to ſettle one or more factories there; in order to advance by degrees, and with prudence, towards the country of Bambuk, which may be juſtly called a Land of Gold, with which even ſome of its rivers abounds.

This enterpriſe was not very eaſy; for ſuch of the Mandigos, inhabiting Galam, as well as of the Saracalez, natives of that country, who traded to Bambuk, knew their own intereſt too well, to introduce ſtrangers, who would firſt ſhare the profits of ſo advantageous a commerce, and perhaps, when once eſtabliſhed, entirely exclude them. They were willing to trade with the French in their own country, but by no means inclined to admit them partakers in their trade to Bambuk, and the countries on the coaſt. As they were very jealous in this reſpect of the ſubjects of the Siratic, their neighbours, though of the ſame colour and religion, it was eaſy to imagine, they would be much more afraid of Europeans, whom they knew to be more enterpriſing, and conſequently more capable than any of carrying away this beneficial traffick. Beſides the people of Bambuk were perfectly well acquainted with the value of their country, and by long experience ſenſible how earneſt men of all complexions were to procure the precious metal which it produced, and of ſubduing the countries where it was found.

For this reaſon, they ſuffer none to enter their country, on any account, except a ſmall number of people, who bring them ſuch neceſſaries as they have not among themſelves; ſo that, excepting on the ſcore of commerce, no body can boaſt of having ſeen this country. Thoſe who have attempted it, have paid dear for their curioſity, and few or none have came back to give an account,

However, in order to engage the company, who were very cautious of throwing away their money, it was neceſſary they ſhould be aſſured that the gold, with which the Seracolez and Mandingos ſupplied the Fulis, the Engliſh, and the French, really came from Bambuk, and not farther off. In a word, it was farther neceſſary for their agents to diſcover the particular places where this metal was found, and the great quantities they yielded; as alſo to contrive means to ſettle there, and make themſelves maſters of them, ſo far, at leaſt, as to cauſe thoſe treaſures to flow ſolely through their own hands. A project both difficult and dangerous to execute.

There appeared no method ſo ſure to ſucceed in their deſign, as ſettling at Gulam; and the Sieur Brue would have done this in the year 1698, at a place near Dramanet, where he had traced out a fort, and alſo at the iſle of Caygnu, near the rock Felu, if he had been at full liberty to act as he pleaſed, and had had the men and other neceſſaries for theſe ſettlements, eſpecially the firſt; but even then he would have wanted the conſent of the company; who, although he took care to ſend them particular informations of whatever related to the execution of his project, yet were ſo long deliberating, that a ſmall reinforcement of men and other neceſſaries for one ſettlement, did not arrive at the Senaga till the middle of the year 1700.

The Sieur Brue, however, endeavoured to cultivate with care the trade of Gulam, as much as the ſmall ſupplies of goods he had would allow him. He had conſtantly ſent barks thither in the ſeaſon, and by preſents, as well as promiſes, he gained the friendſhip of the princes and grandees of that country, that they might aſſiſt him in making the ſettlement he intended, and give him an opportunity of ſending one of his factors into Bambuk, to get a thorough information concerning it. With this view he had left at Dramanet a lay Auguſtine brother, who was called Apollinaiſe; a ſurgeon by profeſſion, who had ſerved the company in that capacity for ſome years before his taking that habit, and ſince then had re-entered into its ſervice.

The Mandingos eluded all the offers he made to engage them to guide him to Bambuk, ſo that he was obliged to be contented with examining carefully the kingdom of Gulam, and part of that of Caſſon, till within four leagues below the fall of Govina, without being able to go farther, the negros of the country refuſing to let him proceed, on account of a war between them, which hindred them from accompanying him, or ſuffering him to paſs. He had better ſucceſs on the ſide of the river Faleme, which he went up as far as the ledge of rocks, oppoſite to Canary, and engaged in the French intereſt the lord of that village, who has ever ſince been a firm friend to the nation. The Sieur Brue had left Apollinaire an aſſortment of goods for trade, and ſtrongly recommended him to the chief marbut at Dramanet, who had taken charge of him, and promiſed to protect him with all his power. He was as good as his word, granting him a houſe, procuring him a ſale for his goods, and giving him all the information he was capable of, as to the trade of the country. This was all he could do during his ſtay here, of which he gave the company a circumſtantial account in a memorial he ſent, dated October the 8th, 1699. The company ſent back inſtructions, deſiring farther intelligence.

The good brother, judged it would be eaſier for him to go back to France, and anſwer the company's queſtions. He therefore left Gulam, and arrived at Fort St. Louis, September 16, 1700. In Novembe

ber following, he ſailed for France, with letters from the Sieur Brue to the company, acquainting them, That this religious, merited more than any of its officers, and adviſing them, not only to reward him in a diſtinguiſhed manner, but alſo to engage him to continue in their ſervice, by giving him ſome honourable poſt.

The Sieur Brue, as has been already mentioned, had traced out a fort near Dramanet, which he was forced to defer building, till he had the company's orders, and the neceſſary ſupplies. Theſe arriving in 1700, as hath been obſerved, he diſpatched one of his officers to begin the fort: but this officer took the liberty to change the ground marked out by the commander, under pretence of placing it more commodiouſly for loading and unloading the barks, built it ſo near the river, that it was carried away the next year by the floods, with a conſiderable loſs of the company's effects. This diſappointment was very vexatious to the Sieur Brue, becauſe it broke all his meaſures. He haſtened to remedy it, and gave orders to build a place for the ſecurity of the goods ſent to keep up the trade, which became every day more and more conſiderable. For this purpoſe, having pitched on a ſlip of land, more elevated than that the former fort was built on, they raiſed huts, and encloſed them with a tapada well terraſſed behind; where they mounted a few guns, till the Sieur Brue arrived, and made a more regular ſettlement: but he was called to France by the company the 12th of April, 1702.

The river Felame, according to the Mandingo merchants, ſeperates from the Senaga a little above Baracottra, a village where the Engliſh from the Gambra are often ſeen, or, at leaſt, free negros and Portugueſe, who ſerve them as Gromettos, that is, meſſengers or factors. They get thither by the river Gambra, which is a branch of the Senaga, but not navigable above Baracottra.

His ſudden return to France hindered him from making the intended ſettlement at Canara, which proved fatal to that of Dramanet: for the Mandingo Marbuts ſoon repented of having admitted the French: and finding the commander had left the country, they thought themſelves no longer bound by the perpetual alliance which had been made with him. Whether this change was wrought by finding ſome diminution in their trade, or that they were gained by the Engliſh, who concluded, that if the French puſhed their diſcoveries and ſettlements on that ſide, they would become abſolute maſters of the traffick with the negros and the gold trade: however it was, the Marbuts gave credit to the Guinea and other merchants of the Caravans, who repreſented the French as dangerous people, inſinuating themſelves by promiſes and preſents; but that being once ſettled, they would take off the maſk, and reduce the natives to a ſtate of ſlavery. What prejudiced them the moſt, was a letter, pretended to come from Sally, which confirmed the report, that the French were to be joined by an army of Moors from Morocco, who were to conquer the country, carry all thoſe able to bear arms into ſlavery, and oblige the reſt to work in the mines.

On this fort St. Joſeph was beſieged by a great multitude, before the officers, who commanded there, had the leaſt notice of the deſign. Unluckily at this very time, he had pulled down part of his incloſure, in order to enlarge it, and had been forced to diſmount the cannon of the fort; which lay open almoſt on every ſide, expoſed to the poiſoned arrows which the negros poured into it, without intermiſſion, both day and night. The factors and others, employed by the company, made a brave defence for ſeveral days, and killed numbers of the enemy: but their loſſes rather exaſperated than diſcouraged them; and they advanced in the night with faſcines, preſſing continually to burn the fort. They did not ſucceed, nor had the French one man killed or wounded: but as they were tired out with being continually under arms, and both ammunition and proviſions began to fail, the commander was obliged to make ſome propoſals to the beſiegers. Theſe, irritated by the loſs of ſeveral of their chiefs and relations, would harken to nothing, ſo that he was forced in the night, to get on board a bark, which lay under the fort, and after having got the ammunition, and all the beſt of the goods on board, ſet fire to the reſt the 23d of December, 1712, and thus loſt the rich trade of this country for five or ſix years.

The negros did not quit them yet, but followed them along the river, in hopes they ſhould be obliged to ſail near the bank in ſome places, for want of water in the middle; but the French choſe rather to diſmaſt the bark, and cut down even with the deck, than expoſe themſelves to that danger. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, they were forced to come almoſt within reach of their arrows, as often as they met with ſhoals or ſand banks; and they continued in this embarraſs, till they got within the dominions of the Siratic.

After this, the affairs of the company were ſo perplexed, that nothing was done towards reſtoring fort St. Joſeph, till 1710, when the Sieur Muſtellier, firſt director of the fifth, or Rouen company, and 19th director and commander of the Conceſſion of Senaga, and the Coaſts of Africa, arrived at fort St. Louis, in May 1710. He next year ſet out on that deſign, but died the 15th of Auguſt at Tuabb, on the Senaga, before he arrived at Dramanet. The Sieur Richebourg, Governor of Goree, ſucceeded him; and tho' he enjoyed that poſt but twenty months, (having been loſt on the bar of the Senega the ſecond of May, 1713) yet he lived to ſettle a fortified factory in the kingdom of Galam; not at Dramanet, where he ought to have fixed it, but at Mancanet, a league lower. He might have avoided giving umbrage to the Mandinos of Dramanet, by driving no great trade till he had fortified the place effectually. For theſe people, though eaſily alarmed on the article of commerce, are yet honeſter men, though more powerful than the Saracolez. However, the ſituation of Mancanet is very agreeable, the air good, the anchorage of barks at the foot of the little eminence, on which the fort ſtands, is very ſecure, and defended both by the artillery and muſquetry.

The Sieur Brue returning to fort St. Louis, in April 1714, ſet about eſtabliſhing the commerce of Galam. He cauſed the fort of Mancanet to be finiſhed, which had the name of St. Joſeph; and at the ſame time had that at Canara carried on and compleated, which was called St. Peter's Fort.

Theſe beginnings gave room to hope for a happy iſſue: but they were partly ineffectual, becauſe they could do nothing in theſe factories, but receive and ſell the goods they brought, without being able to reap thoſe advantages from the riches of the country, which might be obtained by ſeeking them on the ſpot; the ſureſt way of carrying on a profitable trade, and preventing others from ſharing in it. But as for this end, it was neceſſary previouſly to have a perfect knowledge of the country and its mines, as hath been already obſerved, the Sieur Brue propoſed the attempting this diſcovery to ſeveral of his factors, adding very advantageous offers to encourage them to undertake it. Several promiſed him, but were as ready to break their word, when they came to underſtand the dangers and hazards of any whites entering the country of Bambuk; where the jealouſy of the negros, with regard to ſtrangers, was ſo great, and their ſtrictneſs in guarding the avenues ſo extraordinary.

The Sieur Compaynon alone (at preſent maſter-maſon and undertaker at Paris) was daring enough to riſk ſo perilous a journey. He was furniſhed with merchandizes proper for the country as well as preſents for the ſarims, or lords of the villages, and for ſuch other perſons, as might be able to aſſiſt him in the diſcovery he had in view. He took his meaſures ſo well, that he ſucceeded, and has the honour to be

the firſt white who was ever ſeen in theſe parts. None before him had ever penetrated ſo far, or acquired ſo perfect a knowledge of the country, through which he travelled ſeveral Times.

His firſt journey was in a direct line from fort St. Joſeph to that of St. Peter on the river Faleme.

He made another, following the eaſt ſide of that river from Onneca to Naye.

His third rout was acroſs the country from Babiacolam on the Senaga to Nettees and Tamba awra, places in the centre of the country, famous for the rich gold mines in their neighbourhood: ſo that in the year and a half, which he ſpent in travelling over that country, he croſſed it ſo many different ways, that he ſeems to have left but a few places unviſited. He viewed every thing that occurred with all the exactneſs a man of his genius was capable of; eſpecially when incited both by his own curioſity and the promiſe of large rewards, as well as by the deſire of being uſeful to his country, and doing a ſervice to the company that employed him. His good behaviour and preſents, eaſily gained him the eſteem of the farim of Canara: who conſidered him not ſo much as a ſervant of the company, as a virtuoſo who ſought to ſatisfy his curioſity, in viſiting a country he had heard ſo much of. This farim ſent his ſon to accompany him as far as Sembanara, in the kingdom of Conta. The farim, or chief of this place, was extremely ſurpriſed to ſee a white man for his gueſt, a colour he had hitherto been a ſtranger to. His ſubjects, who were equally ſtrangers to ſuch an object, were as much amazed as he at this ſtranger's boldneſs; and had given him but an ill reception, if the preſence of the ſon of the farim of Canara had not reſtrained them. The moſt paſſionate were for ſending him away, without giving him time to examine the country.

However, the chief being prevailed upon by the arguments of his friend's ſon, perſuaded the people their apprehenſions were groundleſs, and that they had no cauſe to ſuſpect this white man. He aſſured them, he was an honeſt merchant, whom it would be their advantage to encourage; theſe reaſons, backed by ſome ſeaſonable preſents to the moſt conſiderable people of the village and their wivee, produced a change in their tempers, and he ſoon gained as many friends amongſt them, as at firſt he had enemies.

But there were yet more difficulties to ſurmount, but he had the ſame to conquer in every place. Although he was always accompanied in his travels by ſome of the principal natives, yet he found wherever he went, the ſame jealouſies, and almoſt the ſame danger. He was obliged to anſwer numberleſs queſtions, to undergo tedious examinations, and would never have been able to have opened himſelf a way, but by dint of preſents. Sometimes even his reaſons and preſents joined, were too weak to diſpel the diſtruſt of the natives, who watched him in a very troubleſome manner, refuſing him the earth or ore of their mines, though he offered to purchaſe them at their own rate, aſſuring them, both by himſelf and his conductors, that he only wanted to make himſelf caſſots, or pipe-heads. They heard his reaſons, but could not believe them ſufficient to induce a man to travel ſo far, and run ſuch hazards; but that undoubtedly he muſt have ſome bad deſign, and wanted to ſteal their gold, or conquer their country, after he had ſurveyed it. The uſual concluſion was to ſend him back quickly, or to kill him, in order to deter other whites from following his example.

Having at Toraca bargained with a negro to bring him ſome ghingan, or gilt earth, from Sitabli, and to invite the country people to bring him caſſots, for which he would pay them well, his meſſenger met an ill reception; his demands being refuſed, and himſelf driven away, with orders to tell the farims of Toroca, his lord, that he was a fool, to let a white examine his country, and take his ore and earth, ſince it was evident he only came to rob him. The negro, in preſence of the farim of Toroca, delivered this anſwer to the Sieur Compagnon, who, without being diſconcerted, replied, that the farim Silabali was a fool himſelf, to be afraid of a ſingle white man, in the midſt of his country, and to refuſe to ſell him ſome of the earth, of which he had more than he could ever uſe. He then made the negro a handſome preſent. This generoſity was ſo agreeable to the natives, that it was the public talk of the country. Another negro quickly offered himſelf to go ſeek this earth for him by night, but Compagnon, who thought it policy to hide the deſire he had of getting ſpecimens of all the mines, pretended great indifference, ſaying only, that when they knew him better, they would make no ſcruple to ſell him their earth and caſſots. This produced a good effect, for ſoon after he got as much of both as he pleaſed. He had the ſkill to remove all the umbrage taken at his firſt coming into the country; and his winning behaviour, joined to his preſents, gained him the love of the farims and people in all the places where the mines lay, to ſuch a degree, that they made him preſents in return, and at laſt, allowed him full liberty to take as much ore, and make as many caſſots as he thought fit. The Sieur Brue, director-general, took care to ſend the company ſpecimens of all the mines, and caſſots of all ſorts, by the victory, which ſailed for Onaga, June the 18th 1717.

The greater part of mines produce gold in ſuch abundance, that it is not neceſſary to take the trouble of digging. They need only ſcrape the ſurface of the earth, waſh it in a bowl, and pour off the water gently, to find the gold in duſt at the bottom, ſometimes in large grains. The earth which produces this gold, is neither hard nor difficult to work; it is uſually a clay ground, of different colours, intermixed with ſome pits of ſand or gravel, ſo that ten men here can do more work than an hundred in the richeſt mines of Peru or Braſil.

The negros here have no notion of the fertility or barrenneſs of the lands, proper to produce gold, nor any rules for diſtinguiſhing the places which yield metals, from thoſe which do not. They only know, in general, that their country abounds in gold, and that in proportion as the ſoil is dry and barren, the greater hope there is of its yielding more gold. They rake and ſcrape up the earth indifferently in any place, and when they have the good luck to light on one which yields a good quantity of this metal, they continue to work there, till the quantity diminiſhes, or ceaſes, and then quit the place to go and ſeek another. They have a notion, that gold is a ſort of roguiſh or malicious being, which delights to play tricks with its followers; and for that end often ſhifts from one place to another.

By their ill management in their way of working the mines, they get but a ſmall part of the gold contained in the earth, which they dig out: only the groſſer parts falling to the bottom of the bowl, while the finer particles run over with the earth and water, which they gently pour off, after ſtirring the whole. The workmen in Europe, who clean the goldſmith's ſweepings, would get a good fortune by the water they pour off here.

The natives of this rich country do not ſearch their mines at all times, or when they pleaſe. This depends on the pleaſure of their farims, or lords of villages, when theſe judge it proper, either for the public occaſions, or their own private account, they give notice to their ſubjects, that ſuch a mine will be wrought on ſuch a day. Thoſe who have occaſion for gold, repair to the place, and fall to work; ſome dig, others carry away the earth, others bring water, others waſh it. The farim, and principal perſons keep the gold that is cleared, and ſee that the waſhers do not ſteal any of it; a fault which they are very ſubject to. The work being over, the gold is divided, the farim taking care firſt to ſeparate his own ſhare, which is always one half of the whole: beſides that, by immemorial cuſtom, all the grains above a certain ſize belong to him without exception.

When this work has continued as many days as the Farim chuſes, the workmen are diſperſed, and the mine remains untouched by his order.

Theſe methods of working will eaſily account for the irregular periods at which the gold is procured; and the almoſt continual want of proviſions, which prevails among the negros in theſe parts owing to the frequent diſcontinuance of their work. On all which accounts the Sieur Brué ſtrongly recommended ſettlements to be made, whereby the natives might be delivered from many impoſitions, and the Europeans ſupplied more regularly with that ſhining metal, which has at all times ingroſſed ſo much of their attention.

With regard to the mines diſcovered in this country, in conſequence of the Sieur Brue's project, we have the following account.

The Sieur Compagnon and thoſe who by their commander's order, went to diſcover the country after him, found no certain tokens of any gold mines: in proceeding up the river Faleme, from its confluence with the Senega to the village of Naye, at the diſtance of about fourteen or fifteen leagues, except at Furcharran, a ruined village two leagues north-eaſt of the river, and in the neighbourhood of a marrigot or rivulet, which falls into the Faleme. This rivulet is deſcribed as ſo ſhallow, that it is not even navigable for canoes, though the diſtance being ſmall, it might be eaſy to tranſport the gold ore on camels, to any ſettlement in its vicinity. Beſides the tokens of this gold mine, there was alſo obſerved the appearance of a very conſiderable one of white ſhining rock, which was concluded to contain a quantity of ſilver.

The ſecond gold mine which the Sieur Compagnon diſcovered, was to the eaſtward of the river Faleme abovementioned, twenty-five leagues from its confluence with the Niger, and about five leagues inland between the villages of Sambanura and Dallimulet. This was on a high ſandy ground, where the negros found gold only by waſhing the ſurface of the earth, taking it up as it lay, without any farther trouble in the acquiſition.

Not far from Segalla, a village 500 paces to the right of the Faleme, and about fifty leagues from its mouth, the ſoil was found filled with veins of gold.

Five leagues higher lay the mines of Ghinghi Farrand, where gold was found in great quantities. The Farim of Taroco having given the Sieur Compagnon permiſſion to take what quantities of this earth he pleaſed. Some that was taken up at random, being waſhed in a bowl in his preſence, a quantity of pure gold, which melted with eaſe, was found at the bottom.

All the rivulets that water this ſoil, and fall into the Faleme, bring down ſo much gold with the ſands, that the neighbouring negros during thoſe intervals, while their mines are ſuffered to reſt, come hither to the Faleme to gather it, as this manner of taking it is never forbidden by their chiefs. Near Ginghi Farrand the mountains are all of a ſoft gravel ſtone which appears covered with gold ſpangles. On being aſſayed, there were large pieces found perfectly competent to reſiſt aqua fortis, but which, as a farther proof of their value, diſſolved eaſily in aqua regia, depoſiting a bright yellow ſediment.

On the banks of the river Sannon, at the village of Nian Sabana, was a rich mine, plentiful and eaſy to work, but the ore required pounding and ſmelting, which the natives are not capable of doing, and being likewiſe mixed with arſenical ſulphurs, it was quite deſerted by a people equally fond of health, and averſe to labour.

"The richeſt mine (continues the author) which is at preſent diligently worked only by the natives, is near the centre of the country of Bambuk, between the villages of Tamba awra, and Netecco, thirty leagues to the eaſtward of the river Faleme, and forty from S. Peter's fort at Kaynera (or Canara) on the ſame river. It is ſurpriſingly rich, and the gold that it produces is very pure. This part of Bambuk, for wealth, exceeds all the reſt. The mines are ſurrounded by high, naked mountains, dry and barren; ſo that the natives having none of the neceſſaries of life but ſuch as they can purchaſe with their gold, are forced to work their mines with more aſſiduity than their neighbours and countrymen. Here may be ſeen ſhafts ten feet deep, a wonderful thing, where people have neither ladders nor props. However, they find much more gold at this depth, than nearer the ſurface. When the veins are mixed with gravel or ſome hard ſubſtances, experience has taught them to bruiſe the oar, in order to get at the gold. They would, in this caſe, get much more if they knew the arts of ſmelting or refining, nor have they yet been able to reach the principal vein of the mine. All this ſoil is argillous or a fat clay of various, vivid colours, as white, purple, ſea-green, yellow, of ſeveral ſhades, blue, &c.

"The natives here are the moſt ingenious makers of caſſots, or pipe-heads, in all that country. Gold ſands or ſpangles, ſmall or great appear every where. Theſe ſpangles are thin. They call the earth they get this ſand from, Ghingan, that is Golden Earth, or Gilt Earth; and although the caſſots are made of the earth, after being waſhed, yet it would be eaſy to extract gold from them, by the help of mercury. At Canara, near St. Peter's fort, is a ſmall river, the bottom and banks of which are covered with coloured rocks, or metallic marcaſites, whoſe weight and colour indicate ſome gold mines thereabouts, which the neighbourhood of this fort would render very eaſy to ſearch for, and poſſeſs when found. At Naye are two gold mines; that neareſt the river has been long ſince quitted, as being ſubject to inundations; and the negros did not care for the trouble of emptying the pits: but they have found another at a greater diſtance, on the right ſide of the river going up, free from any inconvenience.

"The village of Naye, which is pretty large, is but four leagues above fort St. Joſeph, which would facilitate either the conqueſt or purchaſe of this mine. About 20 leagues above Canara, to the left of the Faleme, is another gold mine, in the lands of Tomana Niacanel, which is rich, and the metal pure. Though it is eaſy to work, yet the negros have quitted it, from a ſuperſtitious notion, that all who meddle with it, except whites or women, will die. The women will not venture on it, as giving no credit to what their huſbands ſay on this head, ſo that it ſeems reſerved for the whites, and on this account would not be hard to purchaſe.

"In many other places there are evident marks of gold mines, particularly about 17 leagues from the confluence of Faleme, and the Senaga. The land for a good way on this ſide is dry and barren, being a ſoft gravel, divided into different ſtrata, of lively colours, like thoſe of Tamba awra, and Netecco, beforementioned."

Beſides theſe mines of gold, and that of ſilver already-mentioned, here are found in many places blue ſtones, which they ſay are certain ſigns of copper and ſilver mines. In effect, copper, lead, iron, and tin are found here, as well as the beſt load-ſtones, pieces of which have been ſent to France; although it may ſeem needleſs to think of theſe metals where gold is ſo plentiful. Iron is not only common and good at Bambuk, and through all Galam, as at Caygnu and Dramanet, but alſo in many other places deſcending the Senaga, as at Joel and at Donghel in the kingdom of Sieratic, where great quantities are got of it, ſo ſoft that the negros hammer it into kettles or pots, ſo that they buy no iron from the French unleſs it be wrought.

Rock cryſtal, tranſparent ſtones, and fine marble, are found in plenty throughout Galam; alſo an incredible quantity of coloured woods for inlaying, of the brighteſt ſort, beſides a great variety of ſcented woods."

The Sieur Brue laid before the company five diffe-

ferent ſchemes he had formed for a ſettlement in this rich country. The firſt was to conciliate the affections of the Farims, or chief men, ſo as to obtain their conſent to build forts in the country; of which he propoſed two on the rivers Faleme, and a third he intended to be of wood, ſo as to be moveable at pleaſure, to ſuch places or mines as the company ſhould work. In this fort were to reſide the director, with the officers, miners, ſoldiers, &c. neceſſary for the undertaking. But in his laſt voyage to fort St. Louis, in 1723, finding this project not agreeable to the impatience of his nation, he formed a ſecond, which he preſented to the company, and to Mr. Landavifieu, September the 25th the ſame year: by which it appears, that he thought 1200 men ſufficient for this conqueſt; and reckoned the expence of ſuch a body for four years would come to two millions of livres. He computed 4000 marks of gold, at 500 livres the mark, would reimburſe this expence, and that the mines would yield annually above 1000 of theſe marks. In this voyage we meet with the following deſcription of Bambuk.

This kingdom is of conſiderable extent. To the north it has a part of the kingdoms of Galem and Caſſon; to the weſt, the river Faleme, with the kingdoms of Contu and Cambreguda; to the ſouth of the kingdom of Macanna; and the countries to the weſt of Mandingo. Its eaſtern limits cannot be well aſcertained, as the countries of Gadua and Guinea, which are parts of it, are very large, and as yet little known to the Europeans.

The country of Bambuk, like thoſe of Contu and Cambreguda, is not ſubject to any particular king, though they bear the name of kingdoms; probably on account of their being formerly governed by ſovereign princes. At preſent, the natives are governed by the maſters or lords of their reſpective villages, whom, towards the river Faleme, they call Farims, that is, lords; adding the name of the village, as Farim Toraco, Farim Farbanna, &c. In the inner part of the country they call theſe chiefs Elemanni, or, by other appellations: all which titles given to their great men, though not ſo lofty as thoſe of emperor or king, yet inveſt them with much the ſame authority, and their ſubjects pay them the ſame obedience: always provided that they keep the laws and cuſtoms eſtabliſhed from time immemorial in this Ariſtocratical Republic, and do not pretend to invade them; for it would be dangerous to think of arbitrary power here. Theſe Mandingos, who are all of them marbuts, do not underſtand jeſting on this ſubject; and the leaſt that could happen to a Farim, Elemanni, or lord of a village, who ſhould take too much liberty this way, would be a ſhameful depoſition, or the pillage of his goods.

Theſe Farims or chiefs are independant of each other; but all are obliged to join for the defence of the ſtate, (or commonwealth) if attacked either in the whole, or in any of its members. The country is extremely populous, and has a great number of villages on the eaſt ſide of the river Faleme. The Sannon, Guianon, Manſa, and all other leſſer rivers, which fall into the Faleme, or the Senaga, have alſo many villages on the ſides: but the inland country is not ſo populous, becauſe thoſe parts of it that are not watered, are dry and very barren; as is common in a country like this, full of mines of gold, ſilver, copper, tin, and iron. The ſoil neither produces millet, rice, nor pulſe. They even want ſtraw and graſs to cover their houſes.—This barrenneſs of the ground is partly cauſed by the heat which is exceſſive: not only from the ſituation of the country, which lies in twelve and thirteen degrees north latitude, but alſo by its being incloſed with high bare mountains, which reflect the heat, and prevent the winds from ſufficiently refreſhing the air, and diſpelling the thick vapours that continually iſſue from a ſoil ſo deeply impregnated with metals and minerals. This renders the country extremely unwholſome and dangerous to ſtrangers; for the natives and other negros, who come here, being accuſtomed to this climate, ſuffer no great inconvenience.

"As Bambuk (ſays the author) produces ſome extraordinary animals and plants, it may not be improper to mention them. Of the firſt kind, are a ſpecies of white monkeys: theſe are of a brighter colour than the white rabbits in France, have red eyes, and eaſily tamed when young; but as they grow old, become as malicious and unlucky as others of this kind. It has not been yet poſſible to bring one of them alive to Fort St. Louis. The white weaſel is another animal peculiar to this country, which, like the European one, is a great enemy to poultry. The colour is of a ſhining ſilver. The negros eat them, and ſell the ſkins at the French factories.—The pigeons are entirely green, ſo that they are often miſtaken for parrots. There is alſo in Bambuk, and the adjacent countries, an extraordinary beaſt, called the ghiamala. It is moſtly found on the eaſt ſide of Bambuk, in the provinces of Gadua and Jaca. Thoſe who have ſeen it, report it is half as tall again as the elephant, but not near ſo large. It ſeems to be of the camel kind, reſembling it in its head and neck, and having two bunches on the back like the dromedary. Its legs are extravagantly long, which makes it appear ſo tall. They feed like the camel on thiſtles and briars, which makes them lean; yet the negros do not ſcruple to eat, when they catch them. The country of Bambuk has few grounds fit for paſturage, ſo that they have no oxen, but only a few ſheep and goats, which thrive always beſt in a dry ſoil. The ghiamala is very wild: he is provided with ſeven ſtrait horns, which, at his full growth, are each near two feet long. His hoofs are black, and reſemble thoſe of an ox. He goes ſwiftly, and can hold out a long time. The fleſh is ſweet and good in the opinion of the negroes.

The monoceros, or bird of Paradiſe, is alſo ſeen here. It is of the ſize of a cock, the plumage variegated, eſpecially the wings. The beak is hooked like that of the eagle, the talons large and ſtrong. On his head are two feathers, about three or four inches long, joining in a point like a horn, which has occaſioned ſome to miſtake it for a real one.

The ſandy parts of Bambuk produce an uncommon kind of peaſe. The ſtalk of theſe is about two inches in diameter, round, green, ſleek, and covered with a ſtrong rind. This is a creeper, and ſpreads much. It is common for them to extend five or ſix feet in length. The leaves, like thoſe of trefoil, about ſix inches long, ſpring in pairs, at five or ſix inches diſtance from each other. Between theſe lie the flowers of two different ſhapes: the firſt with an open calix, compoſed of five leaves, of a violet blue; about fifteen or ſixteen lines in length, and nearly the ſame in breadth, cloſe upon each other. Theſe are ſupported by five little green leaves, ſmooth and ſhining. The centre of this calix is filled with little ſtamina, about ſix lines long, of a deep yellow or orange colour, but have no piſtil. The flowers on the oppoſite ſide of the ſtalk are like thoſe of our common peaſe. The firſt flowers produce no cod, but the latter yield a ſtalk of five or ſix inches long, and near an inch in diameter, parted into ſeveral cells by a red pellicle; each of which contains a pea of the bigneſs of a muſquet-ball, of ſixteen to the pound. Theſe peaſe are round, of a marble-grey colour, hard and difficult to dreſs, unleſs ſteeped for ten or twelve hours beforehand in warm water. But as they grow wild, the negros make a ſhift with them; and, perhaps, like them better than thoſe which would coſt them more trouble in the cultivation. One thing extraordinary in this plant is, that the different kinds of flowers it bears are placed alternately on each ſide of the ſtalk.

"The abel-moſh, otherwiſe called the muſk-grain, or ambrette, grows plentifully and without culture, in Galam. The negros make no uſe of it. Even their women, who love perfumes, and are very fond of cloves, packets of which they hang round their neck, yet neglect theſe ſeeds (perhaps only becauſe no rarity) though they yield a ſtrong muſky ſmell and very

very agreeable, if rubbed gently. It is true, this odour goes off, but it is eaſy to renew it with freſh ſeeds, and at no expence. But cloves, which are a good commodity here, would be uſeleſs, if they ſhould take it in their heads to uſe their abel-moſh. When this plant enjoys a rich ſoil, it grows to the height of ſix or ſeven feet, provided it meets a tree to ſupport it; for then it ſurrounds and faſtens to it: if not, it falls and creeps along the ground till it reaches the height of about two feet. Its ſtalk is round, downy and white, tender and covered with ſlender ſprigs. The leaves are much like thoſe of mallows: they grow in pairs, but unequal; thoſe on the upper ſide: being larger than on the under. Theſe leaves are ſcolloped, and yellow indentures, though not deep, yet form ſharp angles, which makes them look as if prickled. They are flabby and thick of a bright green on the outſide, and poles underneath. They ſay theſe leaves, boiled in water, and formed into a cataplaſm, are an excellent remedy for tumours, which they ripen and break in a ſhort time. They are alſo ſovereign for contuſions and ſprains. They are faſtened to long ſtalks almoſt triangular, and very hairy, form the roots of which ſpring the flowers. Theſe are compoſed of five leaves, round at the ends, which form a wide calix. The outſide of them is of a bright gold colour, the inſide purple. From the bottom of the calix riſe ſeveral ſmall ſtamina, and a whitiſh piſtil, which changes into a pyradimal fruit with five angles; which is firſt of a pale green, then becomes brown, and when ripe, is almoſt black. This fruit contains ſeveral ſmall grey ſeeds, flattiſh on one ſide, of the ſhape of a kidney, and of an aromatic, amber ſmell, agreeable to thoſe who love perfumes.

To return to the Sieur Brue.—He had received ſuch complaints at Fort St. Louis of the continual inſults the company's ſervants offered there from one Badel, agent to Tonca Niama, both by forbidding trade, and otherwiſe, in order to oblige the factory to raiſe his duties as high as thoſe paid to the firatic, or to force them to quit the country: that at laſt, July the 31ſt, 1718, he thought fit to ſend the Sieur Charles, governor of the fort, directions to provide the place with proper neceſſaries for its defence, and then to puniſh Badel rigorouſly; not only by burning his village, but alſo ſeizing himſelf, wives and children, if he found an opportunity. It was likewiſe ordered, in caſe Tonca Niama took his agent's part, inſtead of correcting him, and refuſed to redreſs the company's wrongs, that he ſhould cauſe the bacerris (or chief men) to depoſe him, and get a new king choſen more agreeable to the company. Theſe orders, which were purpoſely not kept ſecret, alarmed the king, his alcair, and the bacerris, ſo that they dropped their demands, and at once became extremely obliging; only wanting a favourable opportunity to ſhew their reſentment, and things remained on this footing till the year 1722, when the alcair, with the bacerris of Mancanet, ſupported by Tonca Niama, recommended ill uſage, and carried matters ſo far that a factor returning from trading was murdered. As the governor, the Sieur Charpentier, was not in a condition immediately to revenge the injury, he thought proper to wait till the floods had brought the barks from fort St. Louis. As ſoon as they arrived, the Sieur Charpentier having aſſembled all his forces, attacked the village of Mancanet in December the ſame year, beat in open field the negros who had taken up arms, killing near ſixty, wounded double the number, and made 400 ſlaves. After which, plundering the village, he burnt it, and carried off all the cattle.

Tonca Niama and his bacceris were now obliged to ſue for mercy. For this end they employed the Marbuts of Dramanet, and the chief negro merchants, friends to the French, to mediate a peace. The Sieur Charpentier ſuffered himſelf to be long intreated, and in the mean time ſent down his ſlaves and booty by his barks to fort St. Louis. After this he yielded to the ſolicitations of the marbuts. The king diſowned the proceedings of the bacerris; and theſe having acknowledged their fault, and begged pardon, owned themſelves ſubjects to the French company, to whom they promiſed obedience. This treaty was ſworn to on both ſides with the uſual ſolemnities." ——

The Sieur Brue having been recalled to France ſoon after the loſs of the fort at Dramanet in 1702, as before related, ſeveral of the factors made a merit of writing to the company their ſentiments concerning a proper place for building a fort. Different opinions held them long in ſuſpence: ſome propoſed building it at the mouth of the river Faleme, in the Senaga, which advice ſeemed reaſonable enough, if it had been poſſible to execute it: Others were for Mancanet, but did not foreſee the ill conſequences of ſettling among a factious, turbulent people; others recommended the iſle of Caygnu; and the Sieur Brue liked the place well enough, provided there had been another ſettlement nearer the Faleme, proper to ſupport the reſt, as was that of Dramanet; and that the trade would bear the expence of theſe two factories, which could not be known under a trial of ſome years.

The Frere Apollinavie having been conſulted as a perſon both of experience and probity, declared, "that a better place could not be choſen than Dramanet; firſt, becauſe there was plenty of all ſorts of proviſions, a matter of great importance, as well for the ſupport of the company's ſervants as of the ſlaves, till the barks arrived to carry them down the river. Secondly, becauſe they would always be ſure of an advantageous trade at that place with the Mandingo Marbuts; and might, the year round, traffic for as much gold, ivory and ſlaves, as they had occaſion for, provided the factory was ſupplied with goods, and that the chief factor, as well as thoſe under him, were wiſe and juſt men; ſo that Guinea and other negro merchants might find, at their hands, the ſame civility which they received from the Engliſh at the river Gambra, in order to induce them to transfer that traffic thither. Thirdly, that although the Saracolez at Caygnu were deſirous of the French ſettling among them, yet as they were naturally evil-minded and turbulent, and their chief poor and greedy, it would be difficult to get out of their hands in caſe of a rupture. Fourthly, that indeed trade might be carried on at Cayghu in ſome better ſort than at Dramanet, becauſe the caravans from Bambara cana ſtop there, and the negro merchants would be glad to be ſaved the trouble of carrying their gold and ivory to the Gambra. Fifthly, that therefore till ſuch time as the ſettlement at Dramanet ſhould be in a condition to ſupport the charges of a factory at Caygnu, the trade of this laſt place might be preſerved and enlarged, by ſending barks thither at ſuch times as the merchants were on the road. Sixthly, that it would be eaſier to ſupport a ſettlement at Dramanet than at Caygnu, by reaſon of a ſcarcity of proviſions, owing to the ſloth of the Saracolez: ſo that it would be neceſſary to have a ſettlement at the firſt place, in order to ſupply the latter."

It muſt farther be obſerved, that when the river is at the loweſt, there is always a channel before Dramanet, half a league in length, with ſix or ſeven feet water, which is ſufficient for barks; whereas the river being too broad at Caygnu, there was ſcarce water enough for a canoe. It is abſolutely neceſſary for the French, if they would cloſely purſue the trade to Bambuk and the gold mines, to have two or three fortified poſts on the river of Faleme, particularly at Caygnu.

This place ſtands very advantageouſly, and belongs to a people who are friends to the French. It is but eighteen or 20 leagues from Dramanet by land, and little more by water. Accordingly a fort called St. Peter, was afterwards raiſed here, as has been already mentioned.

The Sieur Courbe, who in 1702, ſucceeding the Sieur

Sieur Brue in the direction, followed the plan he laid down, and uſed all his intereſt with the company to make this ſettlement at Caygnu; but he was recalled before he could get their conſent; and the Sieur Muſtellier, who ſucceeded him in 1710, wrote violently againſt this project, ſo that it was dropped. The Sieur Brue, at his return in 1714, reſumed his application, but never could bring the company into his opinion.

VOYAGES TO THE WESTERN COASTS OF AFRICA.

HAVING mentioned the French, we ſhall now ſpeak of the Engliſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, for trading to which parts, Queen Elizabeth granted patents in 1592, on the particular application of ſome merchant adventurers. King James, in the 16th year of his reign, granted a new charter, under the great ſeal to Sir Robert Rich, and other citizens of London, as a body corporate, with an excluſive power different from all others; but they were ſo much injured in their trade by interlopers, that they were ſoon greatly tired of it.

King Charles the Firſt, in his 7th year, granted a new charter to Nicholas Criſp, Humphry Slaney and company, of the ſame kind with the former. In 1651, this grant was renewed, and confirmed to Rowland Wilſon and others, by the commonwealth of England; but during the confuſion of that time, the Dutch and Danes took the opportunity of increaſing their ſtrength on this coaſt; ſo that the African company, beſides the loſs of their poſſeſſions, ſunk their ſtock, and even the private traders, in ſhips and goods taken, were ſufferers to the value of 300,000 pounds. The parliament, on this repreſentation, in 1664, came to a reſolution to addreſs the king to take ſome effectual method of ſupporting the African trade, and checking the inſolence of the Dutch. But the king's remonſtrance had no effect, which was aſſigned as one reaſon of the firſt Dutch war in 1664. In the mean time, 1662, King Charles the Second had granted to a new company a charter of incorporation, by the title of The Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa; aſſigning for the limits of their trade, from the ſtreights mouth to the Cape of Good Hope. This company being juſt in its infancy when the war broke out, ſuffered greatly from the depredations of de Ruyter, who, with the Dutch fleet, took Cormentin caſtle, and Tacoravy fort, and ſeized the company's veſſels and effects, to the value of 200,000l.

The company, however, ſtill kept their footing in Africa; and by the third article of the treaty of Breda, in 1667, each ſide was to be reſtored to the places they held before the war; but as their affairs were in a declining condition, they agreed, in conſideration of a certain ſum, to ſurrender their charter to the crown; and the king, by letters patent under the great ſeal, dated September the 27th, 1672, eſtabliſhed the preſent Royal African Company of England; granting them, as the bounds of their conceſſion, from the port of Sallee in South Barbary, to the Cape of Good Hope. Though this company began with a ſmall ſtock, they exerted themſelves ſo effectually, that they greatly reſtored the face of the Engliſh trade on theſe coaſts; inlarging Cape Corſe Caſtle (the only fort the old company had left, and which they purchaſed for 34,000 pounds) and building forts at Acra, Dixcove, Winnebaco, Succand, Commenda, and Annamaboo, all on the gold coaſts, and three of them within muſquet-ſhot of the Dutch forts. They alſo purchaſed Frederickſburg fort from the Danes, built a new fort at Whidah, and met with great ſucceſs in the extenſion of their commerce.

On the northern coaſts, in 1673, the Dutch Weſt Indian company poſſeſſed the forts of Arguine; the French held the fort of St. Louis, at the mouth of the Senaga; and the Engliſh St. James's fort, on the Gambra, and a ſmall one at Sierra Leona, the trade of the coaſt being free to all the three nations, from Cape Blanco to Cape de Monte. In 1677, the French diſpoſſeſſed the Dutch of Arguine and Goree; which places being yielded to the French Senaga company by the peace of Nimeguen, they began to form pretenſions of an excluſive trade on this coaſt, ſeizing and confiſcating the Portugueſe, Dutch, and Brandenburgh ſhips, and interrupting all the Engliſh trade.

Soon after the revolution, began the interloping trade of ſeparate perſons on this coaſt, which helped not a little to prejudice the company's affairs. Theſe, beſides their ſiniſter traffic, lowering the price of European goods, and raiſing thoſe of the country, brought the company ſo low, that they were forced to apply to parliament for relief; but the prevailing opinion being then in favour of a free trade, the parliament in 1697, was induced to make the experiment of laying open the trade for the ſpace of 13 years to all adventurers, on their paying a duty of ten per cent. to the company, towards defraying the charges of their forts and caſtles, for the defence and preſervation of the trade. From this time their intereſt began viſibly to decline. In 1700 they laid a memorial before the parliament, to ſhew the prejudice they ſuffered by the ſeparate traders on the Gambra; and in 1705, entered into a treaty of neutrality with the French company, for their ſettlements on this coaſt between Cape de Verde, and Sierra Leona.

For the better ſupport of the French African trade, the king allowed the India company of Paris, an exemption from all duties for merchandiſe exported to Africa, and to the Dutch iſlands and colonies to America; an exemption from half the cuſtoms of all the goods and merchandiſe imported from Africa, and from half the cuſtoms of all ſugars and other merchandiſe imported from the French iſlands and colonies in America, being the produce of the ſale of negros there. Likewiſe an exemption from all tolls of any kind of goods and merchandiſe in France; a bounty of 20 livers, for every eight ounces of gold duſt brought into France.

The States General likewiſe grant their African company great privileges and immunities. As to the Engliſh, they have at preſent on the weſtern coaſt of Africa, only one fortified ſettlement, viz. St. James's Fort, within the mouth of the Gambra, on which depend ſeveral factories up that river. They had one till lately at Benſa iſland, and Sierra Leona river, but the factory was withdrawn before the ſame year, 1728.

The Gambra enters the ocean on the weſt coaſt of Africa, between Cape Verde and Cape Roxo, or to ſpeak more exactly, between Cape St. Mary's on the South, and the Broken Iſlands on the North. The breadth of the river, or diſtance between the Broken Iſles and Cape St. Mary's is ſix leagues. Theſe iſles are ſurrounded with a bank of ſand, which

extends to the river Salum, or Barſali, and of which the ſouth point, called the Red Bank, runs out two leagues into the ſea. From the ſouth ſide ſtretches another ſand, oppoſite Banyon point, whoſe ſhape has given it the name of the Banyon's Heel. This ſhoal has but a fathom or a fathom and a half water, with ſeveral points of rocks, on which the ſea beats ſo as to make them viſible at a great diſtance. It is by theſe marks, and three trees on the point of Cape St. Mary's, that one knows the mouth of the river in coming from ſea.

They reckon from the Broken Iſles to Charles Iſle, ten leagues; from thence to the point of Lamei, or Le Maine, two leagues; to Albreda two; and from Albreda to Jilfray, oppoſite to the Engliſh fort, half a league. In entering the river on the left or north ſide, there is a point on which is a tuft of trees, one much bigger and higher than the reſt, which they call the pavilion of the king of Barra. "The Engliſh, who, ſays Labat, treat with arrogance nations much ſuperior to the negros, have ſtooped ſo low as to ſalute this land-mark or pretended pavilion; which has ſo exalted this petty negro prince, that he exacts reſpect from all ſhips which enter the river, of whatever nation; and if they refuſe it, forbids their trade, and does them all the miſchief he can. The dominions of this prince are about eighteen leagues from eaſt to weſt, on the north ſide of the Gambra, being bounded by this river, and that of Janoc, at one of the branches or mouths of the river of Salum, or Barſali."

The Gambra is conſiderably broad here, being near three leagues; and, for fifty leagues higher, at Joar, it is reckoned a league broad, and is navigable to that place for a ſhip of forty guns and three hundred tons. A veſſel of one hundred and fifty tons may ſail too within a little of Barracunda, which is five hundred miles from the mouth. The tide runs up ſo far in the dry ſeaſon, that is, from December to June or July: the reſt of the year the river is impaſſable, on account of the floods, which the rainy ſeaſons bring down. Theſe render the ſtream ſo violent, that there is no ſtemming it with a fair wind; and beſides, it is impoſſible to tow the barks; becauſe the banks being under water, there is no footing for the men to go on ſhore. The Gambra, in this point, differs from the Senaga, where the navigation is beſt in the wet ſeaſon; there being then water enough to paſs the ſhoals and rocks, which interrupt the barks in the dry ſeaſon.

The right courſe into this river, when the entrance is open, is to ſteer for the point of Barra in five or ſix fathoms, till you bring it to bear ſouth-eaſt.—All ſhips that enter the river, as well as the Engliſh, fire three guns, by way of ſalute, to a tall, thick tree, called, The king of Barra's ſtandard; and the ſame they do going out. At each time they pay a bar of iron to the king or his officers, for the duty of anchorage. The river, in its way from Contori to the ocean has many windings, eſpecially from Cantor, and is much deeper than the Senaga, and the channel broader; but the tide, or current, leſs rapid. Yet the Gambra carries ſuch a freſh into the ſea with it, as is viſible eight or ten leagues from ſhore. The tide flows up as far as Barracunda, where dreadful falls obſtruct the paſſage of ſhips; but ſloops may run up two hundred leagues. The banks on both ſides are low, and interſected with many rivulets, which the floods run into. The channel, about the creek of Jagra, is from four to five fathoms deep, near four ſmall iſlands oppoſite to it.

James iſland being nothing but a fort of flat rock, without any creeks or proper places for careening, the Engliſh do this up the river of Bloc or Bintan, on the ſouth of Gambra, oppoſite the forty, at a place called Bloc; the reſidence of a prince who ſtiles himſelf emperor of Grand Cantor, and is always at war with the king of Bar. The French ſay the river of Bloc meets with that of Cumbo, which is ſome leagues to the weſt of it, making an iſland where they join; and that to the weſt of Cumbo there is another ſmall river called Rio Bravetto.

The village of Barifet is on the ſame river of Bloc, near its entrance into the Gambra, and is tributary to the king, or emperor of Cantor. The king of Bar, reſides ſome part of the year, at the town or village of Bar, ſaid to be on the north point of Gambra, near the Lofty Tree, called by the Portugueſe, Arvora da Marca, or, The Land-Mark Tree; which ſerves as a good direction to the European ſhips going in or out of the ſaid river. At other times the king preſides at the town of Anna Bar, ſeated about a mile farther up the land in a wood. From this village of Bar to the Eaſt, along the banks of the Gambra, are the villages of Grigou, Bubaculon, and Lamei, almoſt oppoſite to the Iſle of Dogs; and ſomewhat to the eaſt of them, thoſe of Albreda and Jilfray; where the Engliſh and French have their factories, and the Portugueſe, at the latter, a poor little church.

The ſource of the Gambra is uncertain. The reports and conjectures have been as many and various as thoſe which regard the Niger, of which it is by moſt authors reckoned a branch, as hath been already obſerved.

The Engliſh have, from time to time, endeavoured to diſcover the origin of Gambra, but they could never obtain any certain account beyond the falls of Barracunda, about 560 miles from its mouth; poſſibly for the ſame reaſons that have hindered the French from penetrating on the Senaga beyond the rock Govina. One captain Thompſon, and after him Jobſon, about 1618, aſcended the river 120 leagues above Barracunda; Vermuyden and others, about the beginning of king Charles the IId's. reign, went almoſt as far; Captain Stibbs, in 1724, went twenty leagues beyond that place; and, in 1732, the African company being deſirous to know how far the Gambra was navigable, as well as to open new branches of trade up the river, ſent over ſmall ſloops in frames for diſcoveries. Mr. Thomas Harriſon, one of their chief merchants, ſet out from St. James's Fort in a ſloop for that purpoſe, and returned from that Voyage the tenth of June 1732. On examination of the matter, Mr. Moore, our author, found that Harriſon himſelf did not go above Fatatenda, but ſent the ſloop's boat on the diſcovery, with Mr. John Leach; who, 22 leagues from thence, found a ledge of table rocks which ſeemed to croſs the river. This joined to his beginning to want proviſions, and undergoing ſeveral hardſhips obliged him to return without ſeeking a paſſage. It is ſaid, however, that by the tradition of the natives, the river is paſſable a great way farther up, to ſome large lakes. This is all we have upon the authority of the negroes. It appears indeed, that in this vaſt region there are many fountains, marſhes, lakes or brooks, which diſcharge themſelves either into the Niger, or the rivers which flow into it, as may be gathered from the countries being ſo well peopled; a proof of which is the great number of ſlaves from the inland-parts to the coaſt, beſides thoſe brought in by war and other accidents.

The countries of ſeveral negro princes who aſſume the title of king; lie on the north and ſouth ſides of the Gambra, the firſt on the northern ſide is Barra, The king of which is of the Mandingo race, and is tributary to the king of Barſali. In this kingdom, about ſix leagues from the ſea, is Charles Iſle, within a muſquet ſhot of Barra ſhore; on which formerly the Engliſh had a fort, now in ruins. There are two ſhoals of ſand and rocks in the river on the Barra ſide, one at Le Main Point, the other at Point Seaca, the firſt about ſix miles below James's fort, the latter a little above it. James's iſland lies oppoſite to Jilfray; from which a ſpit, of ſand and rocks, runs a good way to the north-north-weſt, uſually called, The Company's Spit. Several traders, particularly Liverpool ſhips, have run a-ground on it, but have been got off by the company's aſſiſtance, without

damage or charge; yet could not be prevailed on to give any written acknowledgement of the ſervice, alledging their owners had not ordered them to ſign any ſuch thing.

On the eaſt, lies the country of Badelu; in this laſt, over-againſt Tancroval, (in the kingdom of Caen, on the ſouth ſide) is an iſland, parted only by a ſmall gut of water from Badelu. The iſle uſed formerly to ſupply James Fort with ſtone; but, in 1733, Mr. Hall found them much nearer the fort. The king of Badelu is a Mandingo, and his country is 20 leagues in extent.—Sanjally is next, though a petty kingdom, is independent. The prince is a Mandingo, and his dominions extend four leagues along the river.

The kingdom of Barſali is adjacent, governed by a Jalof prince. This country begins at the ſea, where the river of the ſame name enters; and, ſurrounding the three kingdoms of Barra, Colar, and Badelu, extends for 15 leagues along the Gambra.—Joar, a town of great trade, lies in Barſali, about two miles from the river; the road on which lies, one mile over a pleaſant ſavannah, and the other along a narrow creek, to Cower, the port of it. The ſeparate traders generally come up to trade here, at a place called Rumbo's Point, about three miles above Joar, and the ſame diſtance from Cower; which laſt has the greater reſort of people, and the moſt trade of any town in the whole river.

Beyond the country of Barſali, is the kingdom of Yani, which is large and wide; and divided into two parts, one called Upper, and the other Lower Yani: each governed by a diſtinct king, the one a Jalof, the other a Mandingo. On the ſhore of this kingdom lies Bird Iſle, about twelve leagues above Joar, in which there is ſcarcely a tree, but it ſeems marſhy ground. Thirty leagues above this iſle, near the ſame ſhore, is a numerous cluſter of iſles, called Sappo: ſome of them pretty large, but not inhabited. One of them is called Le Main Iſle, about four leagues in length, on which are great numbers of wild beaſts and palm trees, which brings the natives often here to get palm wine, and to hunt.

Above Yani-marew, is the river Sami, which riſes a vaſt way inland. It abounds in crocodiles, and is ſaid to part Lower from Upper Yani. It enters the Gambra, between Bruckoe and Yamyamacunda. Theſe two kingdoms reach about eighty leagues along the river, and the next to them is Woolli, (or Walli, (through which country the merchants are obliged to paſs in their way to Cower, before-mentioned, which is a port to Joar. This country extends a great way up the river; but, at Fatatenda, the river is as wide as the Thames, and is navigable for ſloops of 40 tons, the tides riſing there three or four feet high. It lies about 500 miles up the Gambra, on the north ſide.

The firſt kingdom we meet with on the ſouth ſide, towards the ſea, is Cumbo. It extends about eleven leagues from Cape St. Mary's, at the entrance of the Gambra, to a place called Cabata River, noted for plenty of goats, fowls, and cattle. Fonia is next to this; it begins where the river of Cabata falls into the Gambra, and reaches to that of Vintain, which is about ſeven leagues along the river ſide, but inland; it is very large, and governed by two emperors of a Bangor race. Each prince has his diſtinct diſtrict; but their territories are much leſſened in extent, as well as people, by the great number of their ſubjects ſold into ſlavery to the Europeans. Fonia is bounded on the eaſt by the river of Vintain (or Binton) whoſe mouth is about a mile over, and which is navigable for ſeveral leagues. Three leagues from the mouth lies the town of the ſame name, ſituated in Fonia; and above that, on the ſame ſide of the river, is Jereja.—Oppoſite James Fort, near the main, on the ſouth ſide of the river, is an iſland, lately diſcovered to be ſuch, called Caboſhir Iſland, ſeparated from the main only by a large brook. This iſland produces great quantities of iron ſtone, with which James Fort is ſupplied.

Bordering on to Fonia is Caen, ſeparated only by Vintain river. It is governed by an emperor and a king, both Mandingos, who have their diſtinct revenues. In this country lies Tancroval, a large town, cloſe to the water ſide. Above that town, about three leagues, are a parcel of rocks, at a place, or port, called Tendebas, lying a good way out from the ſhore, which are dry at low water. This country extends about twenty-three leagues along the Gambra. Eaſtward of Caen, is Jagra, famous for labouring people, and abounding, on that account, with corn and rice. To this kingdom, which extends about 12 leagues, belongs Elephant Iſle, in the Gambra, four or five miles long, woody, and marſhy.

Yamina, which is next, extends 14 leagues, and then begins Eropina, a petty kingdom, extending 14 leagues farther, where it is bounded by Jamarrow. This kingdom is governed by a Mandingo emperor, and extends thirty-two leagues along the river. Here is a large town, called Brucoe, inhabited by Mandingos, who are ſtrict Mahommetans. Half a mile below this town is a ledge of rocks, dry at low water, reaching from the northern ſhore, five parts in ſix, acroſs the river, and leave ſo narrow a channel under the ſouth ſhore as makes it dangerous for large ſhips to paſs it; ſo that the company's ſloops are obliged to take the opportunity of ſlack water to go through this place, which is called Fulis-Paſs. In this empire, nine miles higher, near a town called Dubacunda, is another parcel of rocks, which reach from the ſouth ſide two-thirds a-croſs; and three miles yet higher, another chain of rocks, dry at low water; but there is a deep channel on the north ſide.

Tomani, which is next to this, is a large country, fuller of towns than any on the river. Here is the ſmall town called Yamyamacunda, where there is a conſiderable trade for dry goods. A little below this town, about mid-channel, are ſome rocks, but never dry; and oppoſite the factory, on the north ſide the river, about half a mile, is a ſtanding lake about two miles long, abounding in fiſh. This country extends along the river for the diſtance of twenty-ſix leagues, and is governed by a Mandingo prince.

Cantor begins beyond Tomani, on the ſouth ſide of the river below Fatatenda, is Colar, about 500 miles from Cape S. Mary's, to the ſouthward of Gambra river.

The countries on both ſides were originally divided into ſeveral ſmall kingdoms, ſubject to three greater. Thoſe on the ſouth ſide were ſubject to the king of Cantor; thoſe on the north, to the kings of Barſali and Woolly.

Fort James is the firſt and principal place of ſtrength in theſe parts, belonging to the Engliſh. It is ſituate on an iſland of the ſame name, which intirely commands the trade of the river. The ſecond is near the Gambra, on the river Cabata, in the kingdom of Cumbo, on the ſouth ſide. Jillifree [or Jilfray] lies oppoſite to James's Fort, on the north ſide. The company have a burial ground here, and pay the cuſtoms to the king of Barrah.—Vintain factory lies ſix leagues from the fort of Fonia, on the ſouth ſide of the Gambra, where the chief trade is for wax, ivory, and dry goods. On the ſame river, higher up, lies Jereja. This factory is about 14 leagues diſtant from James's Fort, and chiefly furniſhed with dry goods, in order to purchaſe wax, which however is of a very indifferent quality.

In the year 1730, Colar factory was ſettled on a river of the ſame name, in the kingdom of Barrah, on the north ſide of the Gambra. Still higher on the ſouth ſide in the kingdom of Kaen [or Caen] lies Tancroval, a large town where the company have a factory, the trade of which is chiefly for bees wax. Proceeding up the river on the north ſide, is the kingdom of Barſali, which we have noticed lies near Joar, and three miles to the eaſtward, is Cower, which is the chief place for trade. It has two ports on the river. There is a factory here; and the next is at Yanimarew (in the kingdom of Lower Yani) where

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is a black factor, in order to purchaſe corn for James's fort.

Near the north ſide of Gambra, is Cutfejar. This ſettlement being overflowed in 1725, the company removed to Somi. On the ſouth ſide of the river, beyond this, in the kingdom of Tomani, lies the factory of Yamyamacunda, which was deſtroyed by the floods in 1733, but afterwards rebuilt by the company.

At theſe laſt places, the chief trade carried on is for elephant's teeth, and ſlaves. The higheſt factory on the Gambra is Fatatenda, in the kingdom of Woolli, which has an extenſive and pleaſant proſpect of the river, and of the country of Cantor, on the ſouth ſide, but the factories here having been ill uſed by the king of Tomani, the company withdrew this ſettlement in 1734.

James's iſland, which belongs to the African company, lies almoſt in the middle of the river Gambra, which is here ſeven miles wide. It is ten leagues from the river's mouth, and three miles from the neareſt ſhore. At low water, it is about three quarters of a mile in circumference, upon which there is a ſquare fort of ſtone already built, with four baſtions, and upon each are ſeven canons well mounted, beſides batteries which command the river. There are ſome good apartments in the fort, in which the governors, chief merchants, factors, writers, and enſign, &c. Under ſome of theſe are convenient ſtore-houſes. The whole is fortified with palliſadoes, and ſurrounded with the river. There are alſo barracks for the ſoldiers, and others for the ſervants. Underneath theſe ſtorehouſes, and under thoſe of the ſoldiers, are the ſlave-houſes. In the day there are three centries, one at the gate of the fort, one at the door of the public room, and another who walks round the fort to ſee what boats come to, and go from the iſland, of which they make a report to the governor. This fort was firſt erected by Sir Robert Holmes, about the year 1664, as a ſecurity to the Engliſh trade on this coaſt, who called it James's fort, in honour of the Duke of York, afterwards James the Second. The garriſon conſiſts generally of 60 or 70 whites, and as many Gromettos, or free blacks, in the company's ſervice.

This fort was firſt taken by the French, under M. de Gennes, in 1695, with a ſmall ſquadron of four ſhips, and two bomb-veſſels. At the iſle of Goree, he received by an Engliſh deſerter, an account of the ill condition of the fort, the garriſon being ſickly, and wanting proviſions, which encouraged him to make the attempt. He entered the Gambra, July the 22d, with Engliſh colours, and at five in the afternoon, anchored within a league of the fort, which he ſurrounded ſo with his boats, as to cut off all communication with the land. The ſame night a Portugueſe, called Don Carlos, who lived at Jilfray, came on board, and informed M. de Gennes of the ſtate of the fort, but the king of Barrah, to whom the French commander applied, declined entering into the quarrel. The 23d, the Sieur de la Roque being ſent to ſummon the garriſon, he was met by a boat, and conducted blindfold to the fort, where the lieutenant treated him ſplendidly, the governor being abſent, and ſent three Engliſh officers on board who were inſtructed to demand ſome days reſpite. This being refuſed, the Engliſh ſent him word the next morning, that they would defend the place to the laſt extremity.

At eight in the evening of the 24th, ſome bombs being thrown, which fell ſhort of their mark, the French commander ceaſed firing, waiting for the tide of flood for anchoring nearer. In the mean time the governor ſent a flag of truce to capitulate, and hoſtages were exchanged till the terms could be ſettled, which were ſigned the ſame day.

On the 27th, at break of day, M. de la Perriere, major to the ſquadron, gave notice to Mr. Hanbury, the governor, to prepare to evacuate the place. At ſix in the morning, M. de Fontenay, appointed governor by M. de Gennes, landed, and was met by Mr. Hanbury, who delivered up the keys, and was conveyed on board the Felicite, one of the ſquadron. The French flag was hoiſted, and Te Deum ſung, under a diſcharge of 37 guns. The next day a French officer was ſent to the king of Barrah, to demand the effects of the Engliſh at Jilfray, but he replied, That ſince the fort was ſurrendered, what was on ſhore belonged to him; but ſeeing that M. de Gennes was about to employ force, he ſent an alcali to tell him, he would have no diſpute, but would yield up the effects. The French general having deſtroyed the fort, the 27th of the ſame month, the Engliſh officers embarked for Cayenne, on their way home, and M. de Gennes left the Gambra on the 24th, and ſailed for Braſil.

The place being reſtored by the peace of Ryſwic, the Royal African company took care to rebuild it, intending to remount it with 90 guns, and to maintain a garriſon of 250 Europeans. However, the war breaking out afreſh in 1702, the French, the ſame year, found means to ſurpriſe it under Captain la Roque in the Mutine who was at the taking of it by M. de Gennes in 1695) accompanied by the Sieur de St. Vandrille, in the Hermione frigate. They took the fort, which they ranſomed for 100,000 crowns, carrying off 250 ſlaves, and a large quantity of goods. La Roque himſelf was killed in the attack. In 1709, the French made a third attempt, under M. Parente, with a ſmall ſquadron of four frigates, which took the fort, and a ſhip laden with ſlaves. After this, it was taken twice by the Engliſh pirates, who infeſted the coaſt of Guinea about 1720, of which the following is an account.

The firſt of theſe actions was performed by Howard Davis, who ſailing from Briſtol with Captain Skinner in the Cadogan Snow, was taken in 1719, near Sierra Leona, by England the pirate, who murdered the captain, and made Davis a compliment of the ſhip; but finding the majority of the crew averſe to the deſign, he was forced to ſteer for Barbadoes, where the cargo was conſigned, and on the information of the ſailors, put in priſon. However, as he had committed no piratical act, he was releaſed, and employed by Captain Woods Rogers in a trading ſloop, which being manned chiefly with pirates, they at Davis's motion, agreed to return to their old courſe of buſineſs, and choſe him for their captain. At firſt he had pretty good ſucceſs. Coming to St. Jago, the chief town of one of the Cape Verd iſlands, and being offended at the governor's ſuſpecting them to be pirates, he entered the fort in the night, but the governor holding out in his houſe, he quitted it, after doing the Portugueſe great damage. Hence he ſailed to the river Gambra, in order to attempt St. James's fort, where he told his men, there was always a great deal of money lodged. This, every thing conſidered, was a deſperate enterpriſe. The method he took was this, He concealed his men under deck, except as many as were requiſite to work the ſhip, ſo that thoſe from the fort might have no ſuſpicion. He then ran in cloſe to the fort, and hoiſted out his boat, with ſix men in ordinary jackets, in which himſelf, with the maſter and ſurgeon, dreſſed like gentlemen, went on ſhore. Being arrived at the landing place, he was received by a file of muſqueteers, and conducted to the fort, and being examined by the governor, he informed him, he was from Liverpool, bound to the Senega, for gum and teeth, but had been chaſed on the coaſt by two French men of war; adding, that their cargo was iron and plate. The governor told Davis he would let him have ſlaves to the full value of his cargo; and aſked if he had any European liquor on board? Davis replied, He had ſome for the ſhip's uſe, but a hamper was at his ſervice. The governor aſked him and his officers to dinner; he accepted of the invitation, and while it was getting ready, went on board, under pretence of giving ſome orders, leaving his companions on ſhore. Having made the proper obſervations for executing his deſign, during his

ſtay at the fort, he returned before noon with his boat's crew privately armed. He had given them inſtructions to converſe with the ſoldiers in the guard-room, and when he fired a piſtol as a ſignal, to ſecure the arms of the garriſon. Davis found the governor and his aſſociates, preparing a bowl of punch for dinner, and having taken his opportunity to ſecure him, fired his piſtol. On this his men ſeized the arms in the guard-room, making the garriſon priſoners, whom they locked up in the room. Davis then ordered the union flag on the fort to be ſtruck, which his men on board ſeeing, ſent him the reinforcement agreed on, ſo that he remained maſter of the fort without reſiſtance. Many of the ſoldiers in the company's ſervice entered with him, and thoſe who refuſed, he immediately ſecured on board a ſloop he found in the river. After this, he plundered the place, where he found to the amount of 2000 pounds in bar gold, and many other valuable effects, which he ſent on board, and then demoliſhed the fortifications.

The company ſent the Gambra Caſtle, Captain Ruſſel, in 1721, with a company of ſoldiers, commanded by Major Maſſey, to garriſon St. James's fort, which had lately been taken and deſtroyed by the pirate Davis. She arrived in the Gambra about May, and landed her men under Maſſey, on St. James's iſland, where Colonel Whitney the governor had juſt arrived. Both the governor and Maſſey were greatly diſſatisfied with the reception they met with from the merchants. Maſſey in particular was very loud in his complaints. George Lowther, ſecond mate of the Gambra Caſtle, having a pique againſt Ruſſel his captain, inſtigated the ſhip's company, over whom he had a great influence, to join with Maſſey in his diſcontent, and flattered him, that by ſecuring the ſhip, he would convey him back to England. Maſſey propoſing this to his men, they all ſeconded his deſign, on which he ſet guards on the ſtore-room; and after ſending on board all the proviſions, and diſmounting the guns, went on board Lowther, who had ſecured the ſhip in Ruſſel's abſence, and got ready to ſail, which he did the next day. Maſſey after this, turned pirate with Lowther, but ſoon after quitted that ſort of life, and returning home, was brought on his trial and was hanged.—James's Fort has ſince been fully re-eſtabliſhed.

A VOYAGE TO THE AFRICAN COASTS, IN THE SWALLOW AND WEYMOUTH, BY Mr. ATKINS.

THE Swallow and Weymouth that performed this voyage, the relation of which we have from Mr. T. Atkins, ſailed from Spithead, February 5, 1720, taking in neceſſaries for a double voyage down to the coaſt of Guinea, with an intention to deſtroy the pirates, who greatly infeſted thoſe parts, and deſtroyed their trade and factories. The African company's governor for Gambra, and other places, went under their convoy.——

As they paſſed the weſtern extremity of England, the author obſerved that from the equal depth of water found here, and from doors, windows, and roots of trees, formerly hooked up by the fiſhermen, it ſeems to have been in ages paſt, contiguous with the little rocky iſlands of Scilly, by a land called the Lioneſs, which had been ſeparated by ſome violent ſhock from the coaſt.

About the length of Cape Finiſterre they met with continual weſterly winds, very unuſual to the coaſt of Portugal. A day or two's ſail from Madeira, they fell in with the commodore Matthews, in the Lion, bound with a ſquadron of four ſail to the Eaſt Indies, for ſuppreſſing the pirates there.

The Swallow parted with the Weymouth on the 13th of November, bound with the governor and factors to Gambra river. Coming near the land of Cape Verd, they took up ſeveral turtles, who love ſleeping on a ſmooth ſurface, which they had now, it being calm. They ſaw alſo abundance of flying fiſh, and their perpetual enemies the Albecore and Dolphin. This laſt is a ſtrait fiſh, four or five feet long, with a forked tail perpendicular to the horriſon; plays familiarly about ſhips, is of a dry taſte, but makes tolerable broth. Theſe are ſeldom ſeen out of the latitude of a trade wind, and the flying fiſh never; theſe laſt are the bigneſs of ſmall herrings: their wings, about two thirds of its length, come narrow from the body, and end broad. They fly by the help of them a furlong at a time, when purſued, turning in their flight; they ſometimes dip in the ſea and riſe again, the wind making them by this expedient fleeter.—They ſteered ſouth-ſouth-weſt to avoid the ſhoals of Grande; and hawling in for the land again, waited till they came into the latitude of Sierra Leona, ſome other ſhoals lying on the north ſide of that river. The ſoundings in with the cape are gradual from ſixty fathoms, about twelve leagues off to thirteen. Cape Sierra Leona is known by a ſingle tree much larger than the reſt, and high land on the back of it. They anchored on the 7th in the third bay from the cape, which is very commodious for watering and wooding, and regular tides as any part of the channel in England. Going on ſhore here on the 18th, they viſited Signor Joſeph, who reſided there.

On the 28th of April they left Sierra Leona, and May the 1ſt, they were joined by the Weymouth from Gambra. She ran on a ſand on that river, and with great difficulty got off. Thoſe of the Swallow likewiſe, while at Sierra Leona, letting in water to the ſhip one evening had forgot the plug, till ſhe had five or ſix feet water in the hold.—At Cape St. Mary's, the ſtarboard entrance of the Gambra, they found no canibals, as is commonly reported among ſailors, but a civiliſed people, with whom they wooded this ſhip. They were off Cape Monte on the 4th, and the next day off Monſerada, both highlands; the former appearing with a double, the latter with a ſingle hummock, the country trending from them low and woody; about thirty-five fathoms water three leagues from ſhore.

From the latter came off a canoe with a cabobſhier, Captain John Hee, diſtinguiſhed by an old hat, and ſailor's jacket, with a greater number of thick braſs rings on his fingers and toes than his attendants. He ſeemed ſhy of entering the ſhip, for fear of being ſeized, his town's people having often ſuffered by the treachery of ſhips, and they as often return it, with cruelty, "which (ſays the author) has given riſe to the report of their canibals at ſeveral places, very unlikely any where, becauſe in that caſe they could neither have trade nor neighbours." The fetiſh they brought off, on this dangerous voyage, was a bundle of ſmall black ſticks, like a bundle of Aſparagus, put into a bag, knit of ſilk-graſs, and hanging over one of their ſhoulders,

ſhoulders, ſeeming to place a ſecurity and confidence in it. Atkins would have handled and taſted it, but found it put them in a fright; they making ſigns, to deter him, ſaying in their language, "If you eat, you will die preſently."

The diſtruſt on both ſides made their preſent buſineſs only begging old breeches, ſhirts, rags, biſcuits, and whatever elſe they ſaw; parting in a hurry, and calling to one another for that end, in a note like that which butchers uſe in driving cattle.

They anchored before Seſtos, on the 10th of May. The River is about half the breadth of the Thames, a narrow entrance only for boats on the ſtarboard ſide, between two rocks; which, on great ſwells and winds, make the ſhooting of it dangerous, the reſt of the breadth being choaked with ſands. Here may be purchaſed conſiderable quantities of rice, and the river abounds with fiſh.

The king, who commanded here, had the name of Pedro: he lived about five miles up the river. A ſample of negro majeſty. The royal preſent was ſent by a lieutenant and purſer. Arriving at the king's town, they were uſhered or thruſt, by ſome of the courtiers into the common hall, in order to wait the king's dreſſing, and coming from the palace, his public audience being always in the preſence of his people. After waiting an hour, his majeſty came, attended by a hundred naked nobles, all ſmoking, and a horn blowing before him. The king had a dirty red bays gown on, checkered with patch-work of other colours, like a Merry-andrew, and a fellow to bear the train; which was a narrow ſlip of culgee tacked to the bottom of the gown. He had an old black full bottomed wig, uncombed, an old hat, not half big enough, and ſo ſet conſiderably behind the fore-top, that made his meagre face like a ſcare-crow; coarſe ſhoes and ſtockings, unbuckled and untied, and a braſs chain of twenty pounds weight at leaſt about his neck.

The embaſſadors preſented him a gun, two pieces of ſhip-beef, a cheeſe, a bottle of brandy, a dozen of pipes, and two dozen of congees. But Pedro, did not ſeem pleaſed when he ſaw the preſent, as it conſiſted of ſuch things as he had not preſent occaſion for: aſking to take them back, and give him their breeches, ſullied a little with kneeling in the dirt: but on a conſultation with his miniſters, the preſent was accepted, and the officers diſmiſſed.

To give the king a good opinion of their generoſity they made it up to his ſon Tom Freeman; who, to ſhew his good nature, came on board un-invited, and bringing his flageolet, obliged them with ſome wild notes. Him they dreſſed with an edged hat, a wig, and a ſword, and gave him a patent on a large ſheet of parchment, creating him duke of Seſtos. This was taken ſo kindly by the father, that he ſent them a couple of goats in return, and ſent his younger ſon Joſee for further marks of their favour; whom they dignified alſo, on a ſmall conſideration, with the title of prince of Baxos.

In one of theſe towns, to which they had leave to go, ſome others of them paid a viſit to his majeſty, whom they found at his palace. The entrance was narrow like a port-hole, leading into what one might call his court yard; a little ſpot, and two or three huts in it, which were the apartments of his women. From this they peeped through another portico, and diſcovered him on the left-hand, upon a place on the outſide of his houſe, raiſed like a ſhop-board, and ſmoking with two or three old women (the favourite diverſion of both ſexes.) His dreſs and figure, with the novelty of the Engliſh, created mutual ſmiles for a few minutes, when they took leave with the Atti, hoo!

They left Seſtos on the 18th of May, and ſailing along a coaſt low like Holland, in two or three days reached Cape Palma; weighed from Jaque a Jaques the 28th; the 30th came before Baſſam; the 31ſt, before Aſſini, paſſing by that unfathomable place, called the bottomleſs-pit, ſeven leagues below Jaque a Jaques, where the depth is all over unfathomable, and three miles acroſs. The natives every where appeared ſhy of correſpondence till they came upon the Gold Coaſt. June the ſecond, they anchored at Cape Apollonia. At Jaque a Jaques they met with the Robert of Briſtol, Captain Harding, who ſailed from Sierra Leona before them, having purchaſed thirty ſlaves, of which Captain Tomba was one: he gave them the following melancholy ſtory: That this Tomba, about a week before, had combined with three or four of the ſtouteſt of his countrymen to mutiny, being aſſiſted by a woman ſlave, who telling him one night that there were only five white men on deck, and they aſleep, brought him a hammer at the ſame time to execute his treachery: he could only engage one more to follow him on the deck, beſides the woman, when finding three ſailors on the forecaſtle, he preſently diſpatched two with ſingle ſtrokes on the temples; the others rouſing with the noiſe, one of them ſeized Tomba, but was murdered by him in the ſame manner. But the laſt two out of the five taking the alarm, ſtood upon their guard, and their defence ſoon awaked the maſter underneath, who running up, took a handſpike, and felling Tomba with it, ſecured them all in irons.

Captain Harding only whipped the two ſtout ſlaves; but the three other abettors (though not actors, nor of ſtrength for it) he ſentenced to cruel deaths, making them firſt eat the heart and livers of one of them he killed. The woman he hoiſted by the thumbs, whipped, and ſlaſhed her with knives, before the other ſlaves till ſhe died.

They anchored at Axim, on the 6th of June, the firſt European factory belonging to the Dutch; and next day they came to Cape Tres Puntas. Moſt ſhips touch here for the convenience of water (which is more difficultly ſupplied above) each veſſel paying an ounce of gold for the privilege. John Conny, then the principal caboſhir, whoſe town lies three miles weſtward, ſent off a ſervant with his commiſſion, which was a large gold-headed cane, engraved with his name, to demand it. Their neglect in it, with ſome obvious ill treatment of the agent, brought John down next day with a poſſe, who ſeizing on their water-caſks on ſhore, carried ten or a dozen of their men priſoners to his town. The officer among them, endeavouring to diſtinguiſh the king's ſhip from othe s, got his head broke; John, who underſtood Engliſh enough to ſwear, ſaying at the ſame time, By G—, that he was king there. However, after ſome trouble, he accepted, in recompence, ſix ounces of gold, and an anker of brandy.

The Daniſh fort ſtood on a hill adjoining, which ſome few years ſince, having being relinquiſhed by them, and thereby falling into John's poſſeſſion, has occaſioned ſome conteſt between him and the Dutch; theſe laſt pretending a title of purchaſe in 1720, ſent a bomb veſſel, and two or three frigates to demand a ſurrender; but John being a bold and ſubtle fellow, anſwered, that he expected ſome inſtrument ſhould be ſhewn him to confirm the ſale; and even with that (ſaid he) "I can ſee no pretence but to the guns, the brick and ſtone of the building, for the ground was not theirs to diſpoſe of; they paid no rent for it (continues he) and ſince they have thought fit to remove, I do not deſign to tenant it out to any other white men while I live." This ſort of diſcourſe vexed the Dutch, who threw in ſome bombs and ſhot; and then raſhly landed forty of their men, under the command of a lieutenant to attack the town: they fired once without any damage, and then John, at the head of his men, ruſhing from under cover of the houſes with a greater force, cut them in pieces, paving the entrance of his palace, ſoon after, with their ſkuls.

This made him very exact with every body about what he called his dues, though juſt in trade; when the Engliſh had returned to a good underſtanding, the author with ſome other officers paid him a viſit. The ſoutherly winds made ſo great a ſurf, that their

landing was dangerous, nor to be performed by their own boats; but by canoes of his ſending, for which they paid them. John himſelf ſtood on ſhore to receive them, attended with a guard of thirty men, under bright arms; who conducted them to his houſe. This was a pretty large building, raiſed from the materials of the fort. It aſcends with a double ſtone ſtair-caſe without, of twelve ſteps; on that floor are three good rooms; one his armory, another his chamber, with a ſtanding bed in it; and a third for entertainment of gueſts, furniſhed with tables, chairs, &c. The way to it lay through two court-yards; the outer had houſes for officers and ſervants belonging to him; the inner, (a ſpacious ſquare) had a guard room and good armory fronting the entrance, with piazzas to accommodate his guards, and imitates in ſome meaſure the grandeur of the Pruſſian governors; with whom John had been a ſervant for ſome years. He was a ſtrong-made man, about fifty, of a ſullen look, and commanded the reſpect of being bare-headed from all the negros about him. He ſhewed very great civility to the Engliſh, who had returned his ſalute of ſix guns, and made up the breach of watering on his own terms.

Finding him chearful and familiar, they now ventured to aſk him what was become of the Dutchmens ſkulls that lately paved the entrance of his houſe? He anſwered, that about a month before their ſhips arrival, he had put them into a cheſt, with ſome brandy, pipes, and tobacco, and buried them. "For, ſays he, it is time that all malice ſhould depart, and the putting up a few neceſſaries with the corpſe, ſuch as they loved, is our way of reſpecting the deceaſed." The author learned, that it was cuſtomary with the rich, to ſacrifice a ſlave or two alſo at their funerals. The under jaw-bones of theſe Dutchmen, John ſhewed him ſtrung, and hanging on a tree in the court-yard.

This chief was no leſs vigorous in inflicting puniſhments, than exacting his dues. A few weeks before the ſhips arrival he had condemned a murderer, (although he ſeemed excuſable on the principle of ſelf-defence, which John did not underſtand) and made the criminal's own brother, who was one of his beſt ſervants, to be the executioner before his face, by tying a large ſtone, like a milſtone, about his neck, and throwing him into the ſea.

By his riches and power, John had ingroſſed the trade of the place: and by thoſe means reduced the traders profits to twenty per cent, a diſadvantage which themſelves contributed to, by underſelling one another.

The Engliſh left Cape Tres Puntas, on the 14th of June, and the 15th, anchored at Dixcove, an Engliſh factory. This, Succonda, Anamaboo, and others, though called factories, are the reſidence only of two or three people from the principal one of Cape Corſo, who have commiſſion for what trade they tranſact, beſides their regular ſalary.

On the 16th, they weighed from thence, and anchored next day before Cape Corſo caſtle, the Engliſh African company's chief fort; the reſidence of their governor, ſtyled director-general, two merchants, a ſecretary, chaplain, ſurgeon, factors, writers, miners, artificers, and a company of ſoldiers, with buildings and conveniencies inſide, for themſelves or ſlaves.

About the time of this voyage, the company had raiſed by ſubſcription, 392,400 pounds, and in December, 1722, made a call of five per cent, allowing the proprietors as had been aceuſtomed, a dividend of three per cent. In December, 1723, they expoſed to ſale 200,000 pounds ſtock, at thirty per cent. "Which, ſays the author, ſhewed their affairs had but an ill aſpect."

On the 26th of June they went to Anamaboo, a noted part for windward ſhips: the 28th, to Mountford; the 30th, to Barkee, and then Shalloe. Through the whole courſe from Sierra Leona, it may be obſerved, that wood, candles, or any other ſhip's neceſſaries are hard to get; the former, not from a want in the country (it being over-run) but an impaſſable beach, where there is no navigable river, and the diffidence of the negros, where it might be beſt ſupplied; and the other, becauſe merchant-ſhips do not expect a trade of that ſort, and therefore unprovided.

Paſſing by Accra, the River Volta and the Papan Coaſt, they anchored at Whidah, July the 4th. The whole coaſt was a ſtraight line, without gulphs or bays, is thick ſet with trees, having a tendency of the ſea with the wind, and every where a very rough and turbulent beach.

They paſſed by a high mount before they reached Accra, which the author was told has been ſeen to ſmoke like a volcano. For this reaſon, and becauſe it is the haunt of wild beaſts, it is called the Devil's Hill. But the moſt danger to travellers is from a prodigious number of apes, ſome five feet long; and monkeys, who attack ſingle paſſengers and drive them into the water, where theſe creatures are afraid to follow. They left Whidah on the 20th, and the 28th arrived at Prince's Iſland, belonging to the Portugueſe. In their approach they ſaw every day many whales, threſhers, and petrels. Here they cleaned their ſhips, heaving down by one another, but with the fatigue and heat together, as alſo the irregularity of the ſailors, buried three or four men a day for ſix weeks together.

They arrived very healthy; but the iſland furniſhing palm-wines, and the means of debauching at eaſy rates, and their tents alſo giving opportunity, the ſeamen ſoon ran into exceſs, which brought on a malignant fever, that reduced them in two months to deliberate whither they could proceed ſafely to ſea, without a return of men from England, the Weymouth not being able to purchaſe her anchors, and the Swallow with difficulty: but the author, as ſurgeon, judged it beſt to go, though in the moſt ſickly condition, ſince being thus removed from the cauſe of their calamity, (calms, heats, exceſſive and diſorderly living) whoever were viſited with the diſtemper, would find a criſis in recovery or death, which would ſtop the infection. Therefore, with the aſſiſtance of ſome men from a Dutch Eaſt-India ſhip, that happened to put in, they got under ſail. The fevers for want of neceſſaries turned in many to fluxes, and purſued them, with violence. The Weymouth, which brought out of England a complement of 240 men, having at the end of her voyage 180 dead upon her books.

On the 20th of September, they left Princes Iſle, and anchored the 28th at St. Thomas, about a league from the fort, which lies on the larboard point of the bay. This is the principal of the three Portugueſe iſlands on this coaſt. Hogs and fowls are exceeding cheap.

Happy it was for Mr. Rowry, the maſter of a Briſtol veſſel there, that the man of war came in; for his men had made him priſoner, and were diſpoſing of the ſlaves at a very eaſy rate with the governor, who rejects no ſchemes of profit. Rowry, who had been diſcountenanced by him on his mens complaint, was now heard indeed; but not knowing rightly the method of getting men to get away his brigantine in their company, he was obliged to have what price the governor would ſet on her and her cargoe, and took paſſage with them for Cape Corſo; where upon demand, he accompanied his leave with a handſome acknowledgement for his diet, and went home with the account.

They regained the Gold Coaſt in fifteen days from this iſland, and leaving it again, October the 5th, ſtretched with their ſtarboard-tacks to weſtward, deſigning to ſtretch as far to windward as poſſible, that if any pirate ſhould be on the coaſt, they might have them under their lee.

On the 20th, they fell in with Cape Apollonia, and the 23d, anchored at Axim, having met in the paſſage ſome ſprinklings, which they underſtood had been heavy ſhowers on ſhore. On the 24th, they

came

came to Cape Three Points, where neglecting to pay John Conny his duty for water, he ſeized ſome of their men till ſatisfied.

They departed on the 30th, and arrived next day at Cape Corſo, where they underſtood that the pirates under the command of Captain Roberts, had been plundering their ſhips down the whole coaſt, but were then thought to be gone off; the lateſt account of any who had ſuffered, being in Auguſt laſt: therefore being under no apprehenſion of their return, they divided the proviſions which had been ſent thither from England, to them, leaving the Weymouth, now diſabled to weigh her anchor; November the 10th, the Swallow ſtretched away to windward, and in a month's cruiſe repeated their viſits to Succonda, Dixcove, Acquedah, Cape Tres Puntas, Axim, Cape Apollonias Aſſini, Baſſam, Jaques, &c. Their deſign was to ſecure trade, air a ſickly ſhip, by purchaſing ſlaves, and impreſſing men from the merchant veſſels. Many prevented this, by running away from ill treatment, (as they called it) bad or ſhort diet; but as more went with the pirates on the ſame pretence, the author obſerves, ſailors are governed merely by caprice or humour in this reſpect.

They keeled and ſcrubbed their ſhip at Succonda, and at Dixcove they were informed, that the ſoldiers, who came under their convoy for the African company's ſervice at Gambra, had mutinied with Captain Maſſey, one of their officers, diſdaining the bad uſuage of the merchants who had the command of victualling them; that after nailing up the guns, they retired to the ſhip Bumper, which brought them over, and there by a joint conſent of George Lowther, the ſecond mate, and ſome of the ſailors, proceeded to ſea.

At Cape Apollonia, they found all their old acquaintance were gone. The queen, who two or three months before had ſent off a daſhi of four akkis, was lately with her people forced to remove to Aſſini. It ſeems the Santis or Aſſantis, on the rock of the Appollonians, being provoked by their frequent depredations, had lately been down and driven them from their habitations, through (themſelves ſaid) the inſtigation of John Conny, their neighbour and competitor. At Aſſini, therefore, they found them preparing to revenge this injury; they bought up all their trading arms at a good price, and gave a fowl for every flint they could ſpare, (there being no ſuch thing in the country). They are as fearleſs as any of their colour both in trade and war, and promiſed themſelves an amendment of their fortunes, which the author ſince then was informed they had accompliſhed againſt Conny.

At Cape Tres Puntas, they found the water pond almoſt dried up, though the wind at ſouth-eaſt had brought on two or three heavy ſhowers of rain. Theſe falling, conſtant thick fogs ſucceeded in the day; and what was very unuſual, at the diſtance they lay at anchor, they had dews in the night on board. The current ſet weſtward.

On the 6th of January they anchored at Mina, the Dutch African company's principal fort, and next day at Cape Corſo, which they left on the 10th, in purſuit of the pirates, the governor having received two or three expreſſes, informing him, that they had taken a ſhip near Axim, the place they had but juſt come from.

The pirate Roberts having ſtruck a pannic into the traders, the men of war were ſeveral times in their late cruiſe, alarmed with reports of their being again to windward, which kept them plying; but theſe reports being contradicted, and the raſhneſs of the attempt conſidered, they returned to their rendeſvous into Cape Corſo road, where they had ſcarcely arrived, before Phipps received intelligence, that they had taken a veſſel a few leagues off, and committed great cruelties. The pirates were well manned, having much increaſed their number by this double expedition, and the reputation of their ſucceſſes, the ſeamen every where entering with them, and when they refuſed, it was by report, rather through fear, than any deteſtation of the practice. They concluded therefore to follow them to Whidah, that being, next to Cape Corſo, the chief place for booty. Accordingly, January 15, arriving there, they learned that the pirates had plundered and ranſomed eleven ſail of ſhips, and left the place but two days before, on the report of their following them, when they miſſed of them by 24 hours. The 19th, they came before the Iſle of Princes, and found the Portugueſe ſtrangers to the news.

On the firſt of February, they anchored at the mouth of the river Gabone, a good harbour, they thought, for their reception, the navigation being difficult; but finding them not there, they departed the 3d, for Cape Lopez, where, arriving, they ſoon diſcovered the three pirate ſhips at anchor in that bay. One of them, which was upon the heel, righted at ſight of them, ſlipped her cable, and began the chace, bending ſome of her ſails as ſhe came out, by which they ſaw the raſhneſs of their enemy, who fell a prize to them before night.

On the 10th they got up with the cape again, and found the prize's conſorts very eaſy in the bay, where they ſtaid ſo long, that the purſuers doubted if they would move for them; but at length, as the men of war advanced, their eyes were ſoon opened, when all mad and frightned, they cut their cables, and ſet their ſails; up went the black flag, and in great deſpair, they continued a running fight, while only the chace guns could play upon them, and ſtruck preſently when a broad-ſide reached them, without the leaſt damage done to the Swallow; drunkenneſs, inadvertancy, and diſorder making them fall an eaſy prey. February the 12th, they anchored at Cape Lopez bay, ſeizing there the third pirate ſhip that had been deſerted by the hands, for their better eſcape or defence, in the other.

The pirates, ſingly, were men of courage, yet wanting diſcipline, and ſome director to unite that force, were a contemptible enemy, they neither killed nor wounded a man in taking, which muſt ever, in the ſame circumſtances, be the conſequent fate of ſuch battles.

They found in the three ſhips above 300 Engliſhmen, 60 or 70 ſtout negro ſlaves, a great plenty of trading goods, and a large quantity of gold duſt, to the value of 10,000l.

[The people, their wives and widows, who thought themſelves injured by it, petitioned the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, the ſecretaries, and other officers of ſtate, for a recal of this grant. The officers joined alſo in a petition for the earl of Berkeley's interpoſition, to obtain for them the diviſion they might prove over and above what was ſuggeſted in obtaining the privy ſeal, but without any ſucceſs.

The number of priſoners gave a great deal of fatigue and uneaſineſs, during a ſix week's paſſage, leſt their ſituation ſhould prompt them to ſome deſperate attempt for their liberty. February the 18th, they were brought to their trials, when fifty-two were executed, ſeventy-four acquitted, twenty condemned to ſervitude, and ſeventeen committed to the Marſhalſea.]

While they ſtaid in the road, two officers paid a viſit to Mr. Butler the director general for the Dutch at St. George del Mina, three leagues to windward, he received them ſo much more kindly, that in 18 years which he had reſided on the coaſt, he had ſeldom been viſited by his countrymen, and of late not at all, which he imputed to the miſunderſtandings that were frequent between him and Mr. Phipps, on account of trade; they therefore could not pay him this compliment without offending the other. His table had ten diſhes, an extraordinaay ſhow in a place of ſuch ſcarcity, with variety of beer and wine, and an attendance of ſix negro ſervants, each wearing a gold chain about his neck, the largeneſs diſtinguiſhing grandeur, as fine cloth or lace does a livery. When dinner was over,

over, he gave them four gold rings each, (the make of the country) to remember him, and then ſhewed them his ſtore-houſes, large and well ſtocked. In the afternoon they retired to a ſummer-houſe in the garden, and in the evening his officers attended them to the boat, where they were ſtill followed with marks of undeſerved reſpect, three or four boxes of Braſil ſugar, (then a ſcarce commodity) and at putting off, a ſalute of nine guns. But they were not uſed ſo hoſpitably at the Engliſh caſtle. ——

They left Cape Corſe on the firſt of May, 1722, and on the third came down to Whidah. Here they took a ſailor out of a Portugueſe ſhip, that had been a confederate in taking Captain Rowry's veſſel, as mentioned before, at St. Thomas's; he, on the reflection of his crime, and fear of worſe evil, cut his throat. About this time the author was made purſer to the Weymouth, almoſt every body being dead who was fit for the office. He undertook it with reluctance, being unqualified himſelf, and neither cooper, ſteward, nor neceſſaries on board, but the indulgence he expected from a worthy commander, and ſome little advantage in quitting the ſurgeon's employ, were perſuaſives.

On the 5th, both men of war ſteered from Cape Lopez, to wood and water, (to go for the Weſt Indies) where they arrived the 26th. This is a ſafe and pleaſant bay; they anchored in 20 fathoms; the cape north-weſt by north; the watering-place ſouth by eaſt, each a mile and an half diſtance. Coming in, they brought the cape ſouth-weſt, to avoid what moſt charts lay down, the ſhoal called Frenchman's Bank, about a league and an half north north-eaſt from the cape; and there are other ſhoals between that and the main to the northward.

At Cape Lopez the people ſell one another, but few will venture on board European ſhips. Their familiar way of ſaluting is by claſping their hands two or three times to one another. To a ſuperior, the caboſher, or aged, they bend the knee, raiſing firſt their hands to the out parts of their ſhoulders, or arms, then patting the others hands gently three times, and crying Chamba each time, they fall back, clapping their own hands. To expreſs an extraordinary friendſhip, they raiſe your hand as high as they can reach. Many of them have borrowed names from the Europeans. They do not ſolicit this favour till after ſeveral views, they ſee ſomething to be admired, or think the perſons have ſome fancied ſympathy, or likeneſs with themſelves. As they come down in tribes to trade, each has a captain or leader, who loves to diſtinguiſh himſelf by an imitation of the European dreſs, and is often ſo awkwardly ſet out with hat, wig, and breeches, that he makes a much more ridiculous figure than any of his naked attendants.

Jacobus was one of theſe, he took on him the title of king, without knowing the meaning, and came on board the Swallow in a very antique figure, an old ſailor's wig turned upſide down, half a pair of breeches, jacket, hat, &c. yet he ſeemed reverenced much by the others; and in drinking, two of them always hold up a cloth before his face, that he might not be ſeen.

The cuſtom (ſays Atkins) ſeems to have a ſtate in it, and is borrowed, perhaps, from ſome neighbouring monarch, of Monomotapa. As Jacobus and his company grew drunk, (for they drank nothing but bumpers of brandy) this reſpect was laid aſide, and what was a great misfortune, the prince and his retinue beheld, with winking eyes, all their hovels on fire on ſhore. The occaſion was as follows: the ſhips having all their colours flying, and ſome guns fired in honour of the 29th of May, another leader on ſhore miſinterpreting it, as a particular reſpect to Jacobus, grew jealous, ſeized his houſe during the revel, his wives and his daughters, drank up all his brandy, eat all his victuals, thraſhed his people, and ſet both his houſes on fire.

Next morning, on unravelling the myſtery, the paſſion was over, and all became good friends again.—They have very little knowledge or uſe of fire arms, becauſe they have ſcarce any trade, their weapons being ſpears, arrows, and clubs; and it is a bloody battle among them when half a dozen of a ſide are knocked down.—Wood is ſold at the rate of a fathom for an old Guinea ſheet; their water free and eaſily come at; but is a ſtanding pool, and not ſo well taſted as from ſprings. Here they purchaſed wax for making candles, now exceeding ſcarce, and it is the moſt convenient place for ſhips of war at leaving the country.

Leaving Cape Lopez and the coaſt, on the 5th of June, they came in ſight of the iſland Annabona, the breezes ſmall at ſouth, and calms alternately. They cruiſed three or four days for their conſort the Swallow, which they loſt in a fog, and then went forward. July the firſt, they made Cape Auguſtine in Braſil, a Portugueſe colony, and anchored the 4th in Farnambuco-road, the next great port of trade in this province to Bahia.

The 12th they left Braſil, having found the trade-winds blow home, and increaſed in their ſtrength to this continent, bringing a dangerous ſwell into the road. Auguſt the 3d, they anchored in Carliſle Bay at Barbadoes, where they took in a ſupply of rum and proviſions. They left it the 9th, and on the 23d they arrived at Port Royal in Jamaica, where they found the Swallow had arrived a week before; but on the 28th, a hurricane drove the prize pirate ſhip on ſhore, blew away all their maſts, with other damages, that detained them here ſix months to refit.

Both ſhips having fixed their jury-maſts, on the firſt of January they left Port Royal, and anchored at the Kays. February the 7th, they left the Kays to make the windward paſſage, and worked up to Portmorant in ſix or ſeven days, a diſtance of 12 leagues, where the paſſage is, in a manner, gained, becauſe the lee of Hiſpaniola makes a ſmooth water, and intercepts the trade wind often in ſtaws to advantage. They met calms however for three or four days, but on the 17th got ſight of the little iſland Novaſia, where the people of Jamaica kill guanas. The 19th they put into Donna-Maria Bay, at the weſt end of Hiſpaniola; the uſual ſtop, eſpecially of the king's ſhips, in theſe parts for wood and water. They filled their caſks at a valley a mile ſouthward of the two brown cliffs, where is very good water, except in ſome winds, when the ſea gets over the bar. There are two other places nearer thoſe cliffs, and not ſo eaſily overflown. Here they bought ſome jerked hog's fleſh from two or three friendly hunters, belonging to Petit Guavas.—At leaving the bay, a ſtrong ſouth wind ſoon ſet them between Cape St. Nicholas and Maize, when they came into ſmall winds, and a current in their favour, made by the old Bahama-ſtreight and iſlands diſpoſed here.

The 26th, near the Iſland of Heniago, they recovered the true trade wind, eaſt half north; the 28th ſaw the rocks, called Hogſties, by their obſervations in 21 deg. 38 min. being ſomething more north than the charts. At noon they came round Atkin's Kays, (pretty high out of the water) and before night made Crooked, or Well Iſland. The laſt from which they took their departure, was Watlin's Kay, 24 degrees north, the trade wind continuing with them to the latitude of 32 degrees, but faint and weak from 27, cauſed, as ſuppoſed, by the conteſt between the variable wind and that.—From 26 to 37 degrees latitude, as far north as Virginia, they found every day large quantities of gulf-weed floating about the ſhip, and leſſening in proportion to the diſtance; ſo called from a conviction of its flowing from the ſhoals of Florida, and by being found 3 or 400 leagues north-eaſt, a-breaſt of the continent. This argues, the author ſays, in favour of a current, though inſenſible; or that it is longer or more to the northward than ſouthward in thoſe latitudes; and contrarily, in higher north latitudes, near the ſeas, the continent, have a tendency ſouthward, which is demonſtrated in thoſe iſlands of ice, that drive all the ſummer from the north-weſt, a-

along the coaſt of Newfoundland, even as far as New-England.

To the northward of Bermudas the winds grew variable, and as they advanced, ſtronger, having a very hard gale at north-weſt, to 68 degrees of latitude, which put them to a reefed foreſail for a fortnight, ſo great a ſea following, that they could not help dipping it up by tuns at their ſtern.

From hence they proceeded on their courſe, and arrived in England in the month of April, in the year 1725.

VOYAGES TO THE GOLD COAST, BY Mr. WILLIAM SMITH.

IN the year 1726, the Royal African company of England being willing to have an exact ſurvey taken of their ſettlements on the coaſt of Guinea, came to a reſolution to ſend a perſon fitly qualified for that undertaking, and accordingly, after an examination of his abilities, gave their inſtruments to Mr. Smith, dated Auguſt 11, 1726, impowering him "To take plans, draughts, and proſpects of all their forts and ſettlements; as alſo of all the principal rivers, harbours, and other places of trade on the coaſt of Africa, from the Gambra to Whidah.

Mr. Smith having received theſe inſtructions from the court of Aſſiſtants, embarked on Saturday, Auguſt the 20th, 1726, on board the Bonetta ſloop, Captain Livingſton, lying at Graveſend, in company with Walter Charles, Eſq; governor of Sierra Leona. On Auguſt the 22d, they ſailed through the Downs, with a fair wind, and on the 25th reached the Start Point, from whence they took their departure. They had for many days, north-eaſt winds and fair weather, till they got into the true trade wind, at north-eaſt, with which they paſſed the Tropic, of Cancer the fourteenth of September. Here they ſaw ſeveral whitiſh birds, having but one long feather in their tails. Theſe fly very high, and are called by the ſailors Tropic Birds, being only ſeen in the Torrid Zone, between the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn.

On the 22d of September they made the land ſix leagues diſtant, being a low ſandy beach, a little to the north-eaſt of Cape Verd, which they deſcried in four hours. Mr. Smith took a draught of this, as his firſt attempt in the company's ſervice. Next day, they got round the cape in ſight of Goree, a French factory; and the 25th, entering the Gambra, anchored at James iſland.

The next day landing, they were conducted to the caſtle, where they found the emperor of Fornia and his retinue, who ſaluted them by ſhaking hands after the European way, repeating in their language, "God bleſs you." Being ſeated, the author was diverted to ſee the emperor's grandees, and nobles of quality on the floor, like monkies, on their buttocks. An hour after his arrival, they all embarked on board their canoes, except the emperor, whom the governor complimented with his boat, men, and union flag, ſaluting him, at his departure from the fort, with five guns.

Some time before their arrival, there entered the Gambra, a Rhode Iſland built ſloop of 80 tons and ſix guns, called the Ark, commanded by one Edmonſon, who having ſeveral times communicated a piratical deſign to his crew, which they would not conſent to, they all, (except three white boys) went on ſhore at James's fort, and informed the governor and council, upon oath, of what they knew. Meanwhile, Edmonſon fearing a diſcovery, ſailed down below le Maine Point, beyond reach of the fort guns; where meeting the ſea-breeze and tide of flood, he was obliged to anchor, thinking himſelf ſafe there, at leaſt till morning. The ſuddenneſs of his departure confirming the ſailors depoſition, the gentlemen in council ſent the Gambra ſloop, manned with a ſtout crew of whites and blacks, to bring him back, and prevent his doing other miſchief. It was commanded by Mr. Orfeur, one of the company's factors.

This gentleman knowing the channel, took advantage of the midnight ebb to carry him below the Ark, without being diſcovered by any of Edmonſon's crew, who were but nine, viz. the three boys, and ſix ignorant, new purchaſed ſlaves. At day-break both ſloops weighed, and the pirate, knowing the Gambra-ſloop, was reſolved to force a paſſage. Mr. Orfeur being come within hail, called to Edmonſon to bring to, who made no anſwer, but by firing a brace of muſquet balls. This ſo enraged the blacks on board the Gambra ſloop, that they begged leave to fire on him, which Mr. Orfeur prevented, and again called to Edmonſon to ſtrike, but he diſcharged a loaded piece at the factor, who bade his men fire, and one of the black boys ſhot Edmonſon through the breaſt, on which the ſloop ran the Ark aboard, and took poſſeſſion of her. Edmonſon leaped into the river, and was ſeen no more. Mr. Orfeur brought up the ſloop, which lay at anchor in the river when Mr. Smith arrived.

Mr. Smith began the ſurvey he was ſent out to make on the 27th of September, which held till Monday October the 10th. He met with ſome difficulties in it; for the firſt day he went on ſhore at Jillfray, oppoſite James's iſland, he found the ſhore ſuch a deep ſwampey mud, it was hardly poſſible to meaſure or get from one ſtation to another: and there was no going on the dry land, it being ſo woody, that both the ſight and paſſage was intercepted. Beſides that, the trees ſwarmed with great black ants and venemous waſps.

The author being one day on ſhore at Bunior Point in the kingdom of Cumbo, near the mouth of the Gambra, in order to take the diſtance from thence to Barra Point, on the oppoſite ſide, the chief mate who was with him, being deſirous to ſee the method of taking inacceſſible diſtances, they landed on a ſandy, level beach, cloſe to a ſmall town, where they ſaw fifty or ſixty black cattle tied by the horns to ſome ſtakes drove into the ſand. While he was fixing his ſurveying inſtruments, ſome of the natives came down to the water-ſide to look at him, and not comprehending his theodolite, or meaſuring wheel, diſcovered ſome ſigns of fear. Mr. Smith did not regard this at firſt; but having occaſion for a ſtake or two to ſet marks, walked towards the cattle to chuſe a couple of good ones, upon which the natives, afraid of their cattle, ran and drove them up the country, alarming the town, ſo that the women and children ran to the woods, and the men came down in arms.

Mr. Smith aſking the company's ſlaves, who rowed the boat, the meaning of this, they told him, the natives were terrified at his ſurveying inſtruments, believing he had a deſign to bewitch them. Therefore, to guard againſt the worſt, the chief mate followed Smith with a loaded blunderbuſs, one of the ſlaves rolling the theodolite, which the natives endea-

voured to oppoſe, by running acroſs the paſſage, but not daring to touch it. The man who drove it, watched every opportunity to puſh the wheel at their legs, but they were too nimble for him ſkipping to the right and left like goats. When Mr. Smith had done his ſurvey, he returned to the place where the boat lay: and being very hot, ſat down under the ſhade of a large tree, ordering ſome punch to be made. The mate going down to the boat to fetch the ingredients, Mr. Smith, who was left alone, as ſoon as he was out of ſight, ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by the armed natives.

At laſt the mate appeared with a bowl of good punch, a draught of which, raiſed his courage ſo, that he gave a ſudden ſpring from the ground; at which the negros ran away in ſuch ſurprize, that ſeveral threw down their weapons and ſtood at a diſtance; believing, as he found afterwards, that it was in his power to deſtroy them. On this, Smith took up a gun they had dropped, and ventured to fire with powder amongſt them; but the piece ſcarcely went off before they were all out of ſight. The mate would have had him purſue his victory, but he thought it wiſeſt to return to the ſhore, and get on board the Bonetta. ——

On the 10th of October, he went with governor Rogers to viſit the king of Barra: who having been informed before-hand of their coming, met them about a quarter of a mile from his town, attended by about 400 of his ſubjects, ſeveral beating on large loud drums, others ſounding trumpets of elephants teeth, which all together made a war-like noiſe. The king welcomed them on ſhore, and conducted them to the town of Barra: his people expreſſed their joy by loud acclamations and firing of guns; with many ſtrange poſtures. At their arrival, the king cauſed his cannon to be fired, that lay diſmounted near his palace, which was a mud-walled cottage, thatched with palmetto leaves.

When they were ſeated, this prince ſent for his muſician, who played on an inſtrument called a ballafo. This inſtrument was well toned, and gave an agreeable ſound. His majeſty alſo for their diverſion, cauſed ſeveral natives to dance before them with drawn ſwords, which they flouriſhed with great dexterity. This done, the king made a ſhort ſpeech, expreſſing the regard the negros bore to white men, as far as their intereſt was concerned in encouraging them. When Mr. Smith took leave of the company, to finiſh his ſurvey, the king's brother and ſeveral of his noblemen would follow him. Going along, they aſked the king's brother who Smith was, and what he was going about, as he left the company ſuddenly? He told them, that Mr. Smith was a great, ingenious man, ſent by the company to meaſure all the kingdoms, iſlands, and rivers in Guinea. They replied, it was very proper, and that they were over-joyed he came to meaſure their country. To ſhew their approbation of the work, they made many grimmaces, running round Mr. Smith by way of compliment.

The Pagans, who are here more numerous than the Mahommetans, have no other religion but that of worſhipping their fetiſhes, for which any thing ſerves, a feather, a pebble, a bit of rag, a dog's leg, or the like. The word *fetiſh*, is to perform divine worſhip. They carry their fetiſh about them, which is ſo ſacred, that they will let no body touch it but themſelves. The day Mr. Smith dined with the king of Barra, he obſerved the muſician had on the top of his cap the tufts of a Crown Bird, which being very beautiful, he went to take it off his head, to look at it, but, to his great ſurprize, the man got up and ran away. It proved to be the muſician's fetiſh.

The languages on the Gambra, are ſo many and different, that the natives on one ſide cannot underſtand thoſe on the other, which is a great advantage to the Europeans, who trade there for ſlaves; becauſe the Gambrays, who are naturally indolent, hate ſlavery, and will attempt any thing for freedom.

On the 11th of October, Mr. Smith ſailed from the Gambrays, in the Bonetta ſloop, in company with the Byam Gally of Antigua, Captain Heſter, both bound for Sierra Leona. That day and the next they ſteered ſouth-weſt, and weſt-ſouth-weſt, to ſea, to avoid the ſhoals of Grande. The 13th, they ſteered ſouth for Sierra Leona. Next day they had a ſtark calm which continued fourteen days. The ſloops paſſed their time in viſiting each other daily, though their mirth was often interrupted by tornados which generally laſted an hour, and gave notice of their approach by exceſſive thunder, lightning, and dark clouds, which are ſucceeded by rains as heavy as water poured through a ſieve. This weather continues all the wet ſeaſon in Guinea.

Theſe tedious calms brought them into ſuch diſtreſs for water, that had they not been ſupplied by their conſort the Byam, they muſt have inevitably periſhed. During theſe calms they tried the current, which ſet north-eaſt one knot.

On the 3d of November they made land ten leagues diſtant, in twenty-five fathoms, which being very high, they ſuppoſed it to be the high mountain of Sierra Leona, and crowded ſail to come up with it before night. About eleven, they ſaw a ſail in ſhore, and perceiving ſhe lay by, to wait for them, it gave them apprehenſions, as knowing how buſy the pirates had been on this coaſt the preceding year. They put themſelves in the beſt poſture of defence they could, and held on their courſe till five in the afternoon, when they found the ſhip in queſtion was a friend, being the Queen Elizabeth, Capt. Creighton, bound from Sierra Leona to Rio Nunez, to trade for gold, teeth, and cam-wood. He, ſuſpecting by their ſtanding in for ſhore, that they were bound for Sierra Leona, lay by to let them know that theſe high lands were the Idoles, which are ſmall rocky iſlands, twenty leagues to the northward of Sierra Leona. After thanking Capt. Creighton for this kind information, they proceeded, and at ten next morning, diſcovered the Sauſaws, exceeding high land, twenty miles up the country. When they got a-breaſt of the Cape, which was about ſun-ſet, they hoiſted the union flag at the main-top-maſt-head, and ſaluted with ſeven guns, as did alſo the Byam. (All Guinea governors are by charter empowered to uſe the union flag in their reſpective diſtricts.)

Though it was night, they ſailed into the river, ſounding as they went. To prevent accidents, they hung out a light at their enſign-ſtaff, and the Byam kept one at her gibbon end. They kept cloſe under the high hills. When they got up as high as Frenchman's Bay, they ſaw two lights cloſe in ſhore: one belonged to a ſmall trading bark, the other to the Friendſhip ſloop of Barbadoes, Captain Croker; who ſeeing their two ſhips that afternoon in the offing hung out lights to direct them where to ride. As ſoon as they anchored, Captain Croker came on board the Bonetta, to know who they were, and then welcomed them to Sierra Leona. As they had only Madeira wine, their limes being expended, he ſent on board for a handkerchief full of limes, and gave them an account of the company's affairs at Bonal Iſland.

On the 5th, they found themſelves in a ſmall, pleaſant bay, ſurrounded with exceeding high hills, all covered with beautiful trees, full of various kinds of birds, who at day-break make the woods reſound. Captain Croker ſaluted the union flag with five guns, and had three in return. In this bay is extraordinary good water, which guſhing out of the rock, falls down like a ſpout, ſo that they could fill all their caſks without a tun-diſh. They watered here, and the bottom of the bay being clear of rocks, they drew their ſeyne, and got a great many mullets and other fiſh, alſo an alligator, which the negros devoured greedily.

They all went up to Benſe Iſland, on which there is a regular piece of fortification, mounted with twenty-two pieces of heavy cannon; beſides a battery under the fort wall, with eleven guns more. This is the

the reſidence of the governor; and Mr. Charles landing, took poſſeſſion of his poſt, and received the compliments which are uſual on that occaſion; though the author unluckily ſpoiled his; for not recollecting the name of the iſland, he mentioned out Barataria, (which is one of no repute) inſtead of Benſe.

On the 27th he began his ſurvey, meeting with no oppoſition from the natives, as at the Gambra, the inhabitants here being more uſed to the European manners and cuſtoms.

"It is not certain, (ſays the author) when the Engliſh became maſters of Sierra Leona, which they poſſeſſed unmoleſted, until Roberts the pirate took it in 1720; Plunket who was afterwards blown up in James's fort, being governor here. The caſe was thus: Roberts having three ſtout ſhips under his command, put into Sierra Leona for freſh water, and finding a trading veſſel in the bay of France, took her thence, and carried her into another near the cape, which is very deep, and has a long narrow entry. This the author in his ſurvey has called Pirate's Bay, becauſe when Roberts had rifled that ſhip, he ſet fire to her, and part of her bottom was to be ſeen at low water, when Mr. Smith was there. The next day, Roberts ſent up a boat well manned and armed to Governor Plunket, deſiring to know if he would ſpare him any gold duſt, or powder and ball? Plunket ſent word, he had no gold duſt to ſpare, but that as to powder and ball, he had ſome at his ſervice, if he would take the trouble to come for it.

"Roberts anchored with his ſhips the next flood, before Benſe Iſland, and a ſmart engagement followed between him and the governor for ſeveral hours together, till Plunket having fired away all his ammunition, fled in his boat to a ſmall iſland called Tomba, but being overtaken again by the pirates, was brought back again to Benſe Iſland, where Roberts ſwore heartily at him, for his Iriſh impudence in daring to reſiſt him; Plunket finding the bad company he had got into, fell to curſing and ſwearing faſter than Roberts, which raiſed much laughter among the pirates, who bade Roberts hold his tongue, for that he had no ſhare at all in the diſcourſe with Plunket; however, it is ſaid, that by mere dint of ſwearing, old Plunket ſaved his life. When Roberts had rifled the warehouſes he went on board, and ſailed out of the river next ebb, leaving Plunket again in poſſeſſion of the fort, which the pirates had much damaged."

The river Sierra Leona, is very broad at the entrance, being four leagues from the cape to Leopard's iſle, on the oppoſite ſide of the river's mouth. The middle is ſhallow indeed, being in ſome places dry at low water. For the deepeſt part of the channel lies cloſe in by the cape, and thoſe who enter muſt keep on the ſtarboard ſhore, ſailing cloſe under the high land, where they are ſure of regular ſoundings, and in all the bays good anchoring ground, but near the edge of the ſhoals, the bottom is uneven and foul.

In this river the company have another iſland, viz. Taſſo, which is large and flat, near three leagues in circumference. Here their ſlaves have a good plantation. The reſt of the iſland is covered with wood; eſpecially ſilk cotton trees of a prodigious ſize. It likewiſe produces other ſorts of cotton and indigo.

The river of Sierra Leona abounds with ſeveral ſorts of fiſh, moſt of them good, except the oyſters, which grow there on the branches of the mangrove trees. Theſe are found in ſhallow places, their branches having a material tendency towards the water. The author ſaid he cut off one of theſe branches ſo full of oyſters, barnacles, &c. that he could ſcarce lift it into the boat.

Captain Livingſton loſt no time during Mr. Smith's ſurvey, in ſending on ſhore the goods and arms deſigned for the uſe of the fort. But the ſhip wanting to be careened, and to get up a new mizen-maſt, they thought this a good opportunity to ſurvey the river Sherbero, and for that purpoſe obtained of the governor one of the company's ſloops, with proper hands; Mr. Charles having inſtructions from the company, as the other governors had, to give all the aſſiſtance to the ſurvey.

Mr. Smith ſailed from Benſe iſland in the Sierra Leona ſloop, on the 14th of November, Captain Kirkman, in company with the Jaquin ſloop, Captain Ridley who went with them, in order to get a knowledge of that river. The 16th, they reached the Banana iſles, the largeſt of which is well inhabited. Here Mr. Smith had found ſome white people who had quitted the company's ſervice, and ſet up for themſelves, having ſloops of their own, in which they traded northward, to Rio Pungo, and Rio Nunez for ſlaves, teeth, and cam-wood, by which means they had brought a conſiderable trade to theſe iſles, there being few ſhips bound down the coaſt, but what touched here.

They were becalmed at the mouth of Sherbero river, on the 12th, and ſaw ſeveral water-ſpouts near them. The next day they got up as far as a ſmall town, belonging to Mr. Zachary Cummerbus, a Mulatto, ſon of a late Engliſh agent on York iſland, where he was kindly entertained; but Mr. Smith being impatient to ſee the ſtate of the company's affairs on York iſland, proceeded directly up the river; and on the 20th landed on that place, where he found no white men, but one Mr. Holditch a factor, who was deſtitute of defence againſt the natives. They had paid him ſeveral viſits, and always took care to carry away what they liked of the company's effects. The fort was then in a ruinous condition.

The king of Sherbero hearing of Mr. Smith's arrival, came on the 21ſt with a train of at leaſt near 300 men to viſit him, bringing with him, by way of preſent, two quintals of rice, two goats, and a fine wild boar. In return, the author preſented his majeſty with two braſs pans, two pewter diſhes, a fathom of ſletias, (a thin ſort of linen cloth) and four bunches of beads, which he gladly received. The ſletias he tied immediately round his neck, with a double knot under his chin, the two ends hanging down before, over a ſurplice of Cape Morte, which was of cotton, ſtriped blue and white. Then the king pulled out of his boſom the buſhy end of a lion's tail, which he flouriſhed ſeveral times about, and made a long harangue, the meaning of which (as explained by Mr. Cummerbus) was, that the lion's tail was his majeſty's fetiſh, and that he flouriſhed it to ſhew his power, and the extent of his dominions; and, laſtly, that in his harangue he deſired ſome victuals to refreſh himſelf and his people.

The third day, after taking an inventory of the company's effects, and appointing one Allen a writer, to be aſſiſtant to Holditch, Mr. Smith ſaluted the king with five guns, and ſailed down the river. Holditch and Allen imagined on this, that the king would have returned to Sherbero; but finding themſelves miſtaken, and knowing his ſtay would be expenſive, they came to a reſolution to intreat his majeſty to return home. At this, the king fell into a great paſſion, ſwearing by his fetiſh, that the country was his, and that he only ſuffered the Engliſh to reſide on York iſland on certain conditions; that the ground, and all the goods on it belonged to him, and that he would make them ſenſible of it, as they had not paid him his cole or tribute.

To this Holditch replied, That it was not three moons ſince his cole had been paid, and therefore his majeſty could have no juſt claim on the company. This anſwer ſo enraged the king, that he ſtruck Holditch, and ſeizing Allen, dragged him to the water-ſide, and threw him into a canoe, ordering his people to carry him to Mr. Smith, and tell him, that he had ſent Allen to him, as having no buſineſs on York river; but as none would venture on the meſſage, Allen got leave to return to the fort. In the mean time, Holditch had written a letter, which he privately diſpatched by a ſingle man in a canoe, to acquaint Mr. Smith with what had happened, and that

the king was then loading his canoe out of the company's warehouſe, and unleſs prevented, would carry off all the goods.

The author, on receiving this letter, communicated it to Captains Kirkham and Ridley, giving it as his opinion, that they ought immediately to go to the aſſiſtance of Holditch and Allen; that they had nothing to fear, having a good ſhip mounted with eight guns, and therefore ought not to ſtand tamely by, and ſee the company robbed before their faces. Kirkham expreſſed his readineſs to ſecond Smith, being directed in his inſtructions from Mr. Charles to take his orders from him: but Ridley ſaid it was madneſs with ſix or eight men to attack three or four hundred. However Kirkham being reſolute, the other conſented, and accordingly they weighed, and having a ſtrong tide of flood, and the ſea breeze, ſoon reached York Iſland. By the way they charged all their guns with muſquet ball. The channel being bold, they came to anchor within twenty yards of the ſhore, on the outſide of the king's canoes, to whom and his people their arrival was no ſmall ſurpriſe; eſpecially when they ſaw Mr. Smith land, followed by the two captains, and two of the company's ſtout young fellows, all armed with cutlaſſes.

They marched to the old gate of the parade, which was then ſtanding, where ſtood about 100 of the king's negros left to guard it, all armed with guns, javelins, ſcimitars, ſtillettos, or cutlaſſes. Smith obſerved them terrified; for they opened to the right and left to let him march in. They proceeded directly to the factory houſe, where the king ſtood with his guards before the door. Theſe guards made ſome oppoſition: but Smith with Ridley forced a way through them into the houſe, where he was pleaſed to ſee a third white man with Holditch and Allen. This was one Wild, a ſoldier of the company's, who had that day come down the river. Mr. Smith then addreſſed the king (who underſtood Engliſh, and could ſpeak a little) in a ſtern manner, aſking him, Where all his canoes, loaded with the company's cam wood, were bound? The king made no reply, but Holditch and Allen poured out their complaints of the ill uſage they had met with from his majeſty. Smith aſked the king, If theſe allegations where true? but had no anſwer; on which he told him, He had given him a rope to hang himſelf, and ſeizing him by the collar of his new neckcloth, which he had ſtill on, he dragged him out of the houſe into the middle of the parade: where, before all his guards, he beat him over the back with his ſword, (an action very raſh and imprudent;) what followed was ſtill more ſo; for Mr. Smith afterwards carried him forcibly to the water-ſide and put him into a canoe, with orders to Ridley and Wild to carry him on board the ſloop, and put him in irons: but his ſubjects incenſed to ſee the king's perſon ſo uſed, oppoſed his being carried away: laying hold on the canoe, till the Engliſh, by wounding ſeveral of them, got her launched off. They even followed it into the water; and one of them had got behind Mr. Smith with a Turkiſh ſcimitar lifted to cleave his ſkull: but being ſeen by Ridley, he jumped out of the canoe time enough by a back ſtroke to diſable the fellow's hand, breaking his cutlaſs with the blow, which he replaced with the negro's ſcimitar. The natives now grown deſperate at ſeeing their king a priſoner in the canoe, guarded by Wild with a cutlaſs, and Ridley with his ſcimitar, attacked them very cloſely, ſo that Smith was ſcarcely able to defend himſelf. In the mean time the people on board the ſloop being alarmed, called on ſhore to know if they ſhould fire; but the boat lying next the veſſel, Smith would not permit it. It was now duſkiſh, and one of the natives was coming round in order to ſtab the author in the back: but Ridley gueſſing at his intention, advanced a ſtep or two forwards, and with a Portugueſe ſtilletto made a ſtroke at his face, which laid his mouth entirely open from ear to ear; on which account not being able to ſpeak, he ſet up a terrible bellowing. This ſo frightened his comrades that it gave Mr. Smith an opportunity of making a ſtrong thruſt at one who had borne hard on him, whom he ran into the thigh; on which the negro dropped his ſword, and ran off, the reſt following, whom they cloſely purſued to the woods. Ridley, in the mean time carried his royal priſoner to the ſloop; but when they had got along ſide of her, and Ridley, was buſy faſtening the canoe with a rope to the ſloop, the king ſlipping off his hat and ſurplice, unperceived ſtole into the water, and ſwam on ſhore. The captain having faſtened the canoe, ordered two of the men to come and draw his majeſty up; but they could find no more of him than his outſide caſe. Enraged at the diſappointment, they came directly on ſhore, and gave Mr. Smith the king's apparel, with an account of his eſcape. He by this time judging that this accident might be attended with unlucky conſequences, as the king had ſuch a number of armed men on the iſland, who, as well as himſelf were exaſperated at the treatment they had met with, he thought it proper to concert with the reſt of his company the proper meaſures for their ſecurity, and to prevent the enemy ſurpriſing Benſe factory. Their council was held in a large canoe, which lay under a mangrove-tree. It was there reſolved, (according to the author's propoſal) that Holditch, Allen and Wild ſhould repair to the factory houſe, and put their black people there, in a poſture of defence: that they ſhould walk all night on the parade, and if they ſaw any negro they ſhould directly fire at him; and that Mr. Smith, with the two captains, and the two Gromettas, ſhould take care of the company's effects on board the canoes, which were towed off and faſtened to the ſloop. Theſe being ſafe, and the two captains and ſlaves on board, who had directions to ſtay and fire on a proper ſignal, Mr. Smith returned on ſhore, intending to reinforce the garriſon of the factory, but by the way a ſhot from the woods grazed his left ear, and ſinged his wig. This put him into ſuch a fright that he ran to the factory, where, though ſeveral ſhots were levelled at him by the way, he got ſafe within the parade gates, at the diſtance of three furlongs from the water-ſide. Here he ventured to peep out, and could plainly ſee a large body of negros rallied under a great ſilk cotton-tree, which ſhewed him what an eminent danger he had eſcaped. Seeing the enemy in the ſame place, he called to Ridley on board the ſloop to fire two of his guns as near the root of the tree as he could; which had ſuch ſucceſs, that eleven of the negros were killed or mortally wounded. This diſperſed the enemy, who carried off the dead into the woods. Mr. Smith then gave orders to the white men to fire from the parade, if any number of men ſhould appear near the factory; and went to repoſe himſelf. Finding all things quiet when he awaked, he ventured down between two ſlaves to the water-ſide, and was rowed on board the ſloop, where he kept watch all night on the deck. About one o'clock Holditch called to him with the trumpet, to let him know he ſaw a body of negros marching up to the parade-gate, Mr. Smith ordered him to fire, which he did, and killed one and wounded another, who proved to be the company's linguiſt, Antonio. About three o'clock, Mr. Smith heard the ruſtling of a canoe near the ſhore, on which he ſent two ſlaves to ſee what the matter was; they diſcovered three men, who jumped overboard at their approach, and ſwam on ſhore amongſt the mangroves. The ſlaves brought the canoe on board, and at day-break one of the men brought Mr. Smith a lion's tail, found in the canoe they had taken, which he knew to be the king's fetiſh; whence he concluded that prince would have made his eſcape in the night, if they had not intercepted him.

Mr. Smith went on ſhore with Mr. Cummerbus, Ridley, and two others at ſun-riſe, to conſult about removing the company's effects from York Iſland. The firſt object he ſaw at entering the factory was Antonio, who lay on the floor, groaning with his

wounds. Mr. Smith, ſeeming ſurpriſed, Holditch told him, Antonio was amongſt the men he had directed him to fire at in the morning. Antonio ſaid, "It is true, maſter, I have two tongues, tongue for white man, and tongue for black man; I deſire to die; but I came that white man ſhould not kill black man, but be friends." Mr. Smith aſked, why he came in a hoſtile manner? He replied, there were ſeven; that the one who was killed, was a meſſenger from the king, with offers of peace, and the other five went back. Mr. Smith ordered his wounds to be dreſſed with ſome excellent ſalve he had brought from England, and told him he ſhould live if he had ſpoken truth.

They afterwards held a conſultation, and Smith propoſed removing the company's effects down to a town called Jamaica, in poſſeſſion of Mr. Cummerbus, as the place they were in, was no way defenſible, in caſe hoſtilities continued with the natives. Mr. Holditch objected that ſuch a removal might be prejudicial to the company, but declining to give his reaſons, it was thought proper to examine Antonio, before they determined. Holditch being named chairman, Antonio was called in, who appeared with many extravagant ſigns of ſubmiſſion and joy. By his account they learned, that the king had been impoſed on by his treaſurer, in relation to his cole, or tribute, of which, being ſenſible, he had ſent ſix of his ſubjects with Antonio, to acquaint the Engliſh with the error, and negotiate a peace; that the king had, in the mean time, ordered all his ſubjects to diſarm, and not ſhoot or offend a white man, on pain of death; he added, that his majeſty, with his attendants, were in great want of proviſions at that time.

The examination of Antonio was ſcarcely finiſhed, when one of the watch came and informed them, that a ſingle black unarmed, was coming from the woods; and that as he walked at certain diſtances, he threw himſelf proſtrate on the ground. Antonio rejoiced at this, leaping and crying, That he was a meſſenger from the king of Sherbero, who by proving the truth of what he ſaid, would be the means of preſerving his life.

The meſſenger being introduced by Mr. Cummerbus, informed them, "That the king his maſter, was ſorry he had offended the white men, by demanding of them cole which was not due, as he found by the confeſſion of his treaſurer, whom he put to death, as the cauſe of this difference. That his majeſty was deſirous to be at peace with the white men, and had ordered his ſubjects to lay down their arms, and forbid them to offend any white man on pain of death; adding, that the king and his company being ſhort of proviſions, begged their aſſiſtance, which ſhould be repaid when he returned to Sherbero." This meſſage agreeing with Antonio's information, ſaved his life; but as the envoy made no mention of the preceding embaſſy, Mr. Smith aſked him about it, and found it was as Antonio had ſaid, with this addition, that it was by Antonio's means this diſcovery concerning the king's cole was made.

The envoy being withdrawn, the king's meſſage was taken into conſideration, and it being the opinion, that it was againſt the company's general intereſt to remove their effects from York iſland, provided a ſecure peace could be made, they thought it would be proper to take advantage of the king's preſent diſtreſs to bring him to ſurer terms. It was therefore reſolved to ſend Mr. Cummerbus as their ambaſſador, to acquaint the king they were deſirous of living in good harmony with him and his ſubjects; but that as his majeſty had, by the ill counſel of his miniſters, committed hoſtilities, by attacking the Engliſh, and ſeizing the company's effects, they were determined, for their better ſecurity, to remove from York iſland to Jamaica town, in caſe his majeſty would not grant the following privileges to them: Firſt, that he would ſwear by his fetiſh, that he would not for the future viſit York iſland with more than 24 attendants, and theſe unarmed. Secondly, That if any negro or negros ſhould land on the iſland in a hoſtile manner, he or they ſhould be put to death. Thirdly, that when his majeſty's cole became due, no more than ſix perſons ſhould come to receive it. Fourthly, that thoſe Chriſtians or whites, who inhabited in Sherbero, ſhould have the free exerciſe of their religion.

When this had been reſolved upon, Mr. Cummerbus ſet out with the king's envoy for the woods, to execute his commiſſion, carrying with him the king's fetiſh, found in the canoe two days before. The king was ſitting at the foot of a ſilk cotton tree, ſurrounded by a crowd of his ſubjects. He roſe to meet Mr. Cummerbus, who, having paid his compliments, delivered his meſſage; to which the king replied, he was unwilling to be at enmity with the whites; that when he returned to Sherbero, he would hold a Syndic, and decree the privileges the Engliſh deſired; begging they would not remove from York iſland, and promiſing them ſlaves, cam wood, and ivory, to a good value.

Mr. Cummerbus being returned, and the king's anſwer conſidered by the council, it was in half an hour reſolved to remove the company's effects from York iſland to Jamaica town, for the following reaſons: Becauſe the king of Sherbero was a man whoſe word was not to be relied on; that York iſland was unfortified, whereas Jamaica town was a place of ſtrength; and their proviſions being much exhauſted, the peace offered them might, through treachery, prove their ruin; or, at leaſt, be an additional weight to the company. Beſides, the removal would at leaſt ſave the company the cole, or tribute, paid to the king.

Mr. Cummerbus returning to the king, kept him in talk till he heard the gun they had agreed on as a ſignal, when he told him, in an angry tone, he had been very impolitic in treating the Engliſh as he had done, by offering to rob the factory; that the Engliſh had already put the company's effects on board, to be carried out of his kingdom down to Jamaica town, of which the gun he had then heard, was a ſignal. The king ſeemed very uneaſy at this account, and his ſubjects began to mutiny. Mr. Cummerbus, attended by Antonio, repaired to a point of the iſland, where one of their canoes received him; but he left Antonio behind to watch the enemy. The canoe had not got far from ſhore, when ſeveral of the natives appeared in purſuit of him, and let fly ſome javelins and arrows at him. He could ſee their numbers increaſe, but was out of their reach in a little time. The next day towards evening, Antonio and ſix others, found means, in the hollow of a tree, to paddle down to Jamaica town, and informed them, that after Mr. Cummerbus's departure, a diſpute aroſe between the king and his ſubjects, that the king, to avoid their fury, ordered them to purſue Cummerbus, the ambaſſador, whom he accuſed as the cauſe of the Engliſh leaving York iſland, as appeared by their removing to his town of Jamaica, charging them to bring him dead or alive. This ſcheme had its effect, for while they were buſy in the purſuit, the king, (who dreaded their reſentment for loſing the advantages of the company's trade, might induce them to deſtroy him) took the occaſion to withdraw, and was never heard of more. The natives, who, at their return, found their king had abſconded, proceeded to chuſe a new one.

This new chief, whoſe name was Maximo, diſpatched a ſlave in a canoe to Sherbero, with orders to the caboſhirs to ſend a number of canoes directly to convey him and his people from the iſland. He then repaired to the factory, where he paſſed the night; and the canoes arriving the next morning, he embarked, after rejecting the propoſals of ſome of his nobles to burn the factory.

In the mean time, the ſloop with the company's effects arrived ſafe at Jamaica town. Here Smith went on ſhore with Cummerbus, and pitch on two good houſes, which he bought of him for the company's

uſe, at an eaſy rate. At his firſt landing, he was received by a number of people at the water-ſide, and Mr. Cummerbus ſpoke to two of his chief captains to bid the people to pay the author the higheſt compliments, which was done thus. They firſt ſurrounded him, and then two of them catching him up in their arms toſſed him on their ſhoulders and ran away with him to the town, roaring and ſqualling as if poſſeſſed; ſome leaping and ſkipping, others charging and diſcharging their muſquets as faſt as poſſible. At firſt Mr. Smith was afraid of ſome trick, but he was ſoon convinced they deſigned no ill, for they carried him thus, through every corner of the town, the women and children gathering to their doors and clapping their hands for joy. During this ceremony (which laſted about a quarter of an hour) Mr. Cummerbus had a drum beating, and a trumpet ſounding at his door, where Mr. Smith was at laſt ſet down, his bearers having ran him and themſelves out of breath; Cummerbus ſaluted him with a ſalvo of ſeven ſmall guns planted near his houſe, after which, he conducted him into a large open room, where the cloth was laid for dinner, or rather ſupper, it being paſt four o'clock. The table was ſerved with ſeveral diſhes of boiled and fryed fiſh, with roots, as yams and potatoes. The ſecond courſe of roaſt meat, was a fore-quarter of a young kid, as good as veniſon, and four large fowls. Mr. Smith never wanted plenty of victuals here, and tolerably well dreſſed. He found his ſtrong liquors himſelf, and when his ſugar was out, they drank Madeira wine.

Having ſettled the factory here, November the 29th, he ſailed, ſaluting the town with ſeven guns, which were returned in order. When they were under ſale, Captain Kirkham told Mr. Smith they had but eight bottles of Madeira left; which was no good news, a much greater quantity of liquor being neceſſary in theſe hot climates than in Europe. However, anchoring at low-water near a place where (as one of the Gromettas ſaid) ſome wild ſugar-canes grew, they ſent him and two ſlaves in the canoe, who in two hours returned with a bundle. Theſe they cut and preſſed, ſteeping them in water, till it was ſweet enough to make punch, for they had rum and limes on board. November the 30th they got out of the river's mouth, and anchored at the Plantain iſles.

Kirkham being acquainted with Meſſrs. Pearce and Sanderſon, who reſided there, took Mr. Smith on ſhore, who was in hopes of getting ſome knowledge of the country up the river, where the cam-wood grows, having hitherto had but a very imperfect account from the negros. Theſe latter told him, that when they ſailed a good way up the river Sherbero, they came into a very hilly country, where the river is very crooked, winding amongſt the hills, but not raiſed, except at two or three cateracts; that one of them is large, the river falling over the rocks, for twenty foot perpendicular, with a great noiſe; the two other falls being inconſiderable; that at the firſt they are obliged to go on ſhore and drag their canoes above the fall: that at the other, if their canoes over-ſet, the cam-wood ſinks to the bottom, and in the dry ſeaſon, they come and take it up, the channel being then quite dry. They always go up at the end of the rainy ſeaſon, which generally laſts five months, to cut wood and ſearch for teeth, returning with the next rains. They ſee many ſorts of wild beaſts, but ſeldom receive any hurt. Mr. Smith was informed, that a large branch of the river Sherbero emptied itſelf into the ſea near Cape Monte, but was not navigable for any veſſel by reaſon of the great bar near the mouth, called Shea-bar; otherwiſe it would be a ſhort cut from Sierra Leona to Cape Monte.

Sherbero River is a very plentiful place, and chiefly ſupplies Sierra Leona with freſh proviſions. Mr. Smith was diſappointed in the information he expected in the Plantain iſles; for going on ſhore with Captain Kirkham, they found Pearce and Sanderſon were gone in their ſloop, trading to the north for ſlaves, at Rio Pungo: however, they found Pearce's wife at home, like a good houſewife, with her women ſlaves about her, ſtringing beads, and counting bujis. She treated them kindly, and ſent ſome of her ſlaves to gather cocoa-nuts for them; and though ſhe had no ſugar, ſhe made them ſome good punch with fine honey, of which Kirkham, unknown to Smith, begged a pot to carry on board the ſhip.——

There is a ledge of ſunken rocks, that run off into the ſea, about a league to the weſt of theſe iſles, which may be eaſily diſcovered and avoided by the breakers. On the outſide of this ledge their ſloop lay about four miles diſtant from ſhore. It was duſkiſh when they left the iſle, and before they got a mile, it grew ſo dark, they could not ſee land, much leſs their ſloop; nor was there a ſtar to be ſeen. However, they rowed a long while up and down, uncertain which way they went. Mr. Smith at laſt grew uneaſy, and deſired Kirkham to lie by all night, for fear of running in the dark ſo far off to ſea, as to be out of ſight of land in the morning. However, fearing a tornado, they agreed to row a little longer, in hopes of ſeeing land, or the ſloop. About an hour after they found themſelves near ſome ſmall breakers, ſuppoſing them to be the ledge of rocks above-mentioned, which ſtretched from the ſhore to the ſloop. Keeping theſe to the right, they rowed along them, hoping they would guide them either to land, or to the ſloop; but when they reached the end of them, they could ſee no light from the veſſel. This was owing to Captain Kirkham's ſtaying ſo long on ſhore bargaining for a man ſlave, that night ſtole on unawares. And now they were ſuddenly ſurpriſed with the roar of ſome wild beaſt, which Mr. Smith ſuppoſed to be a lion. As the noiſe ſeemed to be near, they rowed towards it, and preſently ſaw the land, being a bright ſandy beach, with a few rocks upon it. Behind one of theſe rocks they juſt held their canoe, ſo that they were ſheltered from the ſwell of the ſea, but durſt not venture on ſhore, the noiſe of the wild beaſts increaſing.

It was now about two or three o'clock, and they had not been long there when it began to thunder and lighten, which was the fore-runner of a violent tornado. The tornado was followed by exceſſive rains. They had no ſhelter in their canoe, and durſt not ſeek any amongſt the trees, for fear of the wild beaſts. At day break it gave over. They found then that they were in Yawry-bay, two leagues to the northward of the Plantain-iſles, which they could plainly ſee, but no ſigns of their ſloop. This laſt misfortune was the more grievous, as there was no poſſibility of getting dry cloaths. In this ſad condition they agreed to row to the Banana-iſles then in ſight, four leagues diſtant, to refreſh themſelves at one Mr. Bonnerman's, and if they could hear nothing of their ſloop, to continue their voyage along ſhore in the canoe. They accordingly put off, and, though it was a long ſtretch for the poor hungry Gromettas, yet neceſſity made them row ſtoutly, till about ten o'clock, the ſea breeze met them in the teeth, and increaſed their toil and ſorrow. As it happened, neither laſted long, for ſeeing a ſail ſtanding in for land, they rowed up for her, and found ſhe was their own ſloop, which had been driven out to ſea by the violent tornado in the morning, and was returning to the Plantain iſles, to inquire about them, fearing ſome miſchief had befallen them. As ſoon as they got on board, they ran between the Bananas and Cape Shelling, on the main, and ſo proceeded to Sierra Leona, where they arrived next day, and at Benſe-iſland the day following. Here the author was ſeized with a malignant fever, which confined him to his bed till the 29th, nor was he able to get on deck till the 4th of January, which day they arrived at Cape Menſurado.

On the 18th of December, they ſailed from Sierra Leona, and on the 25th, anchored at Gallinas. Here lay the Queen Elizabeth, Captain Creighton, before mentioned, who invited Captain Livingſton to take a Chriſtmas dinner with him. A letter from one Benjamin Croſs, (third mate of the Expedition,

Captain

Captain Meltiſſe) who had been ſeized on by the natives of Cape Monte three months before, and detained there by way of repriſal for ſome of their men carried off by an Engliſh trader. Croſs hearing of the Queen Elizabeth's arrival at Gallinas, and being left by his own ſhip, wrote to Captain Creighton to redeem him; but he being bound for Sherbero, Capt. Livingſtone agreed to do it, when he got to Cape Monte, as he was bound down the coaſt after the Expedition.

The Friendſhip brig, of Briſtol, Captain Barry commander, came into the road the ſame day. He likewiſe dined on board the Queen Elizabeth; and, towards night, having drank pretty freely, inſulted the two captains, who returned proper marks of reſentment. This ſo enraged Barry, that he went on board his own ſhip and fired a ſhot at the Queen Elizabeth, which had like to have taken away her foreſtay; having alſo threatened Livingſtone to come on board and whip him. Livingſtone returned on board his own ſloop, to put himſelf in a poſture of defence; and perceiving the brig ſtanding for him, he fired ſeveral ſhot at her, which obliged her to ſheer-off.

They ſailed from Gallinas, the 26th of December, and arrived at Cape Monte on the 29th, where they ſtaid four days. In this time Livingſtone redeemed Croſs at the expence of about fifty pounds ſterling, and brought him on board the Bonetta, where he ſtaid till the 26th of January, when they arrived at St. Andrews; where there were ſeveral Engliſh and French ſhips: amongſt which was the Expedition, Captain Melteſſe, who repaid Livingſtone, and took Croſs again.

Mr. Smith obſerved at Cape Monte, that the natives who came off to trade with him, were very cautious of coming on board for fear of being trepanned; and even thoſe who ventured on board, if they ſaw any arms about the ſhip, immediately leaped into their canoe, and got on ſhore. They ſeemed to be very induſtrious, being all dreſſed in their own manufactory.——

They departed for Cape Menſurado, on the 2d of January, where they arrived the 4th, and anchored in eight fathoms water behind the Cape, about two leagues diſtant from the mouth of St. Paul's river, here they lay till noon next day. But ſeeing none of the natives came off to them, and being loth to venture on land, they weighed, ſailing as cloſe in ſhore as poſſible, in order to take a true ſurvey of the coaſt, which retarded their voyage, being obliged to anchor every night. On the 5th, they anchored before Rio Junco, in five fathoms water, and Mr. Smith went in his long-boat to take the ſoundings and bearings.

The next morning they weighed, and Mr. Smith proceeded on his ſurvey down the coaſt. January the 9th, they anchored off Rio Seſtos, where they lay ſix days in company with the Providence brigantine of London, Captain Cutler. This time Mr. Smith employed in taking ſoundings and bearings of the river. The natives here are civil enough to ſtrangers, though rather ſhy of the Engliſh. Proviſions are not dear, though very ſcarce, except rice, of which they bought a good quantity, and ſome fowls. The 14th they had a hard gale of wind at eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, which obliged them to let go their beſt-bower anchor, and lower their yards and top-maſts.

The next day, the weather being fair, they ſailed, and the 26th, they arrived at Santa Cruz, where they anchored in ſixteen fathoms. About an hour after, a canoe came off, and they aſked one of the negros, who ſpoke a little Engliſh, if they had any goats, hogs, or hens on ſhore? They were anſwered in the affirmative, which gave them hopes of finding proviſions plenty and cheap. Next day Mr. Smith and the chief mate went on ſhore, and were received by a great number of the natives at the water-ſide, who conducted them to the town: the houſes of which were built five feet from the ground. He imagined by the people's gazing at, and following them, that they were not uſed to ſee ſtrangers. However, the mate being deſirous to inquire about proviſions, went to the chief man of the town, who is a ſort of petty king, to obtain a liberty to trade; which granted and being at dinner, he deſired Mr. Carſe to ſit down and take part with him. Their dinner was boiled rice and Palm oil; and one of the lords in waiting gave Mr. Carſe a ſhell by way of ſpoon. When he had dined, the king bade him put his ſpoon in his pocket; which he did, but in coming away, the king told him he muſt not ſtir till he gave him a preſent inſtead of his ſhell. Mr. Carſe gave him ſome trifles out of his pocket, which he greedily took, and diſmiſſed him. They were diſappointed as to proviſions, here being nothing to be got but ſome Malaghetta pepper, and a few pine-apples.

On the 22d of January, they left Setra Crue, and on the 24th doubled Cape Palmas: About ſeven leagues to the north-eaſt of which, there is a town called Oſtend, where they were informed that the people of St. Andrew's, the next town, had lately made war upon Drewin and burnt it to aſhes, ſelling the men, women, and children very cheap to the ſhips then lying at St. Andrew's. On this account they paſſed by Drewin, and January the 26th arrived at St. Andrew's River, where they found the Expedition, Captain Meltiſſe, beſides ſeveral other Engliſh and French ſhips. They ſtaid no longer here, than juſt to ſurvey the Bay, and then proceeded along the reſt of the Quaqua coaſt, which extends from Cape Palmas eaſt and by north about 100 leagues to the river Mancha, by ſome called Rio Cobra, by others the Gold River. Theſe parts are not near ſo well inhabited as the Grain Coaſt.

They anchored five miles to the weſt of Axim, where is a pretty little triangular fortification, which mounts 11 guns, each angle having a battery, viz. the two to the land, three guns each, and that to the ſea, five. Here is a large, populous negro-town, built under ſhelter of the fort guns, as all the European forts on the Gold Coaſt have.

Seven or eight leagues ſouth-eaſt of Axim, is another large and beautiful fort, built by the Brandenburghers, but was in the hands of the Dutch, and well known by the name of Conny's Caſtle, as already mentioned.

They anchored near this famous caſtle in ſix fathoms on the 6th of February towards night, a Canoe came off from the Dutch chief, to acquaint them, that if they wanted wood or water, they might be ſupplied. On the 7th they departed from Frederickſburg, Dixcove, Secondi, and Commenda (at all which places Mr. Smith ſtaid to take ſurveys) On the 17th they anchored in Cape Coaſt road, where they found ſeveral ſhips. When they lay at James fort, they found a letter left by an Engliſh ſhip from Holland, directed to the Dutch general at El Mina, which they brought to Gape Coaſt; and Mr. Smith thinking this a good occaſion for him to take a view of that caſtle, went thither with Captain Livingſtone, in a large canoe, to deliver it to the Dutch general, who it ſeems, had pretty good intelligence: Mr. Smith imagining himſelf unknown and unobſerved, innocently walked out to look about him, but was immediately followed by the general, who pulled him by the ſleeve, and in an abrupt manner had him back to the great hall; where he told him, that though he came abroad to carry all Guinea in his pocket, yet he ſhould not take El Mina caſtle with him. This at firſt ſurpriſed him: but recovering a little, he told the general, he thought him a perſon of more knowledge, than to imagine a man could attempt the ſurvey of a place without proper inſtruments; and as he had none, he wondered how he ſhould ſuſpect it. On this, the general pauſed a little, and ſeeming concerned for his treatment of Mr. Smith, he deſired him and Livingſtone to ſtay and dine with him; which they conſented to. He then ſhewed Mr. Smith ſome unfiniſhed draughts left by the laſt Dutch ſurveyors, ſent by their Weſt-India company, on the

ſame

ſame ſurvey Mr. Smith had in hand. The work was well begun, but the undertakers had died, before they could finiſh the buſineſs.

They ſailed from Cape Coaſt on the 23d of March. As it was the latter end of the dry ſeaſon there. Water was ſo ſcarce in the garriſon, that they could ſpare none for their ſhips uſe: there being no water within eight miles of Cape Coaſt, but what they preſerve during the rainy ſeaſon, in a great vaulted tank or ciſtern under ground, to which all rain is conveyed from the ſops of buildings by leaden pipes. On the 24th, touching at Tantumquerri, the 27th, 1727, they anchored at Winnebah in five fathoms. Here they were ſupplied with good freſh water out of the tank of the fort, and though they drew ſeveral tons, Mr. Smith could not perceive they had lowered the water ſix inches, whence he concluded it had a ſpring in it, the bottom being an entire rock.

The 28th they ſailed from Winnebah, and on the 30th anchored at Achera in ſix fathoms. It being foul rocky ground, they bent their ſheet cable, in order to let go, in caſe their others parted. The landing-place is pretty ſafe, being ſheltered by ſome ſmall rocks which lie off before it, and break the violence of the waves. While Mr. Smith ſtaid at Achera, he, one evening, in company with an Engliſh factor, walked by the gate of the Dutch fort, where ſtood ſome of the Dutch gentlemen, who being known to the factor, he talked a while with them; but they, contrary to cuſtom, never aſked him in, or invited him while he was there. Smith ſuppoſes, they gueſſed who he was, and had orders from their general at El Mina, not to admit him, for fear of his making obſervations.

In weighing from Achera on the 3d of April, their cable parted, but they let go their ſheet anchor, which bringing their ſhip preſently up, they ſet ſail for Whidah. On the 5th, they croſſed the mouth of the great river Volta, ſo called by the Portugueſe on account of its rapidity, which is ſo violent that it cauſes a ripling, and changes the colour of the water, at leaſt eight leagues from ſhore. At day-break on the 7th, they came to anchor in Whidah road in ſeven fathoms water, and ſaluted the fort, which is more than a league from ſhore. They found lying here three French, and two Portugueſe ſhips. This is the moſt dangerous landing-place in all Guinea, the ſea breaking and rolling at ſuch a vaſt diſtance from ſhore, that no European boat can come within 200 yards of it, but muſt anchor at a good diſtance, and wait for canoes to come off, and carry the goods and paſſengers on ſhore. This the dextrous canoe men generally do with ſafety, though the contrary too often happens. Upon notice of their arrival, hammocks were ſent down to the water-ſide, and a large canoe came off to their boat to carry them on ſhore, which it did without any damage, but a little wetted. Mr. Smith was amazed, when they got amongſt the large breakers, to ſee with what dexterity the negros carried them through, and ran their canoe on the top of one of the rolling waves, a good way on ſhore. This done, they all leaped out, and dragged it up the beach ſeveral yards beyond the reach of the next returning wave.—

Ships trading here have always tents on ſhore by way of warehouſes, to ſhelter their goods. At Mr. Smith's landing, he walked up to one of the French tents, where the mate, who had the charge of the tent, being an Iriſhman, offered him a glaſs of brandy, which he accepted. There were a great many ankers piled up in the tent, which ſeemed all wet on the out-ſide; Mr. Smith aſking the reaſon, was told they had been driven on ſhore that morning from their long-boat, and that one of his men, venturing a little too far into the ſea after an anker, which was carried on ſhore, happened to be ſeized by a ſmall ſhark, whom he encountered with his knife, and diſengaged himſelf; but the return of the next wave, which ſet him a float, brought in two other ſharks, that in a moment tore him in pieces, and devoured him.

The hammocks being ready to carry them to the fort, they got in, and were taken over three rivers. Being arrived on the other ſide, they choſe to walk, the country being very pleaſant. The Engliſh and French have forts here within muſquet ſhot of each other, being compoſed of thick mud walls, moated deeply round. The Engliſh fort, which is very large, has good ſtrong batteries, mounted with 17 pieces of heavy cannon. Subordinate to this government is the factory of Jacquin, about 18 miles diſtant to the eaſt, and that of Sabi five miles diſtant to the north, which was then reduced to aſhes by the king of Dahome. His firſt conqueſt was that of Ardrah, fifty miles to the north-weſt of Sabi, in 1724. The king of Ardrah having at that time ſome dealings with Governor Baldwin at Whidah, and accounts not being ſettled, he detained one Mr. Lambe, an Engliſh factor, at Ardrah, in hopes to bring Mr. Baldwin to account. In this interval the city of Ardrah was beſieged by the king of Dahome's army, and after a ſtout reſiſtance taken, the king of Ardrah himſelf being killed at his palace gate. Mr. Lambe was brought priſoner before the king of Dahomey's general, who, ſurpriſed at ſo ſtrange a figure as a white man, ſpared his life, and carried him as a rarity to the king his maſter, who was then 200 miles within land, where never a white man had been ſeen before. —During his confinement here, he wrote a letter to Governor Tinker, who ſucceeded Mr. Baldwin at Whidah, and forwarded Mr. Smith the copy.

This prince, in the beginning of February, 1726, laying ſiege to the great town and city of Sabi, the capital of Whidah, where the king reſided, and the Engliſh, French, and Portugueſe, had factory houſes. In a few hours he ſerved the place as he had done Ardrah; only his majeſty of Whidah, who was very fat, thinking himſelf too bulky to fight, was conveyed away in a hammock by a couple of ſturdy negros, and ſo ſaved his life. The European factories were plundered, and the white men taken priſoners, and carried up to the camp at Ardrah, where the king of Dahome then was. When Governor Tinker was admitted to an audience, he told his majeſty his moleſting the whites could be of no ſervice to that country which was become his by conqueſt, but on the contrary, would deter all ſhips from trading there, and what would then become of his grandeur? The king ſaid, It was very true, and aſſured the governor he had given no ſuch orders to his general, but that he and the reſt of the Europeans were at liberty to return to their forts, as they did a few days after. But when the Engliſh and French governors were on their march through Sabi to Whidah, the Dahome general took occaſion to ſet the factory houſes on fire, before their faces, without the king's orders. This misfortune was a great grief to them, eſpecially to the French director, who had no deſign of returning to Europe, as governor Tinker had, but rather hoped to ſee Sabi rebuilt, and trade reſtored; but the general ſoon put an end to ſuch hopes. In order to train up the youth of his army to ſpare no blood for the ſake of plunder, this ſavage cauſed the boys of his camp (ſome of whom were not above ſeven or eight years old) to cut off the heads of the old and wounded ſlaves who were not fit for ſale.——

The city of Sabi was about five miles in circumference; the houſes neatly built, though only mud walls, covered with thatch, having no ſtone in all the country. However, the factories were built after the European manner, being lofty, ſpacious, and very airy, containing many neat, and convenient apartments. Each had a fine large open hall, with cool balconies, all upon the firſt floor, and underneath were the warehouſes. Theſe contributed very much not only to the comfort and ſatisfaction, but alſo to the health of the Europeans. The town was ſo exceeding populous, that it was difficult to paſs the ſtreets, though very broad. Here were daily markets ſtored with many ſorts of European, as well as African commodities, beſides variety of proviſions.

Near the European factories, there was a ſpacious place ſhaded with tall trees, under which the European merchants and captains tranſacted buſineſs as on a change. All theſe places were reduced to aſhes by the conquerors.

Before we conclude this account it may not be amiſs to bring the reader acquainted with the proceedings of the king of Dahome, as we find them related by one of our countrymen.

"At Whidah, before its diſſolution, there were two European factories. The road was a free port for all nations, and it was computed that above two thouſand negros were yearly exported from thence, and from the neighbouring places, by the Engliſh, French, Dutch, and Portugueſe, and that the people were ſo civiliſed by this commerce, that it was a pleaſure to deal with them. The greateſt inconvenience they ſuffered was, the thievery of the common ſort, who were very dexterous and bold in that practice: though if taken in the fact, they become ſlaves to the perſon robbed.

"By the cuſtom of polygamy, (it being uſual for a great man to have ſome hundreds of wives and concubines) the land was become ſo ſtocked with people, that the whole country appeared full of towns and villages, and being a very rich ſoil, and well cultivated, it looked like an entire garden. A long flouriſhing trade had likewiſe enriched the people, by which means they grew luxurious, and ſo effeminate, that though they could have brought at leaſt 100,000 men into the field, yet they were driven out of their principal city by about 200 of their enemies, and at laſt loſt their whole country to a nation they had formerly contemned.

"The king of Whidah coming to the crown about fourteen years of age, the government fell into the hands of the grandees; who, by indulging his humour, kept the power entirely to themſelves till this revolution, when he was paſt thirty years old. He was a very laſcivious prince, having ſeveral thouſands of women in his court, by whom he was ſerved in all capacities, for no other ſervants were allowed to be there. This weakneſs ended in his ruin; for the grandees purſuing each his particular intereſt, became ſo many tyrants, which divided the people; and ſo they became an eaſy prey to their common enemy, a far inland prince, the king of Dahome. This prince had formerly ſent to requeſt of the king of Whidah an open traffic to the ſea-ſide, offering to pay his uſual cuſtoms on negros exported, which being refuſed, he vowed revenge when opportunity offered. This threat was ſo much ſlighted then at Whidah, that the king told the author ſoon after, that if the king of Dahome ſhould offer to invade him, he would not uſe him when taken according to their cuſtom, which was, to cut off his head; but would keep him for a ſlave to do the vileſt offices.

"The king of Dahome being a politic and courageous prince, had in a few years conquered as far towards the ſea coaſt as the kingdom of Ardrah, the next inland country to Whidah, where he thought to have remained quiet till he had ſettled his conqueſt; but an accident ſoon called him again to arms, for the king of Ardrah having much injured his own brother, named Haſſar, the latter ſent privately to him, offering him a large ſum of money to revenge for him his brother's affronts. This the politic prince ſoon liſtened to; and the king of Ardrah diſcovering the deſign upon him, ſent news of it to Whidah, begging aſſiſtance: but the latter imprudently refuſed it, ſuffering the Ardrah army, of 50,000 men, to be totally deſerted, and the king himſelf taken: ſoon after which, he was beheaded in the conqueror's preſence, according to the barbarous cuſtom of the black princes.

"There was at that time in the country of Ardrah, a white gentleman, named Bulfinch Lambe, who having been ſent by the governor of the African company's ſettlement at Jaquin, on ſome buſineſs to the king of Ardrah, was detained by him, under pretence that the company owed him for a hundred ſlaves formerly ſent down to their factory. The king ſent word alſo to the governor, that if he did not forthwith diſcharge the debt, he would make Mr. Lambe. This the governor refuſing, Lambe remained a priſoner, (but very kindly uſed) about two years, till he was taken in this war by the king of Dahome.

"Being brought into the king's preſence (who never before had ſeen a white man) he was treated very kindly by his majeſty, who ſoon after gave him an houſhold, with many ſervants, and ſome of his near relations for wives. After he had remained thus near three years, he was at his own requeſt, diſmiſſed by this prince, with a noble preſent of gold and ſlaves, in order to go to Europe. Moreover, the inhabitants of the towns and villages he paſſed through, in his way to Jaquin, were ordered, by an expreſs meſſenger, to ſhew him all poſſible reſpect, and provide nobly for his entertainment.

This Lambe had always diſſuaded the king of Dahome from invading Whidah, as well on account of the great numbers of the inhabitants uſed to fire-arms, as of the aſſiſtance they would have from the whites reſident and trading there for their own intereſt. But after his departure, this prince finding by his ſpies, how much the great men and people were divided, and that the king was only a cypher in the government, marched againſt them. The firſt part of the country he invaded was the northernmoſt, of which a great lord, named Apparagah, was hereditary governor, who forthwith ſent to the king for aſſiſtance; but having enemies at court, who wiſhed his deſtruction, was refuſed; wherefore, after making ſome little reſiſtance, he ſubmitted to the king of Dahome, who received him very kindly. The conqueſt of Apparagah, gave the king an eaſy entrance into the heart of the country; but there he was obliged to halt at a river which runs about half a mile to the principal town of the Whidahs, called Sabi, (already mentioned) the reſidence of their king. Here the king of Dahome encamped for ſome time, not imagining he could have found ſo eaſy a paſſage and conqueſt as he met with afterwards: for the paſs of the river was of ſuch a nature, that it might have been defended againſt his whole army by 500 reſolute men. But inſtead of guarding it, theſe cowardly, luxurious people, thinking the fame of their numbers ſufficient to deter the Dahomes from attempting it, kept no guard; they only went morning and evening to the river ſide to make fetiſh, that is, to offer ſacrifice to their principal god, which was a particular harmleſs ſnake they adored and prayed to on this occaſion, to hinder their enemies from paſſing the river. This ſort of ſnake is peculiar to their country, being of a ſingular make, very big in the middle, rounding in the back like a hog, but very ſmall at the head and tail, which renders their motion very ſlow. Their colour is yellow and white, with brown ſtreaks. They are ſo harmleſs, that if they are accidentally trod on, (for it is a capital crime to do it wilfully) and bite, no bad effect enſues, which is one reaſon they give for worſhipping them. They have likewiſe an antient tradition, that they have always been delivered from any impending calamity, by imploring the ſnake's aſſiſtance. But however this fell out formerly, it now ſtood them in no ſort of ſervice; neither were the ſnakes themſelves ſpared after the conqueſt; for they being in great numbers, and a kind of domeſtic animals, the conquerors found many of them in their houſes, which they treated in this manner, holding them up by the middle, they ſaid to them, "If you are gods, ſpeak and ſave yourſelves;" which the poor ſnakes not being able to do, the Dahomes cut their heads off, ripped them open, broiled them on the coals, and ate them.

"But to return to the king of Dahome, he was ſo polite as to ſend to the Europeans, then reſiding at Whidah, to aſſure them, that if they ſtood mute, they ſhould not receive any harm, in caſe they proved con-

conquerors, but he would remove many impoſitions laid on their trade by the king of Whidah. On the contrary, if they appeared againſt him, they muſt expect his reſentment. This meſſage put them to a dilemma, for they would have gladly retired from Sabi to two mud-walled forts, belonging to the Engliſh and French African companies, which are within three miles of the ſea-ſide. However, finding this would have been reſented by the king of Whidah, as a diſcouragement to his people, they were obliged to remain in the town; never ſuſpecting the inhabitants would have ran away in ſuch a cowardly manner as they did, or that they ſhould ſhare the fate of war with them.

The paſs of the river being left without a guard to the care of the ſnakes, the king of Dahome's general ſent 200 men to ford it, which having done without oppoſition, they marched towards the town of Sabi, ſounding their muſical inſtruments. On this, the king being informed of it by the out-guards, who ran into the town, immediately fled with all his people, making no reſiſtance, and with a great number of his ſubjects went to an iſland on the ſea-coaſt, which was parted from the main land by a river; but a great many having no canoes, were drowned in attempting to ſwim to the iſlands near Popo, the next country on the ſea coaſt to the weſtward, and many thouſands, who ſheltered themſelves among the buſhes, periſhed afterwards by ſword and famine.

"The Dahome ſoldiers entering Sabi, immediately ſet fire to the palace, and then ſent their general word of their ſucceſs, who brought the whole army over the river, hardly believing his own eyes. Mr. Duport, who was then the African company's governor, told the author, that when the Dahome ſoldiers, who had never ſeen a white man before, came to his houſe, they ſtood in a maze, and would not venture near him, till he beckoned and held out his hand to them. On which they laid hold of him, and finding him a man in all reſpects like themſelves, except colour, ſoon laid aſide their reverence, and taking from him what he had valuable in his pockets, made him priſoner, with about 40 other white men, Engliſh, French, Dutch, and Portugueſe, who were ſerved in the ſame manner; amongſt them was Jeremiah Tinker, Eſq; who had but juſt before reſigned the African company's affairs to Mr. Duport, and deſigned to have embarked in a few days for England; but Signor Pereira, the Portugueſe governor, eſcaped from Sabi to the French fort. Next day after the town was taken, the white priſoners were ſent to the king of Dahome in Ardrah, about 40 miles off, hammocks being provided for them, as is uſual in this country. They were brought into the king's camp, and ſeparated according to their different nations; but for ſome days badly accommodated, till they obtained an audience of the king, who excuſed it by the common fate and hurry of war; but promiſed it ſhould be otherwiſe for the future. Accordingly, in a few days, they were ſet at liberty, without any ranſom, and ſent down to their reſpective forts, but could never recover what had been taken from them. The principal gentlemen were preſented with ſlaves, and his majeſty aſſured them, as ſoon as he had ſettled his conqueſt, he would make trade flouriſh, and have a particular regard to their intereſts."

The king of Dahome having deſtroyed Sabi, attacked and drove the king of Whidah to great diſtreſs, who retreating to ſome barren iſlands fortified the paſſes, and thus prevented his enemy's deſign of deſtroying him, who now contented himſelf with keeping poſſeſſion of the country, by an army encamped at Sabi. But, in time, this army dwindling, encouraged Captain Oſſue to ſettle himſelf near the French fort, about four miles from Sabi, truſting to its great guns for his protection. The king of Dahome having notice of this, reſolved to ſend an army to drive out Oſſue, who, upon that report retired, with many of his people, into the French fort, little thinking of the governor's treachery.

Next day, the Dahome army came down, and attacked the fort, which could not have availed much, ſince they had only ſmall arms; but it ſeems the thatch of the houſe took fire, which ſo alarmed the whites, who knew there was a great deal of gunpowder in the magazine, and no poſſibility of ſtopping the fire, that they fled to the Engliſh fort, within muſquet ſhot of their own; but the magazine blowing up, killed above one thouſand blacks, beſides wounding many. However, Captain Oſſue, and ſeveral of his people, eſcaped likewiſe to the Engliſh fort, where Governor Wilſon, the African company's agent, gave them proper protection. He alſo to prevent accidents, ordered all the houſes in the fort to be unthatched, and firing on the Dahomes, killed a great many, and kept the reſt at a proper diſtance.

The Dahomes ſheltering themſelves in the French fort, ſent thence to Governor Wilſon, to know the reaſon why he had fired upon their army; to which he replied, That ſeeing them come down ſuddenly, and fell upon his neighbours, he thought it the common cauſe of all the Europeans. The Dahomes anſwered, that when they came down, they had no deſign to attack the French fort, having no quarrel with the whites; but that the governor having taken Captain Oſſue and his people into it, contrary to his promiſe, obliged them to act as they had done. At the ſame time, they told the governor to his face, that he had firſt ſent to the king by a French ſurgeon, then reſiding with their maſter, to perſuade his majeſty to ſend an army down to deſtroy Captain Oſſue and his people, promiſing to give them no protection. This, though denied by the governor, yet gained credit by all preſent, who looked on it as a contrivance to get money from Captain Oſſue for protecting him; however, he met, (ſays the author) with a ſuitable reward afterwards, being killed by the Whidah's, whom he had ſo much injured.

As ſoon as the king of Dahome was informed of the taking of the French fort, he ſent to the governor, to let him know that he brought this misfortune on himſelf by his perfidy, for that he had no quarrel againſt his nation, therefore would order his ſoldiers to repair the fort, which had been greatly damaged by the powder; or if he did not deſire this, he might depart with all his Frenchmen, to his own country.

The king of Dahome having conquered and depopulated ſeveral countries within a few years, the king of Wimey's ſons, with other princes, whoſe fathers this country had taken in war and beheaded, fled to a far inland, potent nation, called I-os. The king of Whidah, after Oſſue's defeat, having found means of ſending meſſengers to the king. They and the others, who had fled to him for protection, obtained of him an army to march againſt the king of Dahome, whom they all looked on as a cruel deſtroyer of mankind. This nation of I-os fight all on horſeback, and living a great way to the north towards Nubia, they can only march ſouthward, but when the ſeaſon for forage and dry weather ſet in.

The king of Dahome had notice of their coming, and having formerly experienced the diſadvantage of his army, conſiſting of foot only againſt horſe, buried his riches, burnt his towns, and then fled to the woods and thickets with his people, which is a common thing among the negros for the weaker ſide to do when at war, having no fortified towns, as in Europe; ſo they that are maſters of the field, command the country far and near.

Thus the king of Dahome diſappointed the I-os; but Appragah and his people, lately conquered by the Dahomes, not moving in time, abundance of them were taken, with all Appragah's riches, and himſelf narrowly eſcaped, with only a few ſervants.

After this, the I-os marched on in queſt of the Dahomes, who ſtill ſecured themſelves by keeping in the buſhes, till the rainy ſeaſon came on; which obliged

obliged their enemies to retire, the Dahomes returned to their own country, and rebuilt their towns again.

About this time, Governor Wilſon departed from Whidah, and left in his room one Mr. Teſteſole; who had reſided there many years, but was no ways equal to him in prudence, as his unhappy fate will ſhew.

Though this perſon had been often at the king of Dahome's camp, where he was always uſed with great civility, yet now, believing the king reduced, he adviſed the Whidahs to re-enter their country. Theſe accordingly being aſſiſted by the Popos, through a view of re-eſtabliſhing their trade, raiſed together an army of 25,000 men, and encamped under the king of Whidah, near the Engliſh and French forts.

This the Dahomes knew nothing of, till the king ſent ſome traders down with ſlaves; they returned with news that greatly embarraſſed his Majeſty; for he had loſt many of his beſt ſoldiers, whilſt the I-os kept him in the buſhes, and beſides, had lately ſent an army into the country to take ſlaves; for he drives no regular trade in ſlaves, but only ſells ſuch as are taken in war. However, he extricated himſelf out of this difficulty by the following ſtratagem.

He ordered a great number of women to be armed like ſoldiers, and appointed officers to each company, with colours, drums, and umbrellas, according to the negro faſhion. Then commanding the army to march, the women ſoldiers were placed in the rear to prevent diſcovery. The ſurpriſe of the Whidahs at ſeeing ſuch numbers as they ſuppoſed, of ſoldiers, brought a panic upon the greateſt part of them, who cowardly flying, gave the Dahomes an opportunity of falling upon Oſſue's party with Popos, and ſoon obliged them to fly in their turn. The king of Whidah uſed all endeavours to ſtop his party's flight, wounded ſeveral with his lance, but all in vain, and at laſt to ſave his life, was forced to run into the dry ditch of the Engliſh fort, where, by the help of two of his ſons, he got over the wall, and ſo eſcaped the enemy's fury: but many of his people were killed and others taken.

This affair put Mr. Teſteſole under ſome difficulties, but at laſt he perſuades the king to leave the fort that night, and eſcape to his barren iſlands again: however, the king of Dahome being informed of all, and that the governor had been the occaſion of the revolt of the Whidahs, highly reſented it, and having ſurpriſed him, afterwards at the French fort, put him to death by torture.

This prince left a ſmall army at Sabi, and returning into his own country, many banditti of other nations reſorted to him; ſo that in a few months, he found his power as conſiderable as when he fled from the I-os.

Mean time it muſt be obſerved, that though his large territories of many hundred miles extent, in a fine country as any in the ſouth part of Africa, yet is he only a great king in name, for want of ſubjects; for having deſtroyed moſt of the inhabitants of the countries he conquered, his cruelty drove the reſt away to other nations. In the next place he gave his word to a great number of the former inhabitants of thoſe parts, that in caſe they would return, they ſhould enjoy their priviledges as before, on paying a certain tribute. This brought many thouſands to return into the kingdom of Ardrah. But as ſoon as they were ſettled, the Dahomes ſurpriſed them, and killed or took captive, all who could not eſcape. Hence no body will venture to truſt him, and the country in all probability, will remain a waſte during his life. By this means the trade of Whidah is almoſt ruined: for the far inland people having no markets, and the Dahomes uſing no trade but war, few negros are brought down to be ſold to the Europeans.

After Mr. Teſteſole's unfortunate fate, two white men running away from the Engliſh fort, informed the king that he might eaſily take it, there being only four whites left in the place. But he replied, He had no quarrel with the Engliſh nation; for that what had been done to the late governor, he had brought on himſelf by his imprudence; and he hoped the African company would ſend a fitter perſon to command the fort for the future.

Some time after this, conſidering he ſhould certainly be invaded by the I-os, as ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted, he ſent large preſents, together with one of his handſomeſt daughters, to their king. His ambaſſadors preſenting the great men at court with large pieces of coral (which the I-os eſteem above all things) obtained an advantageous peace: for confirmation of which, the king of I-os ſent a little while after, one of his daughters to the king of Dahome for a wife, who was received with great joy by the king and his people.

The king of Dahome having concluded a peace, as above related, with the I-os, being a reſtleſs ambitious man, marched far inland againſt a nation called the Yahus; who defended themſelves amongſt their woods and mountains till the rainy ſeaſon came on; the king's army mutinied, deſiring to go home: on which he put ſome of the principal officers to death, only for mentioning it to him. Upon this, ſome of his captains deſerted him, with many ſoldiers, amongſt whom was one of his ſons, who fled with 4000 men to the king of Wimey.

Finding himſelf in theſe circumſtances, he reſolved to make one grand effort on the Yahus; in which, though he prevailed, yet they made a brave retreat, where his wearied ſoldiers could not purſue them. So that the king returned ſoon after to his own country, with the loſs of moſt of his forces and his reputation.

Upon this, the people of Jaquin began to take heart, hoping he might at laſt be deſtroyed. There reſided at this place a Dutch gentleman, called Mynheer Hertog, who carried on a conſiderable trade into ſeveral diſtant countries, by means of a river that runs from Jaquin into the bay of Banin. This perſon, in conjunction with the king of Jaquin, ſtirred up the king Wimey, and ſeveral other princes, againſt the king of Dahome, and ſupplied them with ammunition: of all which he being informed, reſolved to be revenged. But the better to deceive them, gave out he intended a ſecond expedition within land; and accordingly ordered his general to march towards the inland parts; but in the night the army wheeled about, and with great expedition came by the way of Whidah to Jaquin, without being diſcovered, (though there were about 15,000 of them) till they were juſt entering the town.

The king of Jaquin, with many of his principal people, eſcaped in canoes (which were always kept ready for ſuch occaſions) to an iſland he had fortified in the middle of the river towards Appah, ten leagues to the eaſt; but he loſt all his riches, and his mother was taken. Mynheer Hertog alſo fled to Appah, but loſt every thing in the factory, then full of European goods to a very great value. However, the conquerors not ſatisfied with the rich plunder of the town, according to their barbarous cuſtom, made a terrible carnage of the people, and to complete the deſtruction of the country, ſet all the towns and villages on fire.

Several European gentlemen and factors were made priſoners on this occaſion, and, among the reſt, one Captain Robert Moor, who commanded the Squirrel galley. This gentleman (as well as the reſt in his factory) was obliged to walk on foot with the conquerors to Ardrah. The French and Portugueſe accompanied them, and were brought into the preſence of the king of Dahome, to whom Mr. Moor could not help making ſome remonſtrances (though evidently at the hazard of his life) on the ill uſage he had received at the hands of his majeſty's troops, and in particular remarked that he had no victuals; but this was ſoon remedied by the king's breaking up a caſk of beef with a hatchet, and ſupplying their neceſſities; though the Portugueſe thought nothing leſs than that the conqueror was about to execute them all with his own hands.

Having

Having refreſhed them, they were diſtributed according to their nations, under the care of ſeveral great men. Captain More and his people were delivered to Allegi, the Engliſh caboſhir, that is the perſon appointed to trade with them in particular, who treated them with great civility, but was ſeized and beheaded a few days after, though they could never learn the cauſe. More, and the other Europeans, continued a good while priſoners, till Mr. Dean, the African company's governor at Whidah, came to Ardrah, and obtained their freedom; thereupon a guard was ordered to ſee the captain ſafe down to Jaquin, but he choſe to go by the way of Whidah, from whence he took his paſſage to Jaquin on board a French veſſel.

It is to be obſerved, that the king of Dahome was by this time grown very jealous of the Europeans, and ſeemed to diſapprove their method of trading for ſlaves, which appeared by an extraordinary ſort of declaration he made as an overture for re-eſtabliſhing it, but which could hardly be underſtood as ſuch by the Engliſh, to whom it was addreſſed; namely, "That the natives might and would ſell themſelves to the Engliſh—*Condition of not being carried off.*"—A condition which he well knew would never be accepted.

Moſt ſenſible and humane men have conſidered the ſlave trade as a diſgrace to humanity in general, and to Chriſtianity in particular. The account given of it by ſuch as have been concerned in it, with their defence of the practice, may not be here improperly introduced to the conſideration of the reader.

Firſt, it is obſerved, that the negroes, by a long cuſtom, make ſlaves of all their captives taken in war, who were put to death before the ſlave trade was eſtabliſhed.—Moſt crimes are puniſhed by fines, which they, who cannot, or will not pay, are made ſlaves; but the latter claſs are redeemable by their friends, and conſequently ſeldom ſold to Europeans. Though the people on the ſea coaſt never ſell their children, but when they find themſelves reduced to great extremities; yet thoſe of the inland parts often adopt this practice, without being under ſuch neceſſity.

From what has been obſerved, they ſay, It appears that a number of uſeful lives are ſaved. They aſſert, that negros live much better than in their own country; are of great uſe if carried to the ſugar iſlands, where they can cultivate the lands better than the white people, and that is doing a ſervice to the negro nations to tranſport theſe ſlaves ſo as that they may not return again to their native country, whereas, on the contrary, they are much wanted by the European nations.

The concluding argument made uſe of by thoſe who are concerned in this ſavage trade for man's fleſh, is, That the advantages far outway the inconveniences, and at the worſt it will be found like all ſublunary things, a mixture of good and evil.

Yet it appears that the negros themſelves, who ought to be the beſt judges of their own happineſs, are of a different opinion. Moſt of the ſlaves are hardly uſed, and many, even where that is not the caſe, prefer death to that ſlavery, which is thus gloſſed over, with the ſpecious name of convenience.

Hence ariſe ſo many mutinies, hence the whole crews of European veſſels are ſo often cut off by the riſing of the negros, who hazard every thing to regain the liberty which they are deprived of by the moſt cruel of all policy.

According to the account of thoſe who declared in favour of this trade, theſe unhappy wretches are generally coupled together with irons, and often beat and buffetted about by the ſailors, and even uſed in ſuch a manner, that ſome of them conceive the Europeans to be canibals, who delight firſt in torturing them, and afterwards in feaſting upon their fleſh. They are kept confined below decks, except at ſuch times as it is neceſſary (to prevent their ſickening, dying, and infecting the ſhip's company) to come upon deck for the air in fair weather. They are fed indeed twice a-day, but often ſcantily, and always on the worſt of viands, ſuch as horſe-beans, where they are to be had, and the like coarſe fare. If we follow theſe poor creatures to the Weſt Indies, ſhall we ſee them better treated? Certainly not. Some few excepted, they are put to the hardeſt of labour, go naked in the fields, are driven about like dogs, and have only the force of cuſtom to reconcile them to their wretched ſituation. When this is conſidered, we may fairly infer that the ſlave-trade is the moſt unjuſtifiable traffic ever carried on by Chriſtians in any part of the world.

We ſhall couclude here, taking our leave of the Coaſt of Guinea, with a ſummary deſcription of thoſe parts of it, which have ſo often occurred in this work.

Guinea is a large extent of coaſt, reaching from the river Senaga, to Cape Lope Gonſalvo, and even as far as Cape Negrae. The name, which is unknown to the natives, and in uſe only with Europeans, was firſt impoſed by the Portugueſe; probably from the country of Ghenehoa, mentioned by Leo and Marmol, which firſt occurred on the ſouth ſide of the Senaga.

It is commonly divided into two parts, the North and South Guinea; the firſt extending from the Senaga to Sierra Leona; the latter from one of the capes above-mentioned.

South Guinea, which we come now to treat of, is ſubdivided into ſix parts, or coaſts, the Malaghetta or Grain Coaſt, the Ivory Coaſt, the Gold Coaſt. There are other diviſions of it, according to the fancy of navigators and geographers, but this ſeems the moſt juſt and natural.

The Malaghetta, the Pepper, or the Grain Coaſt, taken in its largeſt ſenſe, extends from Sierra Leona to Growa, two leagues eaſt of Cape das Palmas, the ſpace of 160 leagues. Others make it commence at Cape Monte, 53 leagues to the eaſtward of Sierra Leona; and ſome confine it between the river Seſtro and Growa, which reduces its extent to 55 leagues.

The coaſt from Tagrin, to the iſland of Sherbero, is encompaſſed by the Baixos de S. Anna, or Shoals of St. Anne, and runs ſouth-eaſt by ſouth, forming the large Angra, or Bay of St. Anne, which reaches almoſt to Rio de Gamboas. On the north ſide of this bay are the iſlands Bravas, or Bananas; the largeſt of them is the higheſt land, and affords wood, water and proviſions.

The five iſlands, called Sombreros, lie on the ſouth of the bay, producing plenty of oranges, lemons, piniento del cola, or rabo, a long pepper, wild wine-palms, and ſugar-canes; bananas, bees-wax, and cam wood; beſides angelim, a timber fit for building ſhips. The natives make ſoap with palm-oil, and palm-tree aſhes, which is ſo highly valued by the Portugueſe in theſe parts, that they will not ſuffer it to be exported to Portugal, leſt it ſhould undo the ſoap-boilers of that kingdom. The natives pretend there are gold and iron mines in their little iſland, and that they were ſeparated from the continent by an earthquake.

The depth of the bay is from five to eight fathoms mud. Four rivers run into it, whoſe banks are lined with man-grove trees, loaded with oyſters. The Rio Banquo is navigable for large ſhips; the reſt are not much frequented, the adjacent countries being overgrown with thick foreſts, and abounding with wild beaſts.

The Rio Gamboas is two leagues to the ſouth of the Sombreros, having a bar at the mouth. The town of Coucho lies 15 leagues up it, whither ſloops trade. From this river, to the Rio Sherbero, the coaſt lies ſouth-eaſt. It is formed by the iſland Sherbero and the continent, very large at the entrance. At the weſt end of Sherbero lie the three iſles of Tota, in a line. They are low and flat, with rocks on the north-eaſt ſide. Their produce is much the ſame as on the main land. They are called Plantain Iſlands by the Engliſh, from that plant.

The iſland Sherbero, as the Engliſh call it, is named by the Portugueſe, Farutha, or Furelloens; by the Dutch, St. Anne, or Maſta Quoja; and by the French, Crebera. It extends eaſt ſouth-eaſt, about 10 leagues, and is all over flat land. The country abounds in rice, maiſe, as alſo in bananas, potatoes, Indian figs, ananas, citrons, oranges, water-mellons, and the fruit cola. The inſulars are pagans, and uſe circumciſion.

The river Sherbero, called by ſome Madre Bomba, by others Rio Selboba, and Rio das Palmas, is very large, and riſing far within land, deſcends to the ſea through the country of Bulm Monu, a land full of moraſſes. It is navigable for ſhips of burden twenty leagues upwards, to the town of Bagas, or Baga, where the Engliſh have a factory, belonging to Bulam, and ſloops of 70 or 80 tons may aſcend 30 miles above Kedham, 250 miles from its mouth; but the channel grows narrower the higher one goes up, and in many places is almoſt choaked up with buſhes, which grow along the ſides; beſides, in April and May, the fit time for getting the cam-wood, of which there is great plenty, it has ſcarcely nine or ten feet water; but in Auguſt and September, after the rains, its depth is ſixteen or ſeventeen feet. The navigation is interrupted alſo by frequent tornadoes, at whoſe approach the ſloops muſt caſt anchor, or be faſtened to the trees growing along the ſhores, which are well inhabited by very civil people.

This river abounds with crocodiles, and water elephants, a wild and dangerous animal.

The lands of Silm Monu, are fifteen or ſixteen leagues farther, and beyond Silm, is Quuna Mora, a populous town, but the inhabitants not the beſt natured. It ſtands behind a great wood, not to be ſeen from the ſhips; is very large, but the houſes mean and low, excepting one in the middle of the town, where the principal negros hold their aſſemblies.

The adjacent country is very populous, the natives like thoſe of Sherbero, commonly wear a frock of ſtriped calico, having all the ſame cuſtoms and manners. The ſoil likewiſe produces the ſame kind of plants and animals with that iſland. The cam-wood here is a much better kind of red wood for dying than Braſil, and reckoned the beſt in all Guinea. It will ſerve ſeven times for uſe.

The Sherbero receives near the ſea, the Rio Torro at north-weſt, and Rio de St. Anna at ſouth-eaſt, both large rivers. The Torro overflows twice a year, but being ſhallow, and choked up with little iſlands, is navigable only for ſmall barks. From the ſouth point of the Sherbero river, to that of Galinhas, the coaſt ſtretches eaſt ſouth-eaſt, eleven leagues, flat, low, ſwampy, and marſhy, all covered with trees, and inhabited.

Rio de Galinhas, called by the natives Naqualabari, riſes in the lands of Hondo, and runs through the countries of Bulm Monu, and Quilliga Monu, to the ſea, having two iſlands in its mouth. It takes its Portugueſe name from the plenty of poultry. The Europeans bring from hence dry hides, and elephants teeth, brought down the river from Hondo, and Carudoba Monu, countries continually at war and the ſubjects to the king of Quoja, who reſides at Cape Monte. The tide runs very high to north-eaſt, along the coaſt, and the wind blows moſtly freſh from the north-weſt. The winter ſeaſon here is from May to October.

Rio Maguiba, the next river, denies entrance to large ſhips by a bar. The Portugueſe, (who call it Rio Nunez, and Nueva) traded to it formerly, as did the French: but at preſent, it is frequented moſt by the Engliſh, for elephants teeth, ſailing up to the village Dova Ruja. Higher up it is choaked with rocks and falls of water.

The coaſt from Rio Galinhas to Cape Monte, is low and flat, ſtocked with villages. The river Mavah, or Maffah, deſcends from the mountains, 30 leagues inland, near the Galvi negros, and running into a large and deep channel through the Danwate country, about a league on the north ſide of Cape Monte, is ſo choked with ſands, that it never enters the ſea above once a year, at the time of its overflowing.

This river before the conqueſt of Folgas, was inhabited by the Puy Monu negros, whoſe king Flamburre, commonly reſided at the village Jog-Wonga, on the weſt ſide, about a league and a half from the ſea: after he had quitted the town of Tomwi, at Cape Monte, to the Quojas. The king of the Folgas dwells on an iſland in the Lake of Plizoje, the better to avoid the inſults of the Dogas. The town Tochu lies oppoſite to Jog-Wonga, where Flamburre reſided for a time, when threatened to be attacked by the Folgas. Two leagues farther up the river, on the ſame ſide, is the village Tiji, where formerly lived Tiji, the brother of Flamburre. Two leagues higher on the ſouth-ſide, is Cammagoja, and a league behind it, Jerbofaja, over againſt which, the king had another village, from whence there is a road through the woods to Jera Balliſa, three leagues diſtant towards the ſea, belonging to Flamburre's eldeſt ſon.

The coaſt between Rio Maffah and Rio Maguibah, is full of villages and hamlets, where the negros make abundance of ſalt.

Cape Monte, called by the natives Waſh King, is diſcovered at a good diſtance from ſea, ſhewing like an iſland in form of a ſaddle, being a very high mountain, appearing like a lofty iſland.

[At three leagues diſtance, one meets with thirty fathoms water, black clayey bottom. The beſt anchorage is about three quarters of a mile north-weſt of the point, in eight or twelve fathoms, where veſſels may ride ſafe from the wind; but as the ſea is always rough on this coaſt, the ſailors are always obliged to wade, and carry the officers and goods on ſhore; the negro canoes, if not well manned, being apt to over-ſet.]

The land which is low, produces a ſmall quantity of yams, as alſo potatoes, and abundance of rice. The fruits here, as well as on the Gold Coaſt, are, panguavers, bananas, pine apples, &c. They are but indifferently ſtocked with cattle, having neither cows nor hogs, and but a few ſheep. Nor have they much poultry, but what they have is good. Here are numbers of elephants, tygers, harts, buffalos and other wild beaſts, and the river abounds with fiſh, which they catch with nets.

The courſe of Cape Monte river lies north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, and it waters a very fertile country. At a hundred paces from the ſea, is a plain of ſeveral leagues extent, covered with oxen, cows, ſheep, goats and hogs, amongſt which the deer, roebucks, and antelopes graze peaceably. This plain is full of villages, abounding with poultry; ſuch as common fowls, pintadoes, or Guinea-hens, geeſe and ducks, which increaſe wonderfully. Millet, rice, maiſe, pulſe, are alſo equally plentiful: ſo is fiſh. The palma wine is excellent, and the air very temperate, from the north winds, and innumerable rivers of pure water, which run through the country.

The natives of Cape Monte are generally agreeable, mild, ſociable, faithful, diſintereſted, and very induſtrious. Their chief employments are, planting of rice, and boiling of ſalt, both which they are obliged to do for the king, whoſe ſlaves they are. They ſeldom are at war with their neighbours, chuſing rather, if any difference happens, to end the matter amicably. Each man marries as many wives as he can maintain, and as the women here work hard, their keeping is not very expenſive. They are very contented, and ſeem not much concerned at what liberties they take with other men. All acts of government are determined by the votes of their caboſhirs, who are the principal of the leading men at all towns, their experience or courage, having given them that ſuperiority.

The dreſs common to both ſexes here is the tomi, and the plaiting or braiding of their wool. The tomi

the women tie about their hips, and it falls half way down their thigh all round; but the men bring it under their twiſt, and faſten it juſt upon the girdling part behind. Both take great delight in twiſting the wool of their heads into ringlets with gold or ſtones, and beſtow a great deal of time and genius in it.

The natives of Cape Monte are cleanlier in their way of eating than the reſt of theſe nations. They uſe bowls made of a hard wood, and baſons of pewter or copper tinned, which they keep very neat: they roaſt their meat on wooden ſpits, but have forgot what the French taught them, to turn it about, for they firſt roaſt one ſide, and then the other.

It is certain the Normans had formerly a trade here, and the Rouen company, in 1626, a ſettlement; though it is at preſent uncertain how, or when they abandoned it. When the India company, in 1666, and 1669, ſent ſhips here, the king, then reigning here, received the French commander with great kindneſs, and converſing with him in French, granted him a free trade. This prince was a tall, venerable, old man of ſixty, called Fallam Boure.

The Engliſh and Dutch, and others who trade here, buy many fine mats and pagnes made of graſs, which are very beautiful, and of a bright yellow. Alſo great quantities of ivory of the ſame goodneſs as that of Sierra Leona. The teeth which theſe people bring from the north, are not ſo white, but much larger, ſome weighing 200 pounds weight. The Europeans buy here the ſkins of lions, panthers, tygers, and other wild beaſts, and about 1500 ſlaves every year. Theſe laſt are brought by the Mandingo merchants from the inland parts of Africa, for only criminals are ſold here, and for the king's profit.

Here is alſo ſome gold to be had, which is probably brought down by the ſame merchants; ſo that it would be worth while to have a factory here. The foreſts yield plenty of woods fit for dying, eſpecially in red. This wood the negros cut, and bring it to the ſhore in blocks of four or five feet long. The Engliſh, who buy a great deal of it, prefer it to Braſil wood, which was formerly ſo much eſteemed.

Cape Menſurado, is about ſixteen leagues diſtant from Cape Monte, there being a high land between them. This mountain, which is not near ſo high as the latter, is round and large, being almoſt ſurrounded by water. The ſide fronting the ſea, is ſteep and high, that to the land, more gentle and acceſſible. The top is level, and the ground much better than might be expected at ſuch a place. On the eaſt is a bay of conſiderable extent, terminated by a nigh land, covered with large trees. On the weſt ſide is another large bay formed by the river, whoſe mouth is in the middle of it. Theſe two bays are ſeparated by a long narrow neck of land. The cape lies in ſix degrees nine minutes of north latitude. That part which projects moſt to the ſea, runs ſouth-eaſt. A river ſmaller than the Menſurado, which comes from the eaſt, falls into the weſtern bay, and is navigable at high ſea for twelve or fourteen leagues. The water of it is always brackiſh, but it abounds with fiſh.

The Portugueſe call the river Menſurado, Rio Duro, on account of the cruelties of the natives when they maſſacred ſome Frenchman there. It runs firſt north-weſt for eighteen or twenty leagues, after which, it makes a turn to the north-eaſt. Its courſe after this is unknown.

The tide flows up the river Menſurado twenty leagues at the ſeaſon of the equinoxes, and eight or nine the reſt of the year. They obſerve, in the rainy months, the water is ſalt only about three leagues above the king's iſle, becauſe of the freſhneſs of the land floods. The river is very pleaſant, in ſome places as broad as the Thames at London; and fringed on each ſide with thick groves of mangrove-trees, which are always green.

Though it is uncertain how far the dominions of the king of Menſurado extends inland to the north and north-eaſt; it may be preſumed they are not ſmall, from the number of forces he can raiſe on particular occaſions. His limits to the eaſt are the Rio Juneo, twenty leagues from Cape Menſurado; and to the weſt, a ſmall river, half way between that and Cape Monte.

All this country is very fertile, gold is to be had here, but it is unknown where they get it, or whether it is the produce of the ſoil. They have as good red wood here as at Cape Monte, and ſeveral kinds of wood proper for being wrought in cabinet work. Sugar canes, indigo, and cotton, thrive here without cultivation. Their tobacco, (of the management of which, the negros are wholly ignorant) would be excellent, if it were carefully manufactured. The lions and tygers do not hinder their flocks from increaſing prodigiouſly; and their trees are loaded with fruit, in ſpight of the devaſtations of the monkeys: in a word, the country is rich, the commerce advantageous, and might be greatly augmented by thoſe who could cultivate the friendſhip of the people, for it would be in vain to think of making a ſettlement by force.

The natives are of a good ſtature, ſtrong, and well proportioned, have a martial air, and are very brave, as their neighbours have experienced, as well as the Europeans, who have ventured to provoke them. They are ſenſible people, who think juſtly, expreſs themſelves well, and underſtand their own intereſts as well as their ancient friends the Normans.

Their dreſs, cattle and fruits, are like thoſe of Cape Monte. The caboſhirs wear a ſtriped frock, reaching to the knees, and if they can get an old hat they are very proud of it. Elſe they wear a party-coloured ozier-bag upon their heads.

Their arms are lances about five feet long, with pointed iron-heads; ſmall bows, and arrows as ſlender as a reed, moſt of which were always poiſoned with ſome black ingredients, which, if it touches the blood kills inevitably, if the part affected be not immediately cut off: their arrows have no iron heads or feathers, neither do they ever ſhoot them point-blank, but at random, but notwithſtanding by this method they will come very near the mark they aim at. They carry ſquare targets of thin board, about four foot long, and two broad, with conveniencies on the inſide to hang them on the left arms, but ſo as their hand is free to manage their bow.

The country is very populous. The villages are large, and ſwarm with children, becauſe the women are very fruitful, and polygamy is allowed; beſides none of the natives (criminals excepted) are ſold for ſlaves.

In the midſt of each village, is a ſort of ſtage raiſed like a market hall, about ſix foot above the ground, to which you aſcend by a ladder. It is called the calde, or place of converſation. The floor and roof are like that of their houſes: it is open on all ſides. Here they meet to tranſact all their buſineſs: ſo that it is the exchange of this country, or rather a kind of negro coffee-houſe; the indolent go there to ſmoak and chat, the politicians to hear news. The rich have their mats carried there by their ſlaves to ſit down; others carry their own; ſome hire them from the king's officers appointed to take care of the place.

Their houſes are very neat, and their kitchen even with the ground; open on the ſide freeſt from wind, and walled on the other three ſides, with ſtakes covered with red clay, which binds well, though not mixed with lime, and laſts long. Their bed-chambers are raiſed three feet from the ground, to avoid the inconvenience of the dews. Theſe houſes reſemble pretty much our mountebanks ſtages in Europe.—The front is open, and the floor has a jutting out of five or ſix feet broad, where the negros, laid on mats, paſs the day with their wives and family. The walls of theſe chambers are of red clay near a foot thick. The roofs, raiſed like a tent, is covered with reeds or palm leaves, ſo cloſe interwoven as to admit neither ſun nor rain. To the right and left are two eſtrades

or benches, one foot high and four broad; on theſe are mats a foot thick, which are covered with cotton cloth, or calico, and ſurrounded with curtains of the ſame. At the upper end of this room, they place their trunks or boxes, and their arms upon the walls.

In the middle of their apartments, they raiſe a ſquare elevation of about ſix inches high, and two feet on each ſide, on which they keep a conſtant fire night and day; in the day to ſmoke, and in the night to drive away the flies, and defend themſelves from the cold and moiſtneſs of the air. There are as many chambers as the perſon has wives, with whom he lies by turns, and they are proportioned in bigneſs to the number of each family. The wife in whoſe chamber the huſband is to paſs the night, has her lord's ſupper ready. They have likewiſe places in which they ſtore their proviſions.

Their religion is a confuſed idolatry, often changing their divinities, or fetiſhes. Their adoration of the ſun is more fixed and conſtant, to whom they offer ſacrifices of palm-wines, fruits and animals. Formerly they offered human victims; but this cuſtom has ceaſed ſince they found the profit of ſelling their priſoners of war to foreigners.

Between Cape Menſurado and the river of Seſtos, there are ſeveral rivers; the firſt is that of Junco, (called alſo Rio del Punte) in five degrees, 50 minutes north latitude. The mouth or entry, lies ſouth ſouth-eaſt. It is known by three trees, on a ſmall riſing ground oppoſite three mountains, a great way in land. The mouth is broad, ſome ſay four or five hundred paces, but has little water. It is planted with trees on each ſide, which form an agreeable proſpect. All the ſhore is bordered with orange, citron, and palm-trees. The coaſters who trade here, uſually anchor at the mouth of the river, where diſcharging a gun, the negros light a fire on the point when they have goods to ſell, and this ſerves as the ſignal for trading.——

The country between Sierra Leona and the river Seſtos, is divided into ſeveral territories, particularly thoſe of Bulm, Silm, Quilliga, Hondo, Galas, Caradabo, Galivey, Folgias, Quoja, and ſeveral others. To each of theſe names is commonly added, either Monow, or Bercoma; Monu, or Monow, ſignifying people, Bercoma land, in their language.

Forty miles to the ſouth-eaſt lies Silm, where there are ſeveral towns ſeated on the river; and amongſt them the city of Quanamora, containing 5000 families, a treacherous people. The Sherbero, which is the chief river in the country, divides towards the mouth, into two branches: one running weſtward, the inhabitants name Torro; the other deſcending ſouth, the Portugueſe call Rio de S. Anna. Terro twice or thrice a year has but little water, and by reaſon of many iſlands in its channel, is navigable only for boats.

The country of Quilliga lies near the river Maqualbary, by the Portugueſe, Galinhas, (or of Hens) upon which, about 230 miles, dwell the Caradabo Monow. It riſes in the country of Hondo, more to the north. All theſe countries are ſubject to the king of Quoja.

The country inward from Wabcongo, or Cape Monte is called Quoja. It is inhabited by two diſtinct people, the Vey-Bercoma, and Quoja-Bercoma, which were both ſubdued by the Karows. The Vey-Bercoma are the remains of the ancient inhabitants of the river Maffah and Cape Monte, once a populous and warlike nation, extending as far as the country of Monow, but, at preſent, reduced to a handful of men.

The territory of Hondo is ſomewhat to the north of Galavey. It is divided into four principalities, Maſſillagh, Dedowach, Dangurro, and Dandi, the chiefs whereof are named by the king of Quoja, each having equal authority, and paying a yearly acknowledgment to him, by their envoys, in preſents of braſs kettles, baſons, qua-qua cloths, red cloth, and ſalt.

The Conde Quojas, that is, High Quojas, are neighbours to the Hondo Monow, and have a language different from that of the Quojas. The Folgias, and Monow countries are watered by the rivers Junk and Arveredo, which ſeparate the Folgias from the Karow Monow, although the king of Karow reſides near the country of Folgias, ever ſince their union, which with their conqueſt over the natives, occaſioned a great change.

The Folgias, as well as the Bulm and Silm, call the ſubjects of this emperor, Mendi, that is, Lord, the Quojas, Mendi-Monow, the People of the Land. This is to honour themſeves the more, as being his tributaries. But each of theſe petty kings has an abſolute authority in his own diſtricts, and can make war or peace without the conſent of the emperor, or any other of whom they hold.

The Quabi-Monows live about the river Seſtos. They were formerly ſubdued by Flenſire, king of the Folgias, but have ſince recovered their former condition, depending ſolely on the Monow emperor.

The vegetables, animals, &c. in this part, particularly the country of the Quojas, are much the ſame, as thoſe in the former diviſions of the coaſt.

Here is found the ſilla vandoch; it is the ſize of a hart, of a yellowiſh colour, blended with white ſtreaks; the horns about twelve inches long, with each a hole, through which the animal breathes. It is fleeter than a deer.

They have porcupines both great and ſmall. The quaggelo, is an amphibious animal, about ſix feet long, ſhaped and covered with hard, impenetrable ſcales, much like a crocodile. It defends itſelf from other beaſts, by erecting its ſcales, which are pointed at the end. It has a broad tongue, with which it catches piſmires.

They have four ſorts of eagles; and there are abundance of blue parrots, with red tails. Here is a little bird of the wood-pecker kind, about the ſize of a ſparrow, which by degrees makes a hole with its bill in the trunks of trees, there to neſtle and breed young ones.

The Jouwa, which is the ſize of a lark, generally lays its eggs in beaten paths and roads. The blacks believe, whoever breaks them, their children will ſoon die. They eat of all the birds abovementioned, except this laſt.

There is a great variety of fiſh along this coaſt. One has been ſeen of a monſtrous form on this ſide of Cape Monte. It was about eight feet long from head to tail, about a foot and a half in diameter, and four and a half in circumference. It had no ſcales, the ſkin was thick, hard, and rough, like that of the ſhark: it was taken with a large hook with an iron chain. When they got him near the ſhip, they flung a rope with a running-knot, round his tail, by which they drew him up, but took care to kill him before they brought him on board. The throat was large, armed with twelve teeth, ſix above, and ſix below, thick and ſharp, about two inches long; his ſnout extended half a foot beyond his under-jaw, and was a bone, covered with the ſame ſkin as his body, of a greeniſh colour, though the throat and lips were of a bright red. His eyes were large, red, and ſparkled like fire. Inſtead of gills, he had five gaſhes, or inciſions, on each ſide the body, which he opened and ſhut at pleaſure, and juſt beyond them, an extremely ſtrong fin, of a middle ſize. He had two others, leſs, beneath his belly, and one larger on his back. His tail was ſcolloped, thick, large, and ſtrong, and covered with the ſame ſkin. A ſhark approaching him while he was in the nooſe, he received a ſtroke with his tail, which ſent him away in haſte. Near the Cape Menſurado, the ſea produces alſo ſome fiſhes, as extraordinary as that above deſcribed.——

The blacks in general of both ſexes, are very luxurious, which occaſions diſeaſes, and ſhortens their lives. They are extremely fond of ſtrong liquors, eſpecially brandy, when given them, but will ſeldom buy any. The women uſe certain liquors made of herbs

herbs and barks to excite vicious inclinations. The natives, however, in thoſe parts, are generally well tempered, civil, and tractable, not apt to ſhed human blood, unleſs much provoked.

They live in great union and friendſhip, being ready to aſſiſt each other with cloathing or proviſions upon moſt occaſions; and often making preſents of ſuch things, and ſometimes ſlaves, or other goods of value. If a perſon dies and leaves not enough to bury him, his friends defray the charges. Altough they are not addicted to ſtealing from one another, they make no ſcruple to take whatever they can from thoſe who are ſtrangers.

It has been already noticed that they have many wives. The firſt wife called Makilmah, has a ſuperiority over the reſt. Their marriage ceremony is the ſame as in other parts; only it muſt be obſerved, that the bridegroom muſt make his bride three diſtinct preſents. Firſt, the foglo, or cola, conſiſts of a coral, or bugles; ſecondly, the jaſing, a few pagnes, or cloths; thirdly, the leſing, a trunk to put up her things; elſe a braſs kettle, a baſon, or, according to her quality, a ſlave. The bride's father ſends a preſent of one or two ſlaves, two frocks, a quiver full of arrows, a ſcimitar and belt, with three or four baſkets of rice. The huſband maintains the boys, the woman the girls. They ſcruple not to marry women who have loſt their virginity, provided they have good portions. Theſe blacks, as well as thoſe of Gambra, ſtrictly abſtain from their wives, as ſoon as they appear with-child.

They give names to their children ten days after they are born. On the day the boy is to be named, the father, attended by his domeſtics, armed with bows and arrows, walks about the town howling and ſinging, the inhabitants, as he paſſes, join him with their muſical inſtruments. After this, the perſon appointed for the ceremony, taking the child from the mother, lays it on a ſhield in the midſt of the company, and puts a bow into its hand. Then he makes a long diſcourſe to the people on the occaſion: after which, turning to the child, he wiſhes he may be like his father, induſtrious, hoſpitable, a good builder and huſbandman: that he may not covet his neighbour's wife, be a drunkard, glutton, or the like. Then taking up the child, he gives him a name, and delivers him to his mother or nurſe. Then they go hunting, and afterwards feaſt upon the game they have taken.

If a girl is to be named, the mother or nurſe bringing the child, where moſt of the people of the village are aſſembled, lays her on a mat on the ground, with a little ſtaff in one hand, and then exhorts it to be a good houſewife, a good cook, chaſte, and a dutiful wife; that her huſband may love her above all his other wives, and ſhe attend him at hunting; ſuch wiſhes being finiſhed, the name is given her.

The eldeſt ſon of the deceaſed inherits all his goods, wives and concubines; and he dying without iſſue, all falls to his younger brother if he has any. The other children are generally provided for by their father in his life-time, that they may not be reduced to poverty after his death. But if a man dies without male iſſue, the ſon of his brother is his next heir, though he ſhould have ſeveral daughters; and in caſe there is not a male left of a family, then the king becomes the ſole heir, but is to maintain all the daughters that are left behind.

The chief buſineſs of the blacks in this quarter, is tillage, for they are not much addicted to trade. They have few or no ſlaves to diſpoſe of: and the great number of European ſhips that paſs along their coaſts, ſoon exhauſt the teeth, wax, and little cam-wood they have.

The Quoja blacks between their harveſts, employ themſelves in fiſhing, hunting, or building: but none can hunt buffaloes without leave from the king, who has the moiety of that, and a third part of all other game. Water elephants belong wholly to the king or chief of the land, who returns the hunters what he thinks fit.

The houſes of the Quojas are all built round as at Ruſiſco. They have both open and fortified villages. The former called Fon Serah, are built in a circular form, incompaſſed with trees planted very near each other. The fortified towns called San Siah, have four coberes, a ſort of baſtions, through which they paſs in and out of the village, by a gate ſo low and narrow, that only one can paſs at a time. Over each gate there is a centry box, made of the branches of a tree, called Tambo Bangoela. Theſe towns are likewiſe incloſed with the tombo or wine palm, (which are long, thick, and very hard wood) faſtened to the ſurrounding trees, ſo that nothing can be ſeen through their incloſure: but at certain diſtances there are narrow lights, or loop holes, with ſhutters to ſhoot through on occaſion.

The river in the Quoja's country being choked with falls and ſand, ſo as to render canoes uſeleſs; they have a ſort of bridges, made with ſtaffs of tombo, tied together with a rope (of certain roots twiſted) on each ſide, and ſtretched a-croſs at the heighth of three feet, and faſtened to trees, to prevent paſſengers from falling into the water.

Their funerals in general are the ſame with thoſe of other blacks already deſcribed, though varying much in circumſtances and additional ceremonies. When the corpſe is well waſhed, they trim the hair of its head into locks, and ſet it upright, ſupported by props, and clothed in the beſt apparel that the perſon wore whilſt living; or had been given ſince dead, as is uſual; with a bow in one hand, and an arrow in the other.

Then the neareſt relations or friends make a ſort of ſkirmiſh with their arrows, which laſts a conſiderable while. That done, they kneel round the corpſe with their backs towards it, as if much provoked; and thus ſhoot their arrows round the world, as they call it, to ſignify they are ready to revenge the deceaſed againſt any perſon who ſhall offer to ſpeak ill of him; or might have been inſtrumental to his death. After this, they ſtrangle ſome ſlaves of the deceaſed, to attend him in the other world; who, by way of preparation, are feaſted with all the delicacies the country can afford.

During this time, the women acquaintance of the village keep about his wives, and throwing themſelves at their feet, deſire them to be comforted and dry up their tears.

After this, laying the corpſe on a board, or ſmall ladder, two men carry it upon their ſhoulders to the grave. With the body they caſt in the ſtrangled women and ſlaves, mats, kettles, baſons and other things belonging to the deceaſed; they cover all with a mat, and hang his armour on an iron rod, ſet up in the ground at one end of the roof, which they erect over the grave to keep off the rain; and every day for a long time after, they leave eatables and liquors there for him to feed on in the other world. If a woman is buried, they ſet up an iron pole, or rod, her baſons, and Dutch mugs in lieu of the armour.

They bury all of the ſame family in the ſame place, though the perſon die at ever ſo great a diſtance. The burying places are commonly in ſome forſaken or ruined villages, which they call Tomburoy. Of theſe there are many on the river Pligoge, and in the iſland Maſſah, behind Cape Monte.

Their reaſon for ſtrangling the perſons who are to be buried in the graves of men of note, is, becauſe they think human blood is too precious to be ſpilt or waſted on any account. They ſtrangle them with a bit of ſtring, by twiſting it about the neck. They alſo burn in their preſence, the remaining victuals that had been prepared to feaſt them before their exit, adjudging it to be ſacred.

This cruel cuſtom, however, begins to loſe ground; for generally at all places where it is practiſed, the people hide their daughters or children, as ſoon as the king's ſickneſs is thought mortal, to prevent which, thoſe who attend him uſe all precautions to conceal it. And when thoſe who have abſconded return to

their dwellings, they are ſeverely reproached with the want of courage, which among them is the greateſt affront; and told how unreaſonable it is, that they, who had eaten the bread of their lord or huſband, ſhould be afraid to die with him.

It is alſo cuſtomary for the neareſt relations or friends to keep a faſt after the funeral, of ten days, for the common ſort, which are called Bolli Guwe, and thirty days for a king, or conſiderable perſon. Such as keep this faſt make a vow, lifting up both hands, not to eat rice during that time, nor to drink any liquor but what is kept in a hole for that purpoſe in the ground, as alſo to abſtain from the company of women, and the women vow to cloath themſelves with nothing but white or black rags, to go with their hair looſe, and to lie on bare ground at night.

The faſt being over, the penitents lift up both their hands again, to denote that they have very punctually accompliſhed it. After this, the men go a hunting, the women, at their return, dreſs what they kill, and all together feaſt on it; laſtly, thoſe who have kept the faſt are diſmiſſed, with each of them a preſent of a baſon, a kittle, a cloth, a baſket of ſalt, or an iron bar, and other things.

No people among the blacks are ſo formal and ceremonious as the Quojas, and the ſureſt way to make them tractable, is to comply with their cuſtoms in general.

A woman accuſed of adultery, is to take the oath in order to clear herſelf. If afterwards convicted of perjury, ſhe is, in the evening, carried to the public market-place of the village, by her huſband, where the council is ſitting. They firſt invoke the Jannanin; they then cover her eyes, that ſhe may not ſee the ſpirits that are to carry her away, after which follows a very ſevere reprimand on her diſorderly life, with dreadful threats, if ſhe does not amend it; and ſo ſhe is diſcharged, after a confuſed noiſe of voices heard, expreſſing, that though ſuch crimes ought to be puniſhed, yet, ſince it is the firſt offence, it is forgiven, upon her obſerving ſome faſts, and mortifying herſelf; it being expected, that ſhe ſhould live ſo chaſte, as not to admit any boys, though ever ſo young, into her arms, nor yet ſo much as to touch the cloaths of any man.

If, after this, ſhe happens to relapſe, and is again convicted, perſons appointed for the purpoſe making a noiſe with a ſort of ſcraper, comes in the morning to the criminal's houſe, and brings her into the public place of the town. There they oblige her to walk three times about it, ſtill making a great noiſe, that all who are of the brotherhood of Belli, may ſee what is doing, and take warning, ſuch as are not of it, not daring ſo much as to look out, for fear the ſpirits ſhould carry them away. After this, they convey her to the holy wood called Belli; and from that time, ſhe is never heard of more, being probably ſacrificed there, but the blacks fancy that the ſpirits of the woods carry ſuch women away.

If a man is charged with theft, murder, or perjury, and the evidence is not clear enough againſt him, or that he is only ſuſpected of this or that crime, he is to take the trial of Belli, a compoſition made by the prieſt, with the bark of a tree and herbs, which is laid on the perſons hand. If he is guilty of the indictment, the blacks ſay it will preſently burn the ſkin; but that, if innocent, will be productive of no harm.

Sometimes the prieſt cauſes a perſon to drink a draught of liquor made of the barks of the nelle and quoni-trees, which are thick, and reckoned a perfect poiſon. If he be innocent, he will vomit it up immediately, but, if guilty, it will foam about his mouth, and thereby prove him guilty, and puniſhable with death.

They uſually execute criminals, thus convicted, in ſome remote place, at a great diſtance from their village: there the criminal kneeling, with his head bowed down, the executioner thruſts him through with a ſmall javelin. The body being fallen on the ground, he cuts the head off with an axe, or knife, and quarters it, delivering the limbs to the wives of the perſon executed, who commonly aſſiſt him at the execution, and are to caſt them on ſome dunghills about the country.

Theſe people acknowledge a Supreme Being, Creator of all things, but cannot form any juſt idea of him. The blacks of Bulm and Timna make ſtrange repreſentations of him. They call that Being, Canow, or Canuo, attributing to him an infinite power, univerſal knowledge, and to be preſent every where. They believe that all good proceeds from him, but not that he is eternal; holding, that another light or being, is to come to puniſh the wicked and reward the virtuous.

Theſe people believe that the dead become ſpirits, which they call Jannac, or Jannanin, that is, Patrons or defenders; their buſineſs being to protect and aſſiſt their former relations and kindred, which is the reaſon they put ſuch queſtions to their dead, as are beforementioned. Thus if a man happens to eſcape ſome imminent danger in hunting, at his return he ſacrifices as the grave of his ſuppoſed deliverer, an heifer, rice, and palm-wine, as an acknowledgment, in the preſence of the relations of the deceaſed, who dance and ſing at the feaſt.

When a man has received an injury, he repairs to the woods, where they believe thoſe ſpirits or ſouls reſide, and with their howls and cries, intreat Canow and Jannanin, to chaſtiſe the malice of the party whom he names. In like manner, when he finds himſelf in ſome difficulty or danger, he conjures the ſoul of his beſt relations to help him out of it. Others conſult them as to future events: for inſtance, whether any European ſhip will ſoon arrive and bring goods to traffic, or the like.

In ſhort, they have a very great veneration for theſe departed ſpirits, and rely on them as their tutilar gods. They never drink water or palm-wine, without firſt ſpilling a little of it, as a libration for the jannanin; and to aſſert the truth of any thing, they ſwear by the ſouls of their deceaſed parents. The kings themſelves do the ſame; and though they ſeem to have a great veneration for Canow, or God, yet, all their religious worſhip ſeems to be directed to thoſe ſouls, each village having a place appointed in the neareſt wood to invoke them.

Theſe blacks, at three ſeveral times of the year, carry abundance of proviſions, for the ſubſiſtence of the jannanin, into the woods and foreſts. And thither perſons in affliction repair, to implore the aſſiſtance of Canow, and the jannanin with very loud cries.

It is ſacrilege for women, maids or children to enter thoſe ſacred woods, and therefore they are made to believe from their infancy, that the jannanin would immediately kill them.

They ſay they have magicians and ſorcerers among them, as alſo a peculiar ſort of men, whom they call Sovah Munuſin, that is, Poiſoners and Blood-ſuckers. Theſe they fancy will ſuck the blood out of man or beaſt, or, at leaſt, corrupt in ſuch a manner, as to occaſion lingering and painful diſeaſes. There are others called Pilli, who, by their inchantments, they believe can hinder the rice from ſprouting or coming to maturity. They ſay the Sovah poſſeſſes ſuch, who being overwhelmed with melancholy, or grown deſperate through misfortunes, withdrew themſelves from the company of all other men into the woods and foreſts, where the Sovah ſhew them what herbs and roots are to be uſed in their inchantments, as alſo the geſtures, words, and grimaces, proper for thoſe wicked practices. Theſe men, when taken, are put to death. The blacks will ſeldom travel through the woods without company, for fear of meeting them, as well as the wild beaſts; and carry with them a certain compoſition, which, they fancy, preſerves them againſt the malicious Sovah, of whom they tell a thouſand unintereſting ridiculous ſtories.

When a perſon is ſuſpected to have died a violent death, the cuſtom is not to waſh the corpſe, till a ſtrict enquiry be made. To this effect, they wrap up ſome pieces of the dead perſon's garments, with the parings of his nails, and clippings of his hair; on theſe they blow the ſcrapings of cam-wood, faſtening the bundle to the peſtle, which two blacks carry about the place. Theſe are preceded by the prieſts, who beat with two hatchets, one againſt the other, and aſk the corpſe, where, when, and by whom, he was thus deprived of his life; and whether Canow, their deity, has taken him into his protection; when the ſpirit by moving the heads of the bearers of the corpſe, after a certain manner, as they pretend, give them to underſtand, that the Sovah Munuſin was the cauſe of it, they aſk him again, whether the ſorcerer is male or female, and where he lives? This the ſpirit alſo declares, in the ſame manner; and leading them to the place where the ſorcerer abides, they ſeize and put him in chains, to be examined on the charge laid againſt him by the ſpirit. If he perſiſts to deny it, he is compelled to take the kquoni, a horrid bitter drink; and if, after drinking three full calabaſhes, he vomits it up, he is abſolved; whereas, if it only foams out about his mouth, he is immediately put to death; his corpſe is then burnt on the ſpot, and the aſhes are thrown into the river. or the ſea, be he ever ſo great a man. This drink is compoſed of the bark of a certain tree, beaten in a wooden mortar, and infuſed in water. It is is a very ſharp, dangerous liquor, and commonly adminiſtered to the priſoner in the morning, in caſe of ſuſpicion of a high crime.

All theſe nations circumciſe their children at the age of ſix months, as a divine inſtitution practiſed time out of mind. Yet ſome mothers, through fondneſs, defer the operation till they are three years old, that they may bear it with greater eaſe and ſafety. They heal the wound with the juice of certain herbs.

Having mentioned Rio Seſtos, we ſhall give the reader a deſcription of that river and the adjacent country.

The entrance of this river from the ſea is full of rocks, which lie ſix feet under water, ſo that it is eaſy to paſs them with loaded boats; except two, which appear above water, and are to be avoided. The mouth of the river lies ſouth-eaſt, and north-weſt, about a league broad, with large trees on each ſide. The water is foul: there are ſome rocks under water, and ſome above. There is, however, in the paſs or channel on the ſouth ſide three fathoms water, and often ſix or ſeven, which is ſufficient for ſmall veſſels, boats may enter the river without any hazard.

The going in is between the point on the ſtarboard or eaſt ſhore, and the rock in the middle of the river. The entrance is about half a cable's length wide, and the depth thirty-ſeven and thirty-eight fathoms. When it is entered, it will be found a very fine river, where veſſels of an hundred tons may ride ſafe. About a gun-ſhot from the aforeſaid point, upon the ſame ſhore cloſe to the ſide of the river, is a well of good freſh water, where, for a few cawris, (the ſhells commonly called black moor's teeth) the negro women brought them water, and filled their caſks in the boat. The negro men being furniſhed with hatchets, will, for a ſmall quantity of the aforeſaid ſhells, cut fire wood enough, and bring it to the boats, but they muſt have a bottle of brandy now and then to encourage them; ſo that for expedition, this is the beſt place to wood and water at.

The ſource of this river is far within land on the north-north-eaſt, ſome ſay, it is navigable for barks for twenty leagues up. Higher it is full of ſands and rocks, which allow no paſſage but for canoes.

It is deſcribed as a fine pleaſant river. The banks on each ſide are thick ſet with trees. Several rivulets or ſmall ſprings diſcharge themſelves into it; and what adds to its beauty, is a multitude of villages along the ſides.

The country about Seſtos is very fertile, well furniſhed with poultry, rice, and millet; of this they make all their bread, which they carry in their canoes when they go a fiſhing. Here is good advantage to be made of rice, pepper, or ivory, which laſt is excellent.

The land here is low, level, and watered with many rivers: ſo that it is no wonder the ſoil is rich and fertile; and produces all vegitables in abundance; but the climate is unhealthy to ſtrangers, who are expoſed here to long and dangerous diſtempers. Beſides proviſions, which are cheap, the place yields ivory, ſlaves, gold-duſt, and above all, Guinea-pepper, which is the produce of the country.

They find in this river a kind of flints, like thoſe of Medoc in France; but harder, clearer, and of a better luſtre. They cut eaſier than a diamond, and, with a good foil, make a great ſhew.

About a cable's length from the mouth of the river, is a negro town, of about thirty or forty houſes, neatly built, and ſo high, that ſome of them appear three miles off at ſea. Theſe houſes have more ſtories than thoſe of Menſurado.

The town is large, and built after a different model from thoſe on the Grain Coaſt. They run up the houſes (ſquare or round) four feet from the earth. At that heighth is the firſt and chief room, to ſit, talk, or ſleep in, lined with matted rinds of trees, ſupported with ſtockades, and in the middle of it a fire-place for charcoal. This ſerves a double purpoſe, driving off inſects and vermin, and drying their rice and Indian corn. Of the upper loft they make a ſtore-houſe, that runs up pyramidal thirty feet; making the town at a diſtance, appear like a number of ſpires, each ſtanding ſingly.

About a league up a rivulet near the mouth of the Seſtos, is the king's village. It contains about thirty little houſes, built of clay, and incloſed with a mud wall, about five feet high. It ſtands on a riſing ground, juſt at the mouth of a little river, and the country round about it full of either banana, or palm-trees. Every houſe has an upper floor, and ſome two, neatly whitened within, twelve or fifteen inches above the ground, where the wall appears black, or red, round about it; but the ſtories are ſo low, that people muſt ſit or lie down. The floors inſtead of boards, are made of round ſticks, or boughs of palm-trees faſtened cloſe together, which renders it very inconvenient to walk on. The roof is compoſed of the ſame materials, ſet cloſe alſo, and covered with large banana and palm-tree leaves.

In the council houſe, built in the ſame manner, there is a piece of ſquare timber, about three feet long, on which was carved in half-relieve, the figure of a woman, and a child by her, but very indifferently done, and two ſquare holes cut-in pretty deep at each end of the timber, probably, to hold meat and drink for the uſe of the fetiſh; that being the place where they adminiſter an oath, or ſwear to the performance of contracts or agreements.

The king reſides conſtantly at this village, which wholly conſiſts of thirty of his wives, and their children, none elſe living there. The king's ſons, or his ſons-in-law, wear a long ozier cap, like their father; which is the only thing that diſtinguiſhes them from the common ſort, and peculiar to thoſe only of the royal blood: but in all other things they toil and work like ſlaves, when occaſion requires it.

The king of this place is very abſolute, but ſeldom puniſhes criminals with death, it being more to his advantage to ſell them for ſlaves.

The people here are very civil, and for a glaſs of brandy, will do you all the good offices in their power. They are tall, well-made, and ſtrong, and have a martial air; couragious, and often make incurſions on their neighbours, to take ſlaves to ſell. This hinders the negro merchants from trading here; and deprives them of the advantage their neighbours ſhare in the commerce for gold.

Moſt of theſe Seſtos negros are fiſhermen. Every morning there ſails out of the river a ſmall fleet of canoes, which diſperſe themſelves along the coaſt.

They fiſh with a line, and generally return home loaden. The king has a certain duty of ſo much out of what they catch.

Theſe people never cover their heads, bearing without any inconvenience the heavieſt rain, or moſt violent heats. The men and women here go the moſt naked of any on the coaſt, having at beſt only a ſlight rag tied about their middle. They breed abundance of cattle, and poultry of all kinds; not ſo much for their own uſe (for they live chiefly on fiſh, pulſe, and fruits, which are excellent) as to ſell to ſhips that frequent the coaſt.

The manner of ſalutation is the ſame along the coaſt. They take the perſon's finger and thumb into their hands, and putting them into a certain poſture, pull them hard and make them ſnap, crying when they have done, aquio; which is equivalent to, your ſervant with us.

Their marriages are not very ceremonious. Thoſe who are able to buy a wife, after agreeing with the woman, apply to the parents or relations, who haggle about the bargain. The price agreed on being paid, the wife is delivered. The huſband, after drinking ſome bottles of brandy with his new relations, conducts his new ſpouſe to the hut deſigned for her: where his other wives come to ſee her, and help her to dreſs the wedding ſupper. This being over, the huſband ſtays all night with the bride; who next morning goes to work with the reſt of the women, according to the ſeaſon.

The wife who brings the firſt boy, is regarded as the favourite and chief, but ſhe buys this dear enough; for ſhe is obliged to follow her huſband, and is buried alive in the ſame grave.

A French author who was witneſs of this ceremony, gives us the following account of it. "The captain or chief of the village, dying of a hard drinking bout of brandy, the cries of his wives ſoon ſpread the news through the town. All the women there ran and howled like furies. The favourite wife diſtinguiſhed herſelf by her grief, and not without cauſe. However, as ſeveral women in the ſame caſe have prudently thought fit to make their eſcape, the reſt of the women under pretence of comforting her, took care to watch her ſo cloſely, that there was no means of eſcaping the blow. The relations of the deceaſed all came to pay her their compliments, and take their farewell. After the marbut had examined the body, and declared he died a natural death, he, with his brethren, took the corpſe, waſhed, dried, and then rubbed it with fat from head to foot. After this they ſtretched it on a mat in the middle of the houſe. His wives were placed round it, and his favourite at the head, as the poſt of honour. Several other women made a circle round them. All theſe endeavoured to out roar one another, tearing their hair and ſcratching themſelves methodically, like people who knew perfectly the part they acted. Sometimes they left off and kept ſilent; at others they repeated the praiſes and great actions of the deceaſed, and then began their lamentations anew. This mock muſic laſted near two hours, when four luſty negros entering the houſe, took the dead body and tied it on a hand-barrow, made of branches of trees: then lifting it on their ſhoulders, they carried it through the town, running as faſt as they could, and reeling from time to time as if they had been drunk, with a thouſand ridiculous geſtures, very ſuitable to the exclamations of the wives of the deceaſed, and the other women who attended this whimſical proceſſion. The cavalcade over, the body was taken from the hand-barrow, and depoſited in its place. After which, the ſongs, the cries, and extravagancies of the women began again.

"During this, the marbut made a grave deep and larg enough to bury two bodies. He alſo ſtripped and ſkinned a goat. The pluck ſerved to make a ragou, of which he and his aſſiſtants ate. He alſo cauſed the favourite wife to eat ſome; who had no great inclination to taſte it, knowing it was to be her laſt. She ate ſome however, and during this repaſt, the body of the goat was divided into ſmall pieces, broiled, and eaten. The lamentations began again: and when the marbut thought it was time to end the ceremony, he took the favourite wife by the arms, and delivered her to two luſty negros. Theſe ſeizing her roughly, tied her hands and feet behind her, and laying her on her back, placed a piece of wood on her breaſt, then holding each other with their hands on their ſhoulders, they ſtamped with their feet on the piece of wood, till they had broken the woman's breaſt. Having thus at leaſt, half diſpatched her, they threw her into the grave with the remainder of the goat, caſting her huſbands body over her, and filling up the grave with earth and ſtones. Immediately the cries ceaſing, a quick ſilence ſucceeded the noiſe, and every one retired home, as if nothing had happened."

The language of the Seſtos negros is the moſt difficult on the coaſt; ſo that trade here is carried on much by ſigns, in which they excel. They preſerve many French words, which have been handed down to them by their anceſtors, who learned from the French the art of tempering ſteel, which they yet retain, and in which they have even made great improvements.

The French being expelled from all their ſettlements on this coaſt by the Portugueſe, tyrannizing over the natives; and the profits of their trade exciting the jealouſy of the Engliſh and Dutch, their power began to decline; ſo that by degrees they loſt moſt of their poſſeſſions and forts, and were forced to retire up the country, where, to maintain themſelves they married with the negros, from whence are ſprung the Portugueſe mulattoes and blacks, to be found along the coaſt. The European Portugueſe, out of policy and affection, acknowledge them in general for their countrymen.

Theſe African Portugueſe, by means of their alliance with the natives, trade freely every where. They have penetrated even to the Niger, by the north of the kingdoms of Gago and Benin. Thoſe ſettled on the river Sierra Leona, Junes, Seſtos, and Sanguin, trade frequently to the Gambra, as well as to the Caſamanſa, Rio S. Domingo, and Rio Grande. One of their traders, who lived 100 leagues up the river Sierra Leona, went almoſt every year to trade with the Mandingos on the Niger, beyond a conſiderable branch of it, which he believed to be the Gambra. It is certain, that theſe advantages, joined to the regard the natives have for them, would enable them to carry on an extenſive and rich trade, if they had European goods more regular, and dealt for themſelves inſtead of other nations.

The country abounds in rice, which yields ſuch a prodigious increaſe, that a large ſhip may be ſoon loaded, at the rate of about an half-penny a pound, but it is not ſo large, white, or ſweet as that of Milan, or Verona. The better ſort of people drive a conſtant trade in this commodity, Guinea pepper, and elephants teeth, though the laſt they have but in ſmall quantities.

Beſides ivory, Guinea pepper, and rice, are maiſe, poultry and cattle, all very cheap here. The dogs here, as in other parts of Guinea, are eaten by the blacks as good meat. There are but few ſwine, and the ſheep differ much from thoſe in Europe; they are not ſo large, and have no wool, but hair like goats, with a ſort of mane like a lion's, both on the neck and rump, alſo a bruſh at the end of the tail. They are very indifferent meat, but ſell there for a bar of iron each.

Theſe blacks are circumciſed, but can give no other reaſon for it, than that it is an ancient cuſtom, tranſmitted to them by their anceſters.

The Malaghetta, or Pepper Coaſt, extends from Rio Seſtro to Growa, a little beyond Cape das Palmas, about 55 leagues, being generally low flat land, and the ſoil clammy, fat, all over woody, and watered by ſeveral rivers and brooks, at the mouth of which lie villages of the ſame name.

From

From Rio Seſtos to Little Seſtos, (or Seſtro) are four leagues, ſouth-eaſt. Before this place there is a mountainous long rock, on which grows a high tree, with five other rocks to the ſouthward, and one to the northward.

The blacks here are generally fiſhermen, and there is little or no trade. About two leagues farther eaſt, is the point called Baxios Swino, running out into the ſea, and near it a great rock, white at top, cloſes to the land, which, at a diſtance, weſtward at ſea, looks like a ſail, eaſily ſeen from Seſtos road, in clear weather.

A little below this rock, is the village Sanguin, at the mouth of the river of that name, which falls into the ſea at ſouth ſouth-eaſt, and will carry ſmall ſhips twelve leagues up, though its entrance is very narrow, the banks being ſhaded with fine tall trees. The village contains about 100 houſes.

The Engliſh had formerly a ſettlement here, but abandoned it on account of the ill temper of the blacks. The king is tributary to the king of Rio Seſtos. He commonly wears a blue Mooriſh frock, and goes often on boaad the ſhips in the road. Formerly the Dutch and Portugueſe carried on a great trade here for elephants teeth and pepper, but of late, through the great reſort of ſhips, the natives have ſo extravagantly advanced the price, that there is little to be done worth while, which indeed is the caſe throughout all the coaſt of Guinea. In caſe of neceſſity, Sangwin is a convenient place for wood or water, and proviſions.

About a league and and an half eaſt of Sangwin, is the village of Baffa, where there is ſome little trade for elephants teeth, but much more for pepper. This place is eaſily known by a plain ſandy point, environed with rocks. Some of the blacks here, ſpeak a little Portugueſe, or Lingua Franca.

Seterna, or Serres, is about two leagues eaſt of Baffa, having ſome rocks out at ſea on the eaſt point, and a good trade for ivory and pepper. Not far off to the eaſt, in the village Taſſe, or Daſſe. Next follows Bottowa, a town ſituated on the ſhore, eaſily known by two great rocks, one appearing out at ſea about two Engliſh miles weſt of it, by the Portugueſe called Cabo do Sino; the other four miles eaſt of the town. It is diſtinguiſhed likewiſe by ſeveral high hills beyond it. Here is abundance of malaghetta, or pepper, which the blacks exchange for blue perpetuanas, pewter baſons, iron bars, and annabaſſeſs.

They uſually come on board to traffic, but ought to be well looked to; for they are dextrous thieves, and will never pay for what they buy, if the can any way avoid it.

The village Sino lies ſouth-eaſt from Bottowa, about a league and a half diſtant, and diſtinguiſhed by a great rock on a ſand point, running out a little to ſea, behind which is a fine large river, riſing far within land, as the black report, and not much inferior to that of Seſtos.

The village of Souweraboe, or Sabrebou, is a league from Sino to the ſouth-eaſt. That of Seſtro Carow five leagues from Sabrebou, is a large, beautiful village. The place is eaſily known by a head or cape of three black hills together, planted with trees, which at ſome diſtance at ſea, look like maſts of ſhips. The cape or point is encompaſſed with rocks, ſome of which run a little out to ſea: it is likewiſe known by two great rocks on the ſhore, about two Engliſh miles aſunder, the land being low and flat. Here is good watering, in caſe of neceſſity, in the bulging of the ſhore, which ſhows at a diſtance like a little bay.

The village Wappow, or Wapp, is five leagues from Seſtro Carow, is ſituated on a little river. It is known by a ridge of about twenty or more high ſtraggling trees, which appear on a flat, long, high ground, beyond the ſhore, with five palm-trees at the end thereof. It is remarkable alſo for a very flat iſland or rock near the coaſt, if not joining to it, invironed with other ſmall ones.

At the village within the river, as well as at Botowa and Seſtro Carow, the elephants teeth are commonly large. The country abounds in malaghetta, which they commonly carry on board ſhips in the road, in great large bull-ruſh baſkets, made in the form of ſugar-loaves.

Droe (Drue, or Drew) and Neffo, two other villages, are between Wappo and Grand Seſtro; they produce abundance of pepper. The blacks about Wappo and parts adjacent, are more tractable and better conditioned than thoſe farther weſt; but importunate enough in begging their daſhi, or preſent, before they deal. Their language can ſcarce be underſtood.

The ſea affords great variety of fiſh, much the ſame with thoſe on the Gold Coaſt.

The ſhore from Wappo to Grand Seſtro, or Seſtro Paris, ſtretches ſouth-eaſt-by ſouth. This laſt is a large village on the Rio das Eſcravos. The tide at low ebb carries along the ſhore, and at ſea on the return of flood.

Grand Seſtos (or Seſtro) is about two leagues and an half to the ſouth-eaſt of Droe. It is eaſily found out by a rock to the north-weſt, and by a cut in the coaſt, over which are three palm-trees up the land. The Dutch call it Balletjes-hoeck, from the name of a black who formerly lived there. To this town the French of Duppe, formerly gave the name of Seſtro Paris, becauſe of its greatneſs; being one of the largeſt and moſt populous in all Guinea. They had a ſettlement here for trading in Guinea pepper and ivory, (which are both very plenty) long before the Eaſt India pepper was known in Europe. But the Portugueſe having conquered Princes iſland in the Bight, over-run all the Guinea Coaſts, ſettling factories and driving out the French. This place is called Great Paris; and Petit Seſtro, a few leagues farther, Little Paris. The natives here ſtill preſerve their antient affection to the French.

It is three leagues and a half from Grand Seſtro to the village Goyane, or Goyava; four from hence to Goawai, and two more to Cape des Palmas. This cape had its name from the palm-trees to be ſeen from moſt places, eſpecially near the ſhore, and from the two hills that form the cape; which ſtands exactly in four degrees fifty minutes of north-latitude.

Behind the cape is a bulging in the coaſt, which is a good ſhelter for ſhips againſt the ſoutherly winds; about a league from it, is a great rock juſt by the ſhore; and from the point runs a ridge of ſhoals, or ſmall rocks, even with the water, a league into the ſea at ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, where ſhips in former times have been caſt away. There is likewiſe another bank two leagues farther out to ſea, about which, the tide runs very ſwift at eaſt, in nine or ten fathoms water.

Two leagues eaſt from the cape ſtands Goawa, where the pepper coaſt ends.—It is obſerved that the vapours ariſing from the many rivers and brooks along the coaſt, cauſes malignant fevers, dangerous to Europeans. This bad air is moſt pernicious about Cape Palmas, being ſometimes felt four leagues off at ſea; for, when the weather is foggy, it carries a perfect ſtink with it.

The country in general has plenty of peas, beans, pompions, lemons, oranges, bacchos, bananas, and a ſort of nuts, the ſhells very thick, and all of a round piece, without any peel within, like European nuts, which eat very luſcious and ſweet. Great numbers of cattle, goats, hogs, chickens and many other ſorts of fowls are found here. Their palm wine is excellent, as is likewiſe the dates, which they are very fond of. But the principal commodity on this coaſt, as has been ſaid, is the malaghetta, or Guinea pepper, it being very plentiful and cheap.

The plant which bears the Guinea pepper, according to the goodneſs of the ſoil, requires ſtrength enough to ſupport itſelf, and become a ſmall tree, or ſtandard, ſometimes for want of this, it is a creeping ſhrub, unleſs it be proped up, or can faſten to any

tree to ſuſtain it, in which caſe, like ivy, it covers the whole body. When it creeps along the ground, the ſeeds, though large, are not ſo good; for the higher its branches are expoſed to the air, the drier and ſmaller the fruit; but then it is hot and ſharp to the taſte, and has all the true qualities of pepper. The leaf of the maleghetta is twice as long as it is broad, and narrow at the end. It is ſoft, and of a lively green in the rainy ſeaſon; but, when that is over, it withers, and loſes its colour. When you bruiſe them in your fingers, they yield an aromatic ſmell like cloves, and the extremity of its branches have the ſame effect. There iſſues from the under part of the leaves, ſmall, curled filiments, by which they take hold of the tree, or prop. No good deſcription can be given of the flower, as it appears at a time when there is no trade on the coaſt. It is certain, however, that the plant does flower, and that the flowers are ſucceeded by the fruits, in the ſhape of angular figs, of different ſizes, according to the ſoil or expoſition. The outſide conſiſts of a thin ſkin, which dries, and becomes very brittle. It is uſually of a dark, reddiſh brown: the negros ſay it is poiſonous.

The ſeeds in this ſkin are placed cloſe together in order, divided only by a thin pellicle, which turns to ſmall threads of a ſharp, biting taſte, ſomewhat like ginger.

This grain is of the ſize of hemp-ſeed, the ſuperfices almoſt round, but angular, of a reddiſh colour before it is ripe, deeper when it comes to maturity, and black after it has been wet, in which condition they pack it up. This moiſtening of it produces a fermentation, and greatly diminiſhes its virtues: its taſte ſhould be biting and ſharp, like that of India pepper, in order to make it ſell well.

The rind or huſk of the berry is thin, firſt green, and when dry, of a fine ſcarlet, about the ſize of a fig, and ſoft, as not being filled with any pulp, but within it is the maleghetta, growing in four or five rows, and covered with a white film, which alſo ſeparates each grain or ſeed.

Before they ripen they are red, and of a grateful taſte. The beſt are the cheſnut colour, large, ponderous, and very ſmooth; the black are the ſmalleſt. They take their colour as they lie on board their ſhip, being put up green. The ſeed is neither ſo large nor round as the Indian pepper, but has ſeveral angles. The ſtalks of it taſte ſomewhat like cloves. There is another ſort of maleghetta, growing like large leaved graſs. That which is bought from the middle of November till March, is certainly a year old; for the new begins to bud in January.

They gather the fruit whenever the leaves begin to blacken at the end. This they dry, and ſell through the country in exchange for goods, by which they make large profit. The ſeeds have been long uſed in France, and other parts of Europe, inſtead of pepper, eſpecially when the latter is ſcarce and dear. The retailers alſo adulterate the India pepper exceedingly.

The maleghetta on the river Seſtos, grows on a ſort of ſhrub, and is the largeſt of all this part on the Pepper Coaſt. The buſhes are ſo cloſe together, that in ſome places at Seſtos, they look at a diſtance like thickets, or ſmall coppices. There grows alſo a fruit on ſhrubs, which, in taſte and figure, reſembles cardamums. At Benin, and in land, there is pepper like that of the Eaſt Indies.

The laſt ſort of pepper, called here Pimento, and in Europe, Spaniſh pepper, grows here in abundance, on ſhrubs almoſt of the ſame ſize, though ſomewhat lower than the gooſberry buſhes in Holland. There are two ſorts, great and ſmall, both at firſt green, and change, the ſmall to fine red, the large to a red and black. This fruit is much hotter than common black pepper, eſpecially the ſmaller ſort, which is not above a quarter as big as the other, but the trees grow ſix times as high, and ſpread conſiderably wider than the other.

The Dutch uſed formerly to export a great quantity of it yearly, loading whole ſhips; but it is now leſs ſought after. But this ſort of pepper being now little uſed in Europe, the trade of it is inconſiderable, moſt of their ſhips that ply on this coaſt, look chiefly for elephants teeth, of which the Engliſh and Dutch got the largeſt ſhare.

Before the coming of the Portugueſe, the merchants of Barbary came hither quite acroſs the continent, to fetch this pepper, and that from Barbary ſome quantity was tranſported into Italy, where it was called Grain of Paradiſe.

On the Pepper Coaſt the natives are very intemperate, and luxurious to exceſs, always talking of their indelicate amours. They are much given to pilfering, and, when on board ſhips, ſteal eatables or goods, nay even ruſty knives, broken nails, and in ſhort, every thing that come in their way. They are intolerrable in begging for a preſent.

The language of the blacks of this coaſt cannot be underſtood at all, trade being carried on by ſigns and geſtures. They are generally well ſhaped; and are very ſtrong and laborious. When they happen to meet from different places on board a ſhip, they take one-another by the arms, near the ſhoulders, ſaying, Toma, and letting the hands fall to the elbows, Towa: then take one anothers fingers, as thoſe of Seſtos, and preſs them, uttering the words, Enfanemate, Enfanemate; in ſignification, My friend, how do you do?

They have pretty good black-ſmiths who know how to harden and temper weapons, knives, &c. Others make canoes large and ſmall, very neatly. They are alſo good huſbandmen to improve their lands for rice, millet, and maleghetta, which is their chief dependance for food and trade.

Their taba, or taba-ſeyle, and by others, tabo-ſeyle, that is, their kings, are very arbitrary, and effect much ſtate when they go abroad, having an abſolute authority over their people, who pay them great ſubmiſſion. They are groſs pagans, praying to their Grigri, or images, and to dead men, to grant them a placeful and holy life in this world: they ſalute the moon with plays, ſongs and dances, and great admirers of what they ſuppoſe to be ſorcery.

The Gold Coaſt, of which our author treats, was diſcovered by the Portugueſe, though the French have diſputed their pretenſions, aſſerting, that this diſcovery was made by ſome adventurers of Dieppe in Normandy. However, it is certain, that the French traded to the Coaſt of Guinea at an early period. In the time of Prince Henry of Portugal, a ſhip was fitted out at Liſbon to make diſcoveries along the African coaſt, which veſſel was driven to an iſland in the Bite of Guinea, on St. Thomas's day, to which iſland they accordingly gave the name of that Saint. Here finding plenty of neceſſaries, they ſtaid to refit, and formed the firſt Portugueſe colony.

Theſe adventurers returned to Liſbon in the year 1455. King John the ſecond, to ſecure the trade of his ſubjects, ſent thither ten caravel in 1681, laden with all ſorts of materials for building a fort, and 100 maſons, under James de Azambuja. This commander, upon his arrival, ſent advice to Caſamanſa, lord of the country, with whom he had before concluded a treaty of commerce, deſiring him to come and ratify it. In the mean time he landed his men privately armed; he took poſſeſſion of a little hill, where there were about 500 houſes, not far from Caſamanſa's reſidence, as a fit place to build the intended fort. Here he ſet up a ſtandard with the arms of Portugal, on the feaſt of St. Sebaſtian, whoſe name was given to a valley where the Portugueſe landed. Afterwards Azambuja being informed of Caſamahſa's approach, ranged his men in order, and ſat down in an elbow chair. He had on a gold brocade waiſtcoat, and a gold collar ſet with jewels. All his followers were clad in ſilk, making a lane before him, that the black prince might admire his grandeur. Caſamanſa on his part was not wanting to ſhew his ſtate, which

appeared by a great number of armed blacks, with a mighty noiſe of trumpets, horns, tinkling bells, and other inſtruments, all together making a hideous noiſe. The principal blacks were dreſſed after their own manner when they go to war, and followed each of them by two pages, one carrying a buckler, and the other a little round ſtool, their heads adorned with gold after their faſhion.

After the firſt ceremonies and ſalutes, Azambuja made a long ſpeech, ſignifying the great affection which the king his maſter had for Caſamanſa, and deſiring liberty to build a fort for carrying on trade with his ſubjects, and rendering him terrible to his neighbours.

Caſamanſa, who was a man of good ſenſe, made ſeveral objections to the propoſal of building a fort, but was at laſt prevailed on to conſent to it. Next day, Azambuja ſet his men to work, and the maſons breaking ſome rocks on the ſea ſide, the blacks, whether out of ſuperſtitious veneration for thoſe rocks, or that they could not approve of erecting a fort in their country, began to ſhew their reſentment. This Azambuja perceiving, cauſed conſiderable preſents to be diſtributed among them. Being by this means appeaſed, the Portugueſe carried on their work with ſuch diligence, that the fort was put in a poſture of defence in leſs than twenty days, and the tower raiſed to the firſt ſtory; the materials brought by Azambuja being ſo fitted, that there was nothing to do but put them together. Soon after this he ſent home his caravels with a vaſt quantity of gold.

It was ſtipulated by the treaty of peace made at Alcazoves, in 1479, between Ferdinand of Caſtile, and king Alphonſo the 5th of Portugal, that the commerce and navigation of Guinea, with the conqueſt of the kingdom of Fez, granted by the Pope to the kings of Portugal, ſhould remain to them, excluſive of the Caſtilians, who engaged not to trade or touch in thoſe parts without permiſſion from the court of Portugal; and on the other hand, that the Canary Iſlands ſhould entirely belong to the crown of Spain.

But we find, that contrary to theſe articles of peace, the Caſtilians, in the year 1481, having ſent a fleet to trade on the Coaſt of Guinea, King Alphonſo diſpatched a ſquadron to obſtruct them, under the command of George Correa; who meeting with thirty ſhips of Caſtile on the Coaſt of Mina, after a ſharp engagement, obtained a complete victory, bringing ſeveral of them to Liſbon.

King John of Portugal, granted letters patent to ſome undertakers, himſelf joining in partnerſhip with them. Three ſhips were fitted out, and whether the fort was erected in 1471 or 1481, is not known (ſo uncertain are the Portugueſe hiſtorians). King John gave it the name of St. George, and afterwards granted many privileges and franchiſes to ſuch as ſhould be willing to reſide in it. He alſo gave it the name of a city, and cauſed a church to be built in it, dedicated to the ſame Saint. After this, he took the title of Lord of Guinea, and commanded that thoſe employed to make diſcoveries for the future along the ſouthern Coaſt of Africa, ſhould, at every place of note, erect a ſquare monument of ſtone, ſix feet high, with his arms on it, and two inſcriptions, one on each ſide in Latin and Portugeſe. Containing the year, month, and day when that diſcovery was made by his order, with the name of the captain who commanded ſuch expedition. He ordered alſo a ſtone croſs to be cramped into that pedeſtal; whereas in former times, they uſed to ſet them up of wood. Some years after, the king of Portugal formed a Guinea company, with the priviledge of an excluſive trade. At firſt they made a very conſiderable profit, and cauſed Fort St. Andrew to be built at Axim, another ſmall one at Acra, and a lodge at Sama, on the river of St. George, for the conveniency of ſupplying the garriſon of Mina with proviſions, which before was maintained by the king of Portugal: who reſerved to himſelf the right of appointing a governor and other officers, every three years, to gratify ſuch of his ſubjects as had ſerved him well in Europe and in Africa, in his wars with the Moors of Fez, without making their fortunes.

Thus the garriſon of this place, as well officers as common ſoldiers, came to be commonly compoſed of lewd and diſorderly perſons, (uſed to commit outrages, and to plunder) or of ſuch as were baniſhed Portugal for their crimes.

In the reign of Henry the third, of France, the civil wars there being at an end, the French began again to frequent the Pepper and Gold Coaſt, but could not prevail with the blacks of Mina to deal with them, thoſe people being deterred by the threats of the Portugueſe. On this they failed thence to Acra; upon intelligence that the negros, provoked by the barbarous uſage of that nation, had ſurpriſed their little fort, deſtroyed the garriſon, and razed it to the ground, in the year 1578.

From that time the Portugueſe credit and intereſt on that coaſt began to decline, after they had reaped all the advantages of the Guinea trade for above 100 years, and fell into the hands of the European nations; who, by degrees became ſharers of the wealth. But this was not without bloodſhed, particularly many of the French loſt their lives by the hands either of the Portugueſe or blacks, who received an hundred crowns reward from the former, for every head of a Frenchman they brought, which were expoſed on the walls of the fort.

Mean time the French, who had hitherto traded on the Maneghetta, or Pepper Coaſt, ſeeing the great profit the Portugueſe made by their trade on the Gold Coaſt, ſent ſome ſhips there alſo. But the negros durſt not deal with them, for fear of offending the Portugueſe as they freely owned. However, coming to Acra, the French were well received by the negros, who gladly traded with them, when they found they were enemies to the Portugueſe.

The Portugueſe finding other methods fruitleſs, ſent two ſtout ſhips from Portugal to guard the coaſt. With theſe they ſunk a ſhip from Dieppe, called the Eſperence, killing the greateſt part of the crew, and making the reſt ſlaves, in the year 1582. But no prohibition or force prevailing to deter the negros from trading with the French, the Portugueſe managed ſo as to exclude by force not only the French, but all foreign nations from trading on the coaſt. Not content with this, they fell on ſuch interlopers of their own nation as the hope of gain had brought here, confiſcating the ſhips and goods, and puniſhing the men with death. A Portugueſe ſhip that had then traded here, was, on her return to Liſbon, condemned to the king, and the crew put to death.

Not long after the year 1600, a bark, bound from Port-a-Port to Rio del Ardrea, was taken by the pirates. The crew put into the caſtle of Mina for freſh water and proviſions; but though they were Spaniards, yet the governor refuſed them this liberty, on account of their not having the king's leave to trade here, and even threatened them with ſlavery if they did not quit the coaſt.

The Dutch met with no better treatment from the Portugueſe, when they had an opportunity, but would not deſiſt from the Guinea trade, being encouraged by the mighty profit they found on that coaſt, to bear with the outrages offered by thoſe people, till at laſt they had their full revenge. For when the war broke out between the Hollanders and Spain, the former calling to mind the injuries done them by the Portugueſe, at that time ſubjects to Spain, took from them not only one half of Braſil, but likewiſe all the forts they had on the Coaſt of Guinea, driving them from that nation for ever, by forcing them to ſurrender the caſtle of Mina, in the year 1637; and that of Axim in 1643.

The Portugueſe authors ſay, the Dutch treated the blacks even worſe than themſelves had done, and that the latter gained more upon the blacks by drunkenneſs, giving them wine and ſtrong liquors, than

by force of arms, and inſtructing them, as miniſters of the Devil, in their wickedneſs: but that their diſſolute lives and manners, joined to the advantages which the Portugueſe of Mina, though inferior in number, had gained over them in ſome rencounters, had rendered them as contemptible among the blacks for their cowardice, as want of virtue. That they held, without any other right than force, the fort of Bantrae, four leagues from that of Axim; alſo the ſettlement of Cora, Coromantin, and Aldea del Tuerto at Commendo. That they peaceably enjoyed the commerce of Mina itſelf, where they purchaſed above two millions of gold yearly, and exported all that could be furniſhed them by the Fazars, and other inland nations: that the quantity of merchandiſe brought by the Dutch, and their cheapneſs, had made the barbarians more greedy of them; though ſome people would willingly have paid double for the Portugueſe goods, as ſuſpecting the Dutch to be of leſs value, buying them only for want of better.

When the Portugueſe of El Mina, found the Dutch trade on the coaſt increaſe to their great loſs, ſtill endeavoured to excite the natives againſt them. A Dutch ſhip, trading at Cape Corſo, was thus circumvented by the negros, who pretended to the captain, one Simon de Taye, that their king was coming on board to viſit him. The Dutchman ſent his boat on ſhore to receive the king; but the negros in their canoes ſurrounding the boat, attacked and killed the crew, except one or two, who by ſwimming eſcaped to the ſhip. This was done at the inſtigation of the Portugueſe, who alſo taught the natives how to adulterate their gold, and put it off to the Dutch.

The Portugueſe governor at El Mina, at this time engaged one Voctian, a great negro trader, who had large dealings with the Dutch, to betray ſome of them into his hands. For this end, ſome negros came on board a Dutch bark that was trading on the coaſt, and pretending friendſhip, informed them, that there was plenty of deer and other game where they lay. The Dutch on this, ſent three men on ſhore to hunt. In the mean time they talked in ſo friendly a manner with thoſe on board, who ſuſpected no harm, that they put out their matches; which the negros perceiving, fell ſuddenly on them, wounding and killing ſome, and throwing others over-board, ſo that they had all periſhed, if the carpenter, who was cutting wood, had not run to help them, with his hatchet falling on ſo furiouſly, that he forced them to eſcape by ſwimming. However, the three men, who went on ſhore, were ſeized by the negros, and carried to the governor, who kept them in ſlavery. The Portugueſe here having no power of putting any to death, without an order from the governor of Portugal, unleſs when a ſlave attempts to eſcape.

Five Dutchmen going in a canoe to Mawri, were by a calm detained at ſea near the caſtle, in 1599, which the governor obſerving, ſent ſome negros, who fell upon them, and wounding them, carried them on ſhore, where they cut off their heads, which they preſented to the governor.

In January, 1600, the Portugueſe, by the aſſiſtance of the negros, ſurpriſed another Dutch bark, but were ſo warmly received, that they were glad to get away.

The ſame year, the Commendo and Fetu blacks, animated by the Dutch, who ſupplied them with arms and other neceſſaries, roſe againſt the Portugueſe.

The Dutch now reſolved to erect ſome forts on the Coaſt of Benin and Angola. Then practiſing underhand, with ſeveral of the kings, that of Sabow gave them leave to build a fort at Mawri, three leagues eaſt from Cape Corſo, which they finiſhed in the year 1624, and gave the command to Adrian Jacobs, at the time the crown of Portugal was at war with the Dutch, but poſſeſſed by Philip IV. King of Spain.

In December, 1625, the Dutch made an attempt on the caſtle of Mina, with 12,000 of their own men, and 150 Sabow blacks, under the command of their rear-admiral, Jan Dirk Lamb, who landed at Terra Pequena, or Ampena, in the country of Commendo, but were totally routed by the Portugueſe auxiliaries, the blacks of Mina alone. Thoſe natives attacked the Dutch before they could form their body, at the foot of a hill, a little before ſun-ſet: the action was over before night, with the ſlaughter of 373 ſoldiers, and 66 ſeamen, beſides all the auxiliary Sabow blacks, and moſt of the Dutch officers. Their general being wounded, was reſcued by the Little Cormani blacks.

Some years after, the Dutch made over the property of fort Naſſau, at Mawri, to the Weſt India company, Nicholas Van Vpren, their general in that place, made intereſt from time to time, by preſents and promiſes, with the black kings along that coaſt, to drive the Portugueſe from thence, and ſettle themſelves in their room. He ſucceeded ſo well, as even to foment a diviſion among the Portugueſe garriſon of Mina. Having thus diſpoſed all things for a change, and gained the caboſhirs, and captains of the town to aſſiſt the Dutch in a ſecond attempt upon the caſtle: he ſent an account to the directors of the company.

Theſe gentlemen having ſome years before gained a footing in Braſil, by taking St. Salvador, and Bahia, had bent their thoughts on ſecuring a place of arms on the Coaſt of Africa; that being thus maſters of both points, on the two oppoſite continents, they might have the command of the ocean, and of the paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, and bring the whole trade into their own hands. They had often ſought out for ſuch a place of arms along the Coaſt of Africa, from Cape Verde, to the Cape of Good Hope: but failed in their ſeveral attempts, and particularly in that before mentioned, in 1625, againſt the caſtle of El Mina, which was reckoned the moſt convenient for their deſigns.

Prince Maurice, of Naſſau, a near relation to the Prince of Orange, arrived at Braſil with a fleet of thirty-two ſhips, (twelve of them men of war) carrying 2700 ſoldiers, being by the Dutch Weſt India company appointed governor general of that country, and of South America, where he made ſeveral conqueſts. Van Vpren being informed thereof, ſent a veſſel over to give him an account of the favourable opportunity then offered for reducing the caſtle of El Mina, and thereby driving the Portugueſe from the Gold Coaſt. Count Naſſau ſent him nine men of war of his ſquardron, under the command of Colonel Hans Coine.

This ſquardron arriving at Cape La How, on the Quaqua Coaſt, on the 25th of June, 1637, the commander immediately ſent advice to Van Vpren at Mawri, and proceeded himſelf with his ſquardron to Iſſeni. There he received that general's orders to bring his ſquardron to Commendo road, where he waited with two hundred canoes of blacks, and ſome tranſport ſhips. Mean time Van Vpren had gained over to his party, moſt of the youth of Commendo, to whom he promiſed a conſiderable ſum of gold, in caſe he reduced the caſtle by their aſſiſtance.

Thus the fleet proceeded towards Cape Corſo, and the forces landed the 24th of July, in a little creek, about half a mile weſt of the Cape. They were in all eight hundred ſoldiers and five hundred ſeamen, each carrying three days proviſions; beſides the auxiliary blacks, and marched in three bodies. They all halted at the river Dana, to refreſh. And Coine, who brought up the reer, being informed that a body of one thouſand Mina blacks was poſted at the foot of the hill of St. Jago, to oppoſe his taking poſſeſſion of it, which it was abſolutely neceſſary to do, as commanding the fort; he detatched four companies of fuſiliers to beat them off; but moſt of them were cut to pieces by thoſe blacks, who ſtruck off their heads, and carried them to the town.

Major Bon Garzon being ſent with another detachment, forded the river Dana, and falling on that body vigorouſly, obliged them to abandon their poſt,

which

which he took poſſeſſion of, with the loſs of four whites and ten blacks, the natives afterwards endeavouring twice to recover that poſt, were obliged to retire. Bon Garzon purſuing them down into the village, between the mountains, and the hill of St. Jago, where the reſt of the Dutch forces immediately joined him.

The Portugueſe, no longer able to keep the field, retired into the redoubt they had built on the hill of St. Jago, where they were ſoon after attacked. Colonel Coine having cauſed two ways to be cut through the thickets, which covered one ſide of the hill, the one leading on the river Dana, and the other directly to the redoubt itſelf; and two pieces of cannon and a mortar were brought up the hill, and mounted on an advantageous ſpot, which commanded the caſtle ſo entirely, that ten or twelve bombs the Dutch threw from thence, were very near falling into the place.

Another detachment of Dutch and Commendo blacks, was ſent out to attack the Mina blacks, and afterwards the weſt end of their town. The Commendo blacks attempting to drive away ſome cattle, had been cut to pieces, but for the conduct of their officers, who kept them cloſe in a body along the river Banja, which covered them. Next day the Dutch being reinforced from their main body, attacked the town of Mina, but were forced to retire, by the exceſſive fire from the caſtle.

The day after, the general, to prevent his enterpriſe from miſcarrying by delay, ſummoned the caſtle as ſoon as it was light, proteſting, that he would put all the garriſon to the ſword, if they refuſed to ſurrender immediately. The Portugueſe governor demanded three days to conſider of it, which being refuſed him, Coine the next morning drew up his forces on the hill of St. Jago, and threw ſeveral bombs into the city with little effect; but the following day, having cauſed his grandees to draw nearer to the caſtle, the Portugueſe beat the chamade, and ſent out two perſons to capitulate, the articles being ſuch as the Dutch general would impoſe, viz.

Firſt, The governor, garriſon, and all the Portugueſe, to march out that day, with their wives and children, but without ſwords, colours or any weapons, each perſon being allowed but one ſuit of wearing apparel.

Secondly, All the goods, merchandiſe, gold and ſlaves to remain to the Dutch, except only twelve ſlaves allowed the inhabitants.

Thirdly, The church ſtuff, which was not of gold or ſilver, allowed to be taken away.

Fourthly, The Portugueſe and mulattos to be put on board the ſquadron, with their wives and children, and carried to the iſland of St. Thomas.

The fort was delivered up to the Dutch, on the 29th of Auguſt, 1637, and in it they found 30 pieces of braſs cannon, 9000 weight of powder, and much other ammunition, but very little gold, and no great quantity of goods. This done, Coine returned to Mawri, with his forces, leaving Captain Walraeven with a garriſon of 140 men, beſides ſeveral blacks, who had taken an oath of fidelity to them.

Coine, to make his advantage of the conſternation, the ſpeedy conqueſt of the caſtle of Mina had ſpread along the Gold Coaſt, ſent a canoe with a letter to the governor of Fort St. Anthony, at Axim, the moſt important poſt the Portugueſe had, next to Mina, to ſummon him to ſurrender that place, before he came to attack it with his forces. This governor, who had more courage than that of Mina, conſidering that there was no great danger of a viſit during the rainy ſeaſon, anſwered, That he was ready to give the generul a good reception if he came, and was reſolved to defend the place to the laſt extremity. This reſolute anſwer obliged Coine to put off that enterpriſe to a more favourable opportunity, and the Dutch did not reduce Axim till the year 1642. Coine, on his return to the Braſil with his fleet, was received at Olinda, and at Arracife, by Count John Morice's command, under a diſcharge of all the cannon, and with all other marks of honour.

The Dutch now became maſters of the important poſt of Mina, and endeavoured to engroſs all the trade of the coaſt in their own hands; to that effect, Van Vpren was called thither from Mori, to make that his reſidence, as general of Guinea and Angola. He cauſed the caſtle to be repaired and enlarged, and, by degrees, made it much ſtronger, more beautiful, and of a greater extent, than when in poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe.

The Dutch at firſt treated the blacks at Mina and the reſt of the coaſt very gently, careſſing, and preſenting the chiefs of them with preſents; but when the Engliſh came to put in for a ſhare of the trade of that rich country, and endeavoured to make intereſt with the natives, in order to ſettle on their coaſts, the Dutch changed their former civility into ſeverity, to deter them from favouring their new rivals. They alſo ſeized the Engliſh fort at Cormentin, where the commander of that nation reſided, which was one of the motives for the war between England and Holland in 1666.

To curb the blacks along the coaſt, and to engroſs the whole trade, they erected ſmall forts at Boutro, Sama, Corſo, Anamabo, Cormentim, and Acra, under pretence of protecting them againſt their inland neighbours, who often harraſſed them by invaſions. With the ſame view they likewiſe laid duties on the fiſhery of the negros at Axim, Mina, and Mawri, forbidding them, under ſevere penalties, to hold any correſpondence, or to trade with other Europeans, as has been obſerved. In ſhort, they proceeded to lord it over them ſo abſolutely, as to take cognizance of all civil and criminal matters, and to aſſume the power of life and death, though at the ſame time they were obliged to pay yearly acknowledgements to the native kings for the forts they had there. For all theſe precautions, the blacks were not deterred from trading when occaſion offered, with other Europeans, whom the Dutch treated as interlopers.

[It ſeems the diſcontent of the Mina and Commendo blacks, as well as thoſe of Fetu and Sabow, was grown to ſuch a height, when Barbot was there, eſpecially thoſe of Mina, that they had actually broken with the Dutch, and kept their general cloſe confined to the caſtle, without daring to come on board for ten months, in which time they had twice aſſaulted it, though without ſucceſs, for want of underſtanding the art of war: they loſt about 80 of their men, and killed but four of the Dutch. While they lay thereabouts, 30 or 40 canoes full of blacks came every day from Mina and Commendo, complaining to him of the hardſhips the Dutch put upon their countrymen, ſome of whom were for a long time kept in the Bilbos within the caſtle, expoſed ſtark naked to the ſcorching ſun by day, and the cold dews in the night. Barbot himſelf ſaw three of them in that condition on the land batteries, ſhewed him by the then Dutch general, who had kept them ſo above nine months to puniſh their boldneſs and treachery, having been concerned in the conſpiracy of the Mina blacks at that time, to ſurpriſe and burn the caſtle of St. George; but their deſign being prevented, many of them, after firing their houſes, fled from Town to other places on the coaſt, the blacks both here, and at Commendo, entertained Barbot with their grievances, and importuned him to inform the French court at his return, how deſirous they were to ſee the French ſettled there, to protect them againſt the oppreſſion they lay under. Being one morning at breakfaſt with the general, with whom he was pretty familiar, as being an old acquaintance, he ſpied through the gallery window, ſeveral canoes of Mina, going on board the author's ſloop in the road, to trade. Hereupon he abruptly, in a paſſion, threatened to detain him, and ſeize his veſſel. Barbot, to pacify him, deſired him to ſend on board to know whether he had not left poſitive orders with the maſter, to ſell nothing to the blacks; adding, that the fiſcal was actually in the ſloop, to obſerve what paſſed. For his farther ſatisfaction, the author ſold him the remaining part of

the cargo for about ten marks of gold, at which the blacks, who were on board, were much diſpleaſed at his return.]

The Gold Coaſt contains fifteen kingdoms along the ſhore, which are Adouir, called alſo Socu, and Awina, Axim, Ancobar, Adom, named likewiſe Little Inceſſan, or Warſhes; Jabi, or Jabs; Commendo, or Guaffo; Fetu, Saboe, or Sabow; Fantin, Acron, Agonna, or Angwira; Acra, or Aquambous, Labbade; and Ningo, or Limpi.—— This coaſt ought to be reckoned to begin at Rio de Sweiro da Coſta, near Iſſini, being the firſt place where gold is purchaſed, and to end at Lay, in the country of Lampi, 13 or 14 leagues eaſt of Acra, where this metal is only to be had accidentally from the Amahow people, who live farther inland.

Theſe countries contain ſome, one, two, or more towns or villages, lying on the ſea ſhore, either under or between the European forts and caſtles. Theſe are only for the conveniency of trade and fiſhing; for the principal towns lie within land, and are very populous. Nine of theſe kingdoms are governed by their reſpective kings, or captains, as they were called before the Europeans came here. The other ſix are independent republics, under the direction of their own magiſtrates. The inland countries are governed by kings or lords.

In the neighbourhood of the river Ancobar, or Cobre, where the Gold Coaſt begins, there are a great number of villages, which compoſe the three different iſlands of Ancobar, Aborrel. and Agwira, the firſt a monarchy, and the other two republics.

For ſeveral years paſt, the Dutch had a fort in the country of Egwira, and drove a very conſiderable trade there; for beſides the afflux of gold brought thither from foreign parts, the country itſelf affords ſome gold mines; but the Dutch loſt their footing there in a very tragical manner. For the commander in chief of the negros being cloſely beſieged by the Dutch, as fame reports, ſhot gold inſtead of lead, hinting, by ſigns, that he was ready to treat, and afterwards trade with the beſiegers; but in the midſt of their negotiation he blew up himſelf and all his enemies at once. To compaſs this deſign, he engaged a ſlave by a promiſe of new cloaths, to ſtand ready with a lighted match, with which he was to fire the powder, when he ſaw him ſtamp his foot. This the ſilly wretch but too punctually performed, undiſcovered by any but one of the company's ſlaves, who obſerving it, ſilently withdrew in time, being the only one left alive to carry the news to Axim.

Eight leagues to the eaſt of Cape Apollonia, is a village which the natives call Akxem, and the French Axim. This country was once a monarchy. The arrival of the Brandenburghers divided the inhabitants, one part of them putting themſelves under the protection of the new comers, in hopes of more liberty; the reſt, who were the honeſter part, continuing under the Dutch. Before this time, Axim, extended ſeven leagues from the Rio Cobre, or Serpentine river, to the village of Boeſwa, a mile weſt of the Dutch fort, near the village of Boutry, or Butrow.

The ſoil produces abundance of rice, water-mellons, ananas, cocos, bananas, oranges, ſweet and ſour lemons, and other fruit, and ſallading. Their maiſe is not good, nor in great quantities, on account of the heavy rains that fall there.

Axim is governed by a body of Caboſhirs, who are the chief, and by the Manceros, or young men, elected thereto. The public affairs are managed by the former, but what concerns the whole land, as war and peace, and the raiſing of taxes (which ſeldom happens) fall under the immediate cognizance of both aſſemblies.

Axim has many fine large villages, all of them very populous, ſome ſeated on the ſhore, others farther inland. The chief near the ſhore that are called Achombene, at the Dutch fort of St. Anthony, and Pocqueſo near the hill Manfro at Cape Tres Puntas. The land is well cultivated, and the natives generally rich, by the great trade they drive for gold with the Europeans; but by the long wars between theſe people and thoſe of Ante and Adem, the trade has much declined of late.

The negros of Axim carry on a very conſiderable trade in gold, chiefly with the Engliſh, and Zealand interlopers, notwithſtanding the penalty incurred by ſuch as the Dutch catch in doing ſo; yet they find means by bribing the ſlaves ſet to watch them, to carry it on; ſo that the Dutch have not above the hundredth part of the gold here.]

Fort St. Anthony is ſeated on a large, high rock, running out from the ſhore to the ſea, like a narrow peninſula, with a round, high, rocky head, on which the fort ſtands, ſo encompaſſed with cliffs and rocks, it is only acceſſible on the land ſide, where it is well fortified with breaſt-work, a draw-bridge, and a battery of large guns, to cover the whole.

The firſt fort which the Portugueſe (who built this of St. Anthony) had here in the reign of King Emanuel, was in a little point on the ſhore, which they were forced to demoliſh on account of the attacks made by the natives, and remove to this rock. The Dutch diſpoſſeſſed them of it, January the 9th, 1642, and by the ſucceeding peace between Portugal and Holland, it was yielded to the Dutch Weſt India company, who ſtill poſſeſs it.

This fort, though not large, is handſomely built, being triangular, and ſtrong by nature. It has two batteries on the land ſide, and one on the ſea, with proper out-works, which, as well as the walls, are of the black ſtone of the country; low to the ſea, becauſe the rock there is high and ſteep, and higher to the land ſide. It mounts twenty-two iron guns, beſides padereros. The gate of the fort is low, and well ſecured by a ditch eight feet deep, cut in the rock, over which is a draw-bridge, defended by two padereros, beſides a ſpur that can contain twenty men, with ſeveral ſteps, or ſtairs, cut in the rock, to get up into the fort from the ſpur.

The chief factor's houſe is neatly built of brick, and high, being triangular, with three fronts, before one of which, on the weſt ſide, is a very ſmall ſpot of ground, planted with a few orange-trees.

The Dutch garriſon here is uſually twenty-five whites, with as many blacks, under a ſerjeant in the company's pay, and if well ſtored with proviſions, is able to reſiſt an army of the natives. One inconveniency here is, as in other forts on the coaſt is, that the violent rains in the wet ſeaſons moulder the walls, and require a continual charge to keep up the fortifications. For this reaſon, the Dutch have a lime-kiln near the village, where they make lime of oyſter-ſhells, which are in plenty here, ſufficient not only to ſerve this fort, but even El Mina, and their other fortreſſes.

The natives here make it their chief buſineſs to ſeek gold by diving, in which ſome are ſo ſkilful, that they will remain a quarter of an hour under water. But the violence of it, often ſubjects them to ruptures, and as they know not the uſe of truſſes, they ſoon die. Their way is to plunge in head-foremoſt, with a calabaſh in their hand, which they fill with ſand, or whatever they find at the bottom of the river, and this they repeat till they are tired, or think they have got enough. Then ſitting on the bank of the river, they put two or three handfulls of this ſand or earth, in a wooden platter, like a bowl, and holding it under water, ſtir it with their hand. This done, they ſift it, always covered ſlightly with water, that the water may carry of the lighter parts, while the gold, which is heavieſt, ſinks to the bottom of the bowl, where it lies lik a yellow, heavy duſt, ſometimes mixed with larger grains. This is what they call waſhed gold, and what is found at Axim, is reckoned the beſt on all the coaſt. This river of Axim, and thoſe which fall into it, muſt needs paſs near gold mines, the particles of which metal are carried down by their ſtream. After the great floods in the rainy ſeaſons, the negros

here get gold in greater quantities and larger grains than at other times. But they dare not ſell their gold to any other nation than the Dutch, or trade with any ſhips on the coaſt; for their villages are commanded by the cannon of fort St. Anthony. This the Dutch have contrived, under pretence of protecting them, but in reality, to monopolize the trade; which makes their government ſo odious along the Guinea Coaſt.

The Dutch Opper Keopman, or chief factor, here, is the next poſt on the coaſt, to the generalſhip of El Mina, and has a kind of ſovereign authority through the whole country of Axim, determining all cauſes among the negros, and all fines being paid into his hands; who diſtributes them to the injured perſons, firſt deducting his own fees, which are very large. For inſtance, if a black be fined an hundred crowns, his dues amount to two thirds, and the other third falls to the aſſembly of caboſhirs. But in caſes of murder, robbery, or debt, three fourths of the whole belong to the plaintiff, and the other fourth is for the factor and caboſhirs, who divide it into three parts, the former taking two, the latter one. The fiſhermen here, alſo, pay him the eighth of the fiſh they catch, which produces no inconſiderable ſum.

Three leagues eaſt of fort St. Anthony, is the hill Manfro, and near it the village of Pocqueſo, pretty large and populous; this is the ſame which we have diſtinguiſhed as John Conny's town.

The hill of Manfro, is very proper to build a fort on, being cloſe to the firſt point of Cape Tres Puntas, and here the Brandenburghers, or Pruſſians chief fortreſs is ſeated.

Cape Tres Puntas, was ſo called by the Portugueſe, from the three little heads, or hills, which compoſe it, and lie at a ſmall diſtance from each other; forming between them two bays, where veſſels may anchor. The tops of theſe hills are adorned each with a grove of tall trees, viſible at a great diſtance. It lies in four degrees ten minutes north latitude.

On the ſhore of the bays lie three villages, Acora, Accuon, and Inſiama, or, as the Engliſh call it, Dixcove.—Acora is at the bottom of the firſt bay, from the weſt. Accuon lies on the aſcent of the middle point of the Cape. And Dixcove, is in a little gulph, formed by the land, between the head or point, and Acron.

Some reckon theſe villages to belong to the king of Warſhas, or little Incaſſan; which lies between Axim and Anta. The whole country about the cape is hilly and woody. One ſort of timber here, is of a fine yellow, of which chairs, tables, &c. are made.

Beſides great Frederickſburgh, the Pruſſians have another fort and lodge in the neighbourhood. The fort is at Tacrama, or Crema, a village in the middle of Cape Tres Puntas, betwixt Great Frederickſburgh and the lodge. It was built by the Pruſſians in the year 1674, to ſecure the adjacent watering place. It mounts only ſix guns, to hinder the natives from trading with foreign ſhips within reach of them; the natives being entirely under the government of the Pruſſian director at Frederickſburgh. In 1701, the Pruſſian factor here ſuffered foreign ſhips to wood and water for ten pounds per ſhip.

The lodge, or little fort, called Dorothea, is at Acoda, about three leagues eaſt of the Cape. It was about the year 1690, enlarged by the Dutch, who had diſpoſſeſſed the Pruſſians of it in 1683, but afterwards reſtored it, by order of the company, about 1698. They have ſince conſiderably ſtrengthened and improved it. It is only a houſe with a flat roof, on which are two ſmall batteries, with about twenty guns; and a ſufficient number of apartments, ſlightly built, and too much crowded.

At Dixcove, properly called Inſiamo, the Engliſh built a ſmall fort in 1691, after they had ſeveral times diſputed the ground with the Brandenburghers, who, ſome time before, had ſet up their elector's flag there; but not finding it turn to account, quietly yielded it, and the Engliſh were ſix years in finiſhing it.

Smith, in 1726, found this a handſome, regular fortification, with four good batteries, mounted with twenty guns. This, and all the Engliſh forts, are ſubordinate to Cape Coaſt Caſtle, the chiefs being only allowed to carry a St. Gorge's flag, which is Argent, a croſs Gules; whereas thoſe who are governors, or generals by permiſſion, hoiſt the union flag, as at the Gambra, Sierra Leona, Cape Coaſt, and Whidah. At Dixcove there are two villages commanded by the ſame caboſhir; who, whenever the flag at the fort is diſplayed, hoiſts the St. George's flag at his houſe, to ſhew his attachment to the Engliſh. Here is a very ſafe cove, or landing place; and the gardens belonging to the fort are both pleaſant and profitable.

The kingdom of Anta, or Hante, begins at the village of Boeſira, eight miles eaſt of Acoda, and lying between Inſiama and the Cape at Broetroe; and extends eaſt to Sama, where it borders on that of the Jabs; on the north it has Adom, to the north-eaſt Mampe, on the north-weſt Egwira, on the weſt Inkeſſan and Axim, to the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt, the ocean. It is about ten leagues from eaſt to weſt, full of hills, covered with large trees, between which, lie ſpacious villages.

For ſeveral years this country was divided into the upper and lower Anta, of which Axim was reckoned the firſt. It was formerly potent and populous, being inhabited by a warlike, predatory people, frequently invading the Dutch: but their continual wars with the people of Adom, and others, have ſo infeebled them, that no footſteps remain of their priſtine glory.

But the war in 1691, betwixt the Anteans and Adomians, reduced it to a miſerable condition, and ſtripped it of moſt of its inhabitants. The few now left are ſo diſpirited, that they ſhelter themſelves under the Dutch fort, near Boutri, leaving the land wild and uncultivated. Before that war, the author walked through this country, from Axim to Boutri, and regaled his eyes with a proſpect of numerous villages, well peopled, a plentiful harveſt, and abundance of cattle. Boutri exceeds other places for healthineſs; for while he ſtaid there, fewer of his people died, in proportion, than any where elſe.

The moſt delightful part of the whole Anteſe land, lies between Acoda and Boutri, being watered by a freſh river which comes down from the country, and runs into the ſea by the Dutch fort at the latter place. The banks of it are adorned with fine tall trees, which quite overſhade it. The mangroves which grow on the ſides of it, under theſe trees, are full of oyſters growing on the boughs. This river is navigable four leagues up, but not higher.

The chief villages of Anta along the ſea coaſt, are Boutri, Poyera, or Petri-Grande, Pando, Tacorary, the largeſt of all, Sacundi, Anta, and Sama; all places of trade.

Boutri, or as it is commonly called Boutrow, and Broetroe, is ſeated on a little river at the foot of a high hill, on which the Dutch have a ſmall, irregular fort; it being an oblong, divided into two parts, and defended by two inoffenſive batteries, mounted with eight ſmall guns. This fort was erected by one Carlos, in the Dutch ſervice, with the conſent of the king of Anta, to whom it pays a ſmall tribute in gold. It was called Badenſteyn, and commanded the village of Broetroe, which is thinly peopled, and has but little trade, except that the inland blacks from Adom reſort here ſometimes with good gold.

The king of Anta reſides about four leagues from the fort inland, and is often at variance with thoſe of Adom, their territories extending between the rivers Cheina, or Sama, and Cobra, near twenty leagues diſtant from each other along the coaſt, and ſeem to go up the river Sama in a line, and then to turn with a narrow ſlip away to Cobra. The Dutch reckon the air of Boutri the wholeſomeſt on the Gold Coaſt.

Poyera, or Petri Grande, and Pandos, or Pampemay, two villages between Broetroe, and Tacorari, are inconſiderable for trade, being chiefly inhabited by fiſhermen and huſbandmen. The adjacent country yields plenty of maiſe. Theſe places are known at ſea by a vaſt rock near the ſhore.

Tocorari, (or Toccarado, as the Engliſh call it) the principal town on the coaſt, ſtands on the top of a hill, which juts to the ſouth-eaſt into the ſea, ſurrounded with ſeveral rocks, (to which the blacks pay their devotion) ſome above, and others under water, which run out two miles to ſea, as appears by the breakers. When theſe rocks are paſſed, the town is eaſily ſeen.

The Dutch had formerly a ſmall fort here, built on a hill at ſome diſtance from the town, called Witſen, which the Engliſh under Commodore Holmes took by ſtorm, in 1664. The next year the Dutch retook it under de Rutyer, who blew it up as a place of no conſequence, and putting the inhabitants to the ſword, burnt the town. The ruins of the fort are ſtill to be ſeen, the Engliſh, Dutch, Danes, Swedes, and Brandenburghers having poſſeſſed it ſucceſſively.

The natives here are famous for making the fineſt and largeſt canoes on the Guinea coaſt; ſome being 30 feet long, and ſeven or eight broad, of a ſingle tree, that will carry above ten tons of goods, with eighteen or twenty blacks to paddle them. Ships bound for Whidah, or Ardra, commonly provide themſelves with ſuch canoes. The price of one of the largeſt is about the value of forty or fifty pounds ſterling in goods. They are a treacherous people, and have little trade, though ſhips can ride ſafe in the bay, into which the river of St. George empties itſelf, a league to the eaſt of the town.

This coaſt affords vaſt quantities of large oyſters, the ſhells ſerving to make lime. Theſe the Engliſh uſed to fetch from hence for their forts, along the coaſt: but, in 1707, the Dutch general, purely to hinder them, built a fort of ſeven or eight guns there, and ſettled a factor, with a proper garriſon.

The town was ſo deſtroyed and burnt in the war between Anta and Adom, that only a few inconſiderable people dwelt there.

The village Saccundi is ſeated on the other corner of the bay, being as rich in gold, and as healthy a place as any on the coaſt. It lies ſixteen miles lower than Broetroe. Before the war between Adom and Anta, it was one of the fineſt and richeſt villages, as well in money as people, upon the whole coaſt; but the Adomeſe conquerors entirely burnt and deſtroyed it. Since then they began to rebuild it.

The land for eight or ten miles round about theſe forts, is not leſs agreeable. At this place, and behind Tocorari, four miles weſt of Saccundi, the valleys are ſo fine, that nothing can be more delightful.

The French had formerly a ſettlement here; at preſent the Engliſh and Dutch have each a ſtrong houſe or fort. The Dutch fort, called Orange, was erected before 1682, and the Engliſh had one ſome years after; both were of the ſame ſize, and a muſquet ſhot aſunder.

In September, 1694, the Dutch fort was ſurpriſed and plundered by the blacks, who alſo maſſacreed the crew of a ſmall Dutch ſhip that lay there. The firſt of June, 1698, the Engliſh fort underwent the ſame fate from the Antean blacks. It was built by Captain Henry Nurſe, agent for the company, as conſpicuouſly appeared from an inſcription in the wall.

About ſix years, the trade being at a low ebb, the officers of the Engliſh and Dutch forts at Saccundi, grew ſo jealous of each other, that they both lived in miſerable poverty, at the the expence of both the Engliſh and Dutch companies. Not long after, the Engliſh fort was burnt and deſtroyed by the Antean negros; the chief commander and ſome of the Engliſh being killed, and the reſt plundered of all their own and the company's goods.

In 1700, only the out-walls were left ſtanding. The Dutch being thus left maſters of the place, though but little to their advantage. The year before they traded here for a large quantity of gold, which the Engliſh underſtanding, made ſeveral attempts to rebuild their fort, but were always hindered by the Antean blacks. However, they at length ſucceeded.—The new fort is quadrangular, ſituated on a hill about fifty paces from the ſea ſide, between two Dutch forts, the one at Tocarari to the weſt, the other at Shama to the eaſt. It is built with brick and lime. The garriſon commonly conſiſts of fifteen whites, and twenty blacks. Smith, who was there in 1726, ſays it is much larger and ſtronger than that at Dixcove, though it has but the ſame number of guns, viz. twenty. The landing-place and gardens are as good, if not better. The country is indeed much the ſame, all along the Gold Coaſt.

Anta and Boari, are two ſmall villages between Saccundi and Sama, not of any note for trade, unleſs by accident. The country behind them is hilly and woody. Anta is only famous for the great quantity of palm-wine it produces, for which the blacks reſort here from fifteen to twenty leagues round, and export it all along the Gold coaſt. The ſoil is fertile in herbs, roots and fruits, and well ſtocked with goats and poultry. The ſtones here are of a dark and ruddy colour. The natives here are afflicted with canine appetites, thought to proceed from their drinking a ſort of palm-wine, called Criſca.

Sama lies on a hill, watered by the ſmall river of St. George, which runs into the ſea near its foot. It contains about 200 houſes or cabbins, ſo ſeated, as to form three ſmall villages together, one of which is juſt under the Dutch fort of St. Sebaſtian, ſo named by the Portugueſe, from whom the Dutch took it. The place is populous, but the inhabitants the pooreſt on the coaſt. They are almoſt all fiſhermen, and expert in their way. They form a kind of republic, governed by chiefs called Captains, under the protection of the king of Gavi, who reſides to the north-eaſt, ſome leagues from the ſea, is very rich, and much eſteemed by his neighbours.

The Dutch fort at Sama is about the ſize of that at Boutri, very ſmall, but a little longer: it has four ſmall batteries, and juſt as many guns as at Boutri. In the wars with England, it was in a manner levelled with the ground, being encompaſſed only with paliſadoes. The Engliſh, in conjunction with the Jab blacks, attacked it, but were repulled; ever ſince which, the Dutch have enjoyed it without interruption.

The river Shama, or Rio de St. Juan, is called by the negros, Boſſum Pra; they adoring it as a god, which the word Boſſum ſignifies. It waſhes the Dutch fort, paſſing by the Countries of Jab, Adom, and Jaffer. From thence the negros ſay it extended itſelf about 400 miles within land; it is a ſmall matter leſs than the Ancober, but wide enough, and lies ſo that boats loaded may conveniently come into it from the ſea, if the pilot be careful to avoid a rock near its mouth, which the ſailors call the ſugar-loaf, otherwiſe they are in danger of being ſplit. This river is very advantageous to the Dutch; for beſides ſupplying their ſhips with freſh water, it furniſhes the caſtle of El Mina with fuel for their kitchens and ovens; and wood neceſſary for ſmall ſhipping; ſo that the fort here is only valuable for its defence of the river.

The Dutch, on the unanimous report of the natives, that this river came down through countries rich in gold, undertook a diſcovery by water, and for that end ſent out a ſloop with ſix men well armed. Thirteen days after their departure, they returned, having rowed twelve days againſt a violent ſtream, and finding the river choaked with abundance of rocks and ſhoals under water, and exceeding large cataracts.

Near the mouth lies the ſugar-loaf, a dangerous rock, on which ſhips have been loſt for want of care, eſpecially

eſpecially in rough weather. There are alſo other dangerous rocks about half a league to ſea, on the coaſt between this and Boari to the weſt. The backs of the little territory of Tabew to the eaſt, ſomewhat inland, bringing down to Sama Cam-roots, fruit, and poultry.

The country of the Jabs or Yabbah, as the Engliſh call it, commences, a little to the eaſt of fort St. Sebaſtian, and runs a few leagues up to the inland and along the coaſt, to that of Commani or Commando. It is at preſent but a ſmall diſtrict, and not very potent, though the firſt kingdom which occurs in deſcending from the higher country.

The village Abrobi is the only remarkable place on the coaſt in this country, being ſeated in a bay which terminates at the Cape Aldea des Terres; Aldea, in Portugueſe ſignifying, a village. This village is divided into two parts, with large plains behind it, between the town and the hilly country, which makes the coaſt appear like double land off at ſea. The country abounds in corn and poultry, but there is not much gold except what is adulterated.

The kingdom of Great Commendo, Commani, Aguaffo, or Guaffo, borders weſt on the lands of Jabs and Tobou, north-weſt on Adom, north on Abramboe, eaſt on Oddena, or Mina, a little commonwealth between Commendo and Fetu, and ſouth on the ocean. It extends about five leagues along the coaſt, and is as broad as it is long. In the middle, on the ſhore, lies Little Commendo, or Ecki Tecki, as the blacks call it, or as ſome Europeans ſtile it, having Cape Aldea des Terres on the weſt, and Ampeni on the eaſt, with ſome ſmall hamlets between them.

This kingdom formerly made but one country with Sabu and Tetu, and waa called Adoſſenis. The chief town or reſidence of the king, is Guaffo, a large populous village or town of about 400 houſes, ſeated on a hill four leagues up the inland country from Little Commendo. The Dutch called Guaffo, Commendo Grande, to diſtinguiſh it from the Little Commendo.

The countries about Dixcove, Saccundi and Commendo, do not produce ſuch fine crops of rice, yet they abound with pleaſant, fertile valleys, and beautiful woody hills.

Behind Little Commendo, the country riſes gradually into ſmall hills, covered with trees, at the foot of which are ſmall plains curiouſly planted with fruit trees, and the land exremely well inhabited by a martial people; ſo that the king can raiſe, on occaſion, an army of 20,000 men. His guards uſually conſiſt of 500.

Little Commendo, ſo called by the Engliſh, French and Dutch, to diſtinguiſh it from Guaffo, named by the ſame nations Great Commendo, is called by the Portugueſe, Alea des Terres, and by the natives Ecki Tecki.

This town contained about 400 houſes, built on the ſhore, and watered by a rivulet, which falling into the ſea on the ſouth, forms a pretty channel or harbour for canoes. The eaſt ſide is low, the weſtern ſwellings into a hill, which being flat at top, is very convenient for a fort. The land riſes by degrees at the north end of the town (where the houſe formerly belonging to the French ſtands) into ſmall hills, at whoſe feet are fine fields and meadows, planted with variety of fruit.

Little Commendo was divided into three parts, containing together about 150 houſes; but moſt of it being accidentally burnt, many of the inhabitants moved to Ampeni, about the year 1675. Some parts of the town are ſeated on a rivulet, which runs into the ſea, forming a ſmall harbour at the mouth for canoes, on the weſt ſide of which is a head, or ſmall flat hill; the eaſt ſide is low land, but the landing difficult, by reaſon of the bar. The beſt time for going aſhore is in the morning.

The blacks here are of a turbulent temper, deceitful and crafty, and great thieves if not well watched. They are chiefly fiſhermen or brokers, it being a place of conſiderable trade for gold and ſlaves, by reaſon of the Acanez blacks reſorting here for European goods. Every morning there come out of theſe and other places on this coaſt, 70 or 80 canoes from each village, ſome a fiſhing, others to trade with the ſhips on the road; and return on ſhore about noon, when the freſh gales from the ſouth-weſt begin to blow, that they may land without trouble, and have time to diſpoſe of their fiſh, at Great and Little Commendo, where the inland blacks buy it for the country markets, thoſe of Grand and Little Commendo are ſo well furniſhed with corn, fruits, (eſpecially bananas) and roots at cheap rates, that the Dutch call it the Fruit-market.

The Engliſh fort at Commendo was large and quadrangular, with three ſquare baſtions, and one round; and within the fort is a large tower, built of ſtone and lime. It is ſeated on a level ground, fifty paces from the ſea, between two Dutch forts, Shama to the weſt, and Verdenburgh about half a mile to the eaſt.

Our author ſays, "Commendo is the largeſt and ſtrongeſt fort belonging to the Engliſh on the Gold Coaſt, except Cape Coaſt-Caſtle. It was mounted in 1726, with twenty-one guns, though there were ports for almoſt as many more. It has the neighbourhood of a very good Dutch fort within muſquet ſhot, but the chiefs have not always the beſt underſtanding together.

An Engliſh chief of Mr. Smith's acquaintance, having a little before had ſome diſpute with the Dutch chief, was attacked by him unawares under a great tree between the forts, and bravely defended his life by killing the Dutchman.

The Dutch fort was built by Mr. Swerts, in 1688, called Verdenburgh. It is a ſquare building, ſtrengthened with good batteries, on which may be conveniently mounted 32 guns, within ſo many ports in the breaſt-work; ſixty men may live in it, though at preſent there are not near ſo many, and but twenty guns. In 1695, the negros attacked it by night, when half of their twenty men were diſabled by ſickneſs, yet they were obliged to retire with loſs, after a fight of five hours, and loſt but two men in the action, tho' the negros poured their ſmall ſhot as thick as hail through the loop holes, which had no doors to them. At laſt one of them began to hack the doors with an axe; but being killed, the reſt precipitately ſheared off.

The general, to whom the Dutchman had notified his weak condition, ordered two ſhips to anchor before the fort, to ſupply him with men and ammunition. The captain of one of them, the day before the attack, for this purpoſe ſent his boat full of men, but they were no ſooner landed, than the negros fell on and killed ſeveral of them, even under the cannon of the fort. The guns were all found nailed up, in all appearance by the villainy of the gunner, who was ſent in chains to Mina. The general ſwore he would puniſh him examplarly; but inſtead of that ſoon ſet him at liberty, and preferred him to a better place. If the negros had then ſtormed the fort, they were in no poſture of defence; but going to eat, they gave him time to prepare for its ſecurity.

The merchandiſes here are glaſs beads of divers colours. Thoſe they divide into leſſer parts, poliſhing and boring them to ſell again; alſo ſmall braſs baſons, blue cloth, and linen of a good breadth, for which the country people have a great demand: yet here theſe goods are only ſold in ſmall parcels, ſo that on account of the daſhes or preſents to brokers and boatmen, this is the worſt place on the coaſt, eſpecially when many Dutch ſhips lie here together. The gold here is often adulterated, eſpecially that called Cracra gold.

When the Commanians are at war with their neighbours, there is ſometimes a briſk trade for ſlaves at Little Commendo, the negros ſelling them quickly off, to prevent the trouble and charge of ſubſiſting

ſifting there; as happened to an Engliſh ſhip here not many years ago.

Though the gold trade is not ſo conſiderable at this place, as others on the coaſt; yet the Normans had a factory there, the ruins of which the negros ſhow on a hill to the north. A modern voyager reports, that the king of Commendo, who reſides at Guaſſo, being informed a French ſhip was in the road, ſent the captain a preſent of refreſhments, and acquainted him that he would make no treaty with any European nation, while he had the leaſt hope the French would ſettle with him.

The natives expreſſed a great affection for the French, to Barbot. In 1682, the king ſent him his ſecond ſon as an hoſtage, if he would come up to Great Commendo to treat about ſettling in his country. Although at this time he had refuſed both the Engliſh and Dutch the liberty of building forts here. Barbot at his return, propoſed the matter to the French miniſtry, and adviſed Ampeni as the fitteſt place to build a fort to bridle El Mina. But it does not appear his repreſentations met with any ſucceſs.

In the year 1688, M. Du Caſſe came on this coaſt with four men of war, equipped at Rochfort, with a deſign of making ſome ſettlements here for the Dutch African company, eſpecially at Commendo, from the ſecret invitations of the natives, who hoped to revenge themſelves on the Dutch. Du Caſſe ſettled a factory at Commendo, and proceeded to Alampi and Whidah, with the ſame views. But a few months after he left Commendo by the inſtigation of the Dutch, a war happening with the Aguaſſos, they were routed, the king killed, and the factory pillaged: the French, being worſted, were obliged to fly for refuge to the Engliſh at Cape Corſo, ſince which they have made no attempt to ſettle on this coaſt.

A little farther to the eaſt, lies a place called Terra Piquena or Lari, where the Dutch in 1600 had no trade, on account of its being too near the caſtle of Mina. When the Portugueſe want any goods, they ſend ſome people of this town with gold to Commendo, which is but four miles diſtant acroſs the river, to buy them from the Dutch.

The village of Lari is inconſiderable as well as Ampeni. This laſt is the reſidence of one Cucumi, a Commendo black, who was ſent by the king of Great Commendo as his envoy to the king of France, in 1671, to invite him to ſend over and build a fort in his country, the Commanians having been long diſguſted with the arbitrary behaviour of the Dutch at El Mina, who had often made depredations by ſea on them, and burnt the villages on the coaſt, not daring to enter farther up the country.

The war of Commendo made a great change in the Dutch affairs. This place was in a flouriſhing condition, when, by the ill conduct of the Dutch, the Commanians grew diſcontented, and ready to break out into an open war. It was prevented for a time by the governor of El Mina's ſervant, brother to the king of Commani, who having been afterwards diſmiſſed, and ill-treated beſides, the Commanians ſoon found a pretence to come to a rupture; for in 1694, ſome miners ſent from Europe, were ordered to make an aſſay at a hill in Commani, about two miles above fort Vredenburgh. This gave offence to the negros, who pretended it was dedicated to one of their gods; and in a few days, when the miners ſuſpected nothing, they aſſaulted and robbed them of all they had; thoſe who were not nimble enough to get away, having been kept priſoners ſome time.

The Dutch complained of this ill uſage to the king of Commani, who proteſting innocence, laid the blame upon one John Cabes, a negro, who lived near their fort, and with whom they had a conſiderable trade, alledging, that he had done it in revenge of the ill treatment he had met with from a former governor. This was plainly a falſity, for Cabes was an arrant coward. However, the Dutch governor of El Mina, without farther enquiry, marched into Commania with ſome forces, in order to take ſatisfaction of John Cabes. Upon his arrival at John's village, the latter came out to meet him, (leading a ſheep for a preſent) and to clear himſelf of the charge; but ſeeing the El Mina forces fall upon his goods without any warning, he put himſelf in a poſture of defence, and ſome on both ſides were ſoundly beaten. After this, their affairs ran into confuſion. John Cabes, to revenge the injury, invited the Engliſh into Commani. He firſt gave them a dwelling in one of his ſalt pans, about four miles from the Dutch fort; and ſoon after ſettled them in the old ruined fort they formerly poſſeſſed. The Engliſh were afterwards well fortified there. This neighbourhood of the Engliſh had done great damage to their trade, which might have been eaſily prevented, if the general had not been ſo fiery and eager for war, in hopes to have got as much honour as Mr. Swerts did in 1687, who entirely ſubdued the Commanians, after they had loſt their king, and ſeveral of the greateſt men in the kingdom.

The general had prudently enough hired an army of Juffer and Cabeſterra blacks, for leſs than five thouſand pounds ſterling, which was twice as ſtrong as that of Commani; but imprudently threatening to pay thoſe of Fantin and Sabu a viſit, after he had chaſtiſed the Commanians, they joined the latter, and overthrew the Dutch, who loſt all their auxiliaries, and were ſo reduced, that they would never have been able to make any freſh attempt, if the negros had not fallen out among themſelves. By theſe means the king's brother, Tecki Ancan, the preſent king of Commani, came over to the Dutch with the blacks of Adom and other auxiliaries. This brought them into a ſecond engagement, in which the victory was long dubious; at laſt it ſeemed to incline to the Dutch ſo far, that their army fell greedily to plunder.

This being obſerved by Abe Tecki, the Commanian king, (who excelled all his countrymen in valour as well as conduct, and laid this bait) he marched towards them with freſh forces; but to deceive them, had their muſquets turned the wrong way; accordingly, the Dutch taking them for friends, continued plundering, till the king coming up, his men turned their muſquets, and fired ſo briſkly upon them, that they left their prey, and fled to ſave their lives, yielding the Commanians a ſecond complete victory.

That general's ſucceſſors prevailed on the Commanians not only to make good the damage the Dutch had ſuſtained in the war, but alſo to enter into an alliance with them; but the Engliſh knowing this tended them no good, inſinuated to the king, that conſidering his two victories, and their weak condition, he ought rather to expect ſatisfaction of the Dutch; adding, that he was then ſtrong enough to make them purchaſe a peace on his own terms; that they would make his cauſe their own, and aſſiſt him with proper neceſſaries. The king eaſily liſtening to this advice, renewed his old courſe, and did as much miſchief as ever.

The Dutch at firſt made uſe of fair means, but finding it only made him more outrageous, they treated with the Fantin blacks, at that time their friends, who in conſideration of three hundred pounds ſterling, ſtipulated to fight the Commanians till they were utterly extirpated.

The Dutch now thought themſelves ſecure, daily expecting the Fantins would take the field; but here the Engliſh again baffled their deſign; one of their governors, going from Cape Corſe to Fantin, prevailed with that people, for exactly the ſame ſum given them before by the Dutch, to ſtand neuter, which being oppoſed only by the Braffo, they ſoon diſpatched him, ſubſtituting another in his room.

The Commanians now began to inſult them more than ever; to remedy which, the Dutch agreed with the Adom blacks for leſs than five hundred pounds to aſſiſt them; but they falling out about the diviſion of the money, as well as thoſe of Acani and Cabeſterra, (who had alſo contracted to join the others) none of them would ſtir. Thus baffled, the Dutch caſt their

laſt anchor, and contracted with the Dinkira blacks for 800 pounds to take their part: but they falling into a war with their near neighbours, were obliged to neglect their agreement to defend their own country; however they were ſo honeſt as to return the money, excepting a little the meſſenger kept. The Dutch alſo got back the greater part of what they had given the Adom negros: but that which thoſe of Fantin had, could never be recovered.

They muſt now infallibly have begged a peace of the Commanians, had not a critical accident helped them to a more honourable concluſion. The before mentioned brother of the king of Commani had, (for ſome villainy, as it was reported) together with his wife and children, been ſent as ſlaves to Surinam by the former governor; but having been declared free by the company, were brought hither again. Upon his arrival, the Dutch employed him to ſound his brother; who finding him inclined to peace, they concluded one upon very honourable and good terms: but they had no ſooner began to reliſh the ſweets of their new tranquillity, when the Engliſh, for what reaſon is not certainly known, diſpatched the king.

This action brought on a great change of affairs on the coaſt. The Commanians became inveterate enemies to the Engliſh, reſolving at any rate to revenge their king's death. Tecki Ancan, on the contrary, having had a hand in his brother's murder, fled from the Dutch, and agreed with the Engliſh, to fall on the Commanians the firſt opportunity. The Dutch were invited to join them, but refuſed, having found war fatal to their commerce: however, they went on with their deſign, hiring the negros of Sabu, Acani, and Cabeſterra; with which auxilaries, Tecki Ancan engaged the Commanians; but with four times the number of men, was totally routed. The Commanians owed this ſignal victory to their general, Anno Tecki.

Notwithſtanding the ſtrict neutrality of the Dutch, the negro general ſent a civil meſſage to their governor, together with ſeveral ſkulls of his vanquiſhed foes, in token, that he had reſolved to live and die in the ſervice of the Hollanders. This meſſenger was diſmiſſed with thanks and preſents to the general.

The Dutch had here a fair opportunity to obſtruct the Engliſh and reſent their former injuries, by quitting Tecki Ancan, and joining the Commanians againſt them. But, inſtead of this, the governor liſtening to one Akim, a broker, a great villain, though his favourite, who continually buzzed ſtories into his ears againſt the Commanians, behaved ſo as to provoke them to offer the Dutch ſome injuries. This was what Akim wanted, as furniſhing him with new arguments for beginning a war againſt them; in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that the governor, without conſulting or imparting it to the council, reſolved to attack the people of Fetu, ſubject to the Commanians, when they came, under the protection of the Dutch, to market with their goods. Accordingly, this was barbarouſly put in execution, and they robbed them of all they brought, ſome being killed, and eighty made priſoners.

The pretence for this proceeding was, that the Fetu blacks had murdered ſome women of El Mina, as they were paſſing by them: but they gave ſolemn aſſurances of their being innocent, and repaired to market, as uſual, unarmed. The murder was more likely committed, by the contrivance and order of Akim himſelf, and Tecki Ancan, to ſerve their purpoſes. However, the gentlemen of the council were not willing to diſcover their ſentiments, becauſe the blame muſt have fallen on Akim, who might revenge himſelf on them.

By theſe practices, the Dutch trade at El Mina was at once ſtifled, and the Commanians and Fetuans became their profeſſed enemies. This ſo animated the Engliſh, that, inſtead of making peace with the Sabu blacks, the ſtronger of the two, they ſtrengthened themſelves to the utmoſt, and once more engaged the Commanians. Theſe, with their ſmall forces, behaved ſo well, that they had certainly have got the day, had not their general been wounded, and forced to retire; which ſo confounded them, that they fled in great diſorder, leaving Tecki Ancan and his followers an entire victory; the general and ſeveral principal men being killed or taken priſoners. By this ſucceſs, Tecki Ancan became king of Commani; and the Dutch reaped ſome ſhare of the advantage by it as well as the Engliſh.

The kingdom of Fetu, or Afuto, as it is called by Vaſconcellas, or Fetow, by the Engliſh, borders, to the weſt, on the river Benja and the country of Commendo, north on Atti, eaſt on Sabu, ending below the Daniſh Mount of Manfrow, and ſouth on the ocean. The kingdom is elective, and the chief town Fetu, is far up the country.

Fetu is 160 miles long, and about as many broad; beginning with the hill St. Jago, or the Salt River, and ending below the Daniſh Mount, paſſing by Cape Corſe.

This country, ſays our author, was formerly ſo powerful and populous, that it ſtruck terror into all its neighbours, eſpecially that of Commani, ſubject to it. But it is at preſent ſo drained by continual wars, that it is entirely ruined; and neither the king nor his nobles, dare ſtir without leave from him of Commani. This havock was owing to their diviſion in the laſt wars: part ſiding with the Commanians, and part with the Dutch. Whence they ſuffered a double loſs, and were very much diminiſhed in the laſt battle: ſo that not enough remained to till the country, which for fertility and pleaſantneſs, might be compared to Anta. Before the laſt wars, it abounded with fine, well built, and populous towns, enriched with large fields of corn and cattle, palm wine, and oil. The beautiful, tall trees on the hills, and in the valleys, and the freſh rivers in the country, do not a little adorn, and render it a fit ſituation for the chief ſettlements of the Dutch and Engliſh. The inhabitants moſtly apply themſelves, without diſtinction, to agriculture, ſome to fiſhing and boiling of ſalt; and others to trade on their own account, or as brokers for the inland blacks.

The countries about El Mina, and Cape Corſo, are much the ſame for beauty and goodneſs, but more populous, and the nearer towards the ſlave coaſt, the more delightful and rich the ſoil appears.

Twelve miles below Vredenburg, is the village or town of El Mina, or Mine: but as no gold mines are found within ſeveral miles about it, the Portugueſe probably gave it that name, becauſe they met here with a great affluence of gold from all parts.

The natives call it Oddena; it is very long, and indifferent broad. The houſes are built with rock ſtone, in which it differs from all other places, where they are uſually made of clay, or of wood. About 1684, it was very populous, and much ſtronger than at preſent; the inhabitants being then very terrible to all the negros on the coaſt: but about fifteen years paſt, the ſmall pox ſwept away ſo many, and ſince then, the Commanian wars, together with the tyrannical government of ſome of their generals, whereby they have been ſo miſerably depopulated, and impoveriſhed, that it is hardly credible how weak it is at preſent, (1701) it not being able to furniſh out fifty armed men, without the help of the European ſervants; and there is no place upon the whole Gold Coaſt without ſome of the negros of El Mina: for ſeveral, who were friends to the Commanians, fled to them, but moſt of them from the tyranny of their governors, and the above mentioned Akim.

The Mina blacks are handſome, luſty, ſtrong men, of a martial ſpirit, and the moſt civilized on the Gold Coaſt, from their long correſpondence with the Europeans. They drive a good trade along the Gold Coaſt, and to Whidah, by ſea. They are alſo dexterous at debaſing of gold, a trade they learned from the Portugueſe. Some of them are very ingenious in

the goldſmith's art, making ornaments and toys of gold, as buttons, plain, or in filligreen; curious hat-bands, and ſword hilts, with many other curioſities. They are alſo great artiſts in melting glaſs of all ſorts, into figures.

The river Benja runs inward towards the country for about two miles, the water of which is ſalter than the ſalteſt brine, or pickle, in very dry ſeaſons: but in the months of May and June, in the rainy ſeaſon, it is as freſh as freſh water. At thoſe times the freſhes fall from the circumjacent hills, as ſwiftly as a tide runs in from the ſea; ſo that this place is very convenient for water-mills, ſince the ſtream would eaſily turn one.

The caſtle of El Mina, already mentioned, is ſtrong, and well ſituated for protecting trade, lying near the centre of the Gold Coaſt, and the country near it abounding with cattle and fruits. The natural poſition of it is ſtrong, being built on a rock, waſhed on one ſide by the ſea, towards which it has bulwarks. It has alſo two more to the land ſide, but not ſo ſtrong, there being leſs danger of an attack from that quarter. Both the caſtle itſelf and out-works are of ſtone, neatly built. Towards the ſea the wall is lower, it being defended by the ſteep rocks on which it is founded. Thoſe to the land ſide are high, a ſpace being left to walk round the caſtle, which is near as big as that of Rammekins in Zeeland. The walls are encompaſſed with a deep ditch, dry towards the land, but the part next the ſea full of water. The eaſt part being deep enough to admit barks.

The caſtle has two gates, one on the eaſt ſide, the other on the weſt, of which, the latter is the largeſt and moſt beautiful. It has a draw-bridge, over which is a ſtone building, or tower, wherein is the governor's apartment. The eaſt gate, which is next the cuſtom-houſe, ſerves chiefly for importing or exporting of goods. In the centre of the caſtle is a large area, or ſquare, adorned with a new church. Their church ſtood formerly on an eminence without the walls; but, in 1596, one Charles Hutſor threatning to beſiege the caſtle, they demoliſhed it, and built one in the ſquare, more out of harm's way.

The Portugueſe bear this climate much better than the Dutch, which is owing to their temperance, and taking care of themſelves; but the women ſeldom live long here, being ſubject to diſeaſes, which ſoon carry them off.

The Dutch officers and ſervants in this ſettlement are, firſt, the ſoldiers with their commanders, out of which, formerly, the beſt qualified for merchandiſe and the pen, were choſen to ſerve the company as aſſiſtants: but through the miſconduct of one, who had advanced himſelf to almoſt the higheſt poſt here, the company have ordered, that for the future, no ſoldiers ſhall be preferred to aſſiſtants places. Though his office is the loweſt among thoſe concerned in trade or writing, the ſalary appointed for this ſervice is ſixteen guilders per month, and twenty more for board wages. His firſt ſtep to preferment, is that of under commiſſary, or under factor, with a ſalary of twenty guilders per month. By theſe ſub-factors moſt of the gold is received, for which they are accountable to the chief factor, or him to whom the trade of the place is entruſted in chief, who is alſo accountable to the company; the general accounts of the whole coaſt being kept at El Mina, where there is alſo a warehouſe keeper, who has all wet goods, as wine, beer, or brandy, &c. and all edibles, as fleſh, beans, peas, and oats, under his keeping, and is intruſted with the ſale of them: ſo that when a factor obſerves his ſub-factor, or warehouſe-keeper, inclined to extravagancies, he muſt watch him very narrowly, ſince the factor is obliged to make good all that is waſted by his deputies.

Out of the under commiſſaries, are choſen factors, to reſide at, and command the forts, and take care of the trade there, with a ſalary of thirty-ſix guilders, beſides an allowance of ten guilders for a ſervant or two, and twenty guilders board wages per month.

The oldeſt and moſt experienced of theſe factors is removed to Mowri, or Cormantin, with a ſalary of eighty guilders per month, if his election here be confirmed by the company; who, not without good reaſon, have reſerved the ſupplying theſe important poſts to themſelves, as well as that of the chief factor at El Mina, or the ſecond perſon on the coaſt, who has a ſalary of 100 guilders per month. Theſe chief factors have alſo the ſame advance on merchandiſes, and board wages as the other factors have: beſides which, the ſecond perſon has ten guilders per month allowed for a ſervant, and the general's, or governor-general's table is at his ſervice.

The chief factor of El Mina having ſerved that office ſatisfactory three years, has a good chance for the governor-general's place, when it becomes vacant. This is the higheſt poſt, having the company's authority over the whole coaſt, of which the perſon in it is director-general, with a ſalary of 300 guilders per month, and a large perquiſite advantage in all the company trades for, on the whole coaſt; ſo that in time of good trade, his poſt is very advantageous.

Beſides the officers employed in trade, are the following: firſt, the chief fiſcal, whoſe ſalary is fifty guilders per month, and ten guilders for a ſervant, beſides the liberty of the general's table. Though his ſalary ſeems ſmall, his perquiſites are large, if he be diligent: for all the gold, or commodities, unlawfully traded for on the coaſt is forfeited, of which his ſhare is one third, be the goods an European's or a negro's; beſides one third of the fines ſet upon the latter, and the forfeiture of wages inflicted on any offending officers, or ſervants, by the governor and council; all which together amount to a conſiderable ſum.

Next the fiſcal, the book-keeper-general takes place; whoſe province is to keep the great books, and the counter parts of the accounts of all the forts and lodges, or, in ſhort, to take care of all the company's accounts in this country. His ſalary is ſeventy guilders, beſides ten more per month for his ſervants; and, for a free table, he is allowed twenty-five guilders advance. He is generally aſſiſted by an under book-keeper, whoſe ſalary is thirty guilders per month, and two aſſiſtants. Next him, is the book-keeper of the garriſon, whoſe ſalary, equal to a ſub-factor's, is twenty-four guilders, though factors have thirty-ſix: ſo to make amends, he has the power of ſelling by auction, the effects of all perſons who die on the coaſt, for which he is allowed five per cent. He is alſo commonly helped by an aſſiſtant. Sometimes here is likewiſe a ſecretary, whoſe ſalary is fifteen guilders per month, and under him he has three or four aſſiſtants.

The laſt office is that of under fiſcal, commonly called by the reſt, auditor. His ſalary is twenty guilders per month, and to his ſhare falls alſo one tenth of all forfeitures.

In ſpirituality, they have only a miniſter, with a ſalary of 100 guilders, and a clark with one of twenty, per month, beſides which, the firſt has ten guilders per month allowed for a ſervant, and a place at the governor's table.

As there are not upon the whole coaſt, ſixty perſons in all, one third of which are aſſiſtants, theſe if they behave well, cannot miſs of being preferred to a good poſt.

The government is principally veſted in the director-general, as the ſupreme ruler; from whom all governors of the out-forts receive their orders, without which they cannot tranſact any important affairs. But difficult affairs, or thoſe of eſſential importance, are cognizable by, and ought to be laid before the aſſembly of councellors, or council compoſed of, viz. the director-general, the fiſcal, (in all other things beſides criminal caſes) the chief factors, the enſign, or ſtandard bearer, the accomptant-general, who jointly make up the council: to which are added, the factors of the out-forts, or councellors, occaſional or extraordinary.

In

In this council every man has the privilege of voting and debating freely; but as the director-general has an arbitrary power in all affairs on the coaſt, and can diſcharge any officer, and ſend him off the coaſt, without aſſigning the leaſt reaſon for it, therefore all the reſt with circumſpection watch his eye, and behave accordingly.

The little kingdom of Fetu has ſeveral villages or towns on the ſea coaſt, the chief whereof is Oegwa, at Cape Corſe, which lies in the latitude of four degrees forty nine minutes, north, and is famous for the beautiful caſtle the Engliſh have there.

This town lies on a riſing ground, defended by a large rock, on which the waves break ſo violently, it may be heard a great way off. It contains above five hundred houſes, and is divided by narrow, crooked lanes, along the deſcent, appearing like an amphitheatre from the coaſt. It is governed by a Braffo, and one Griffin a caboſhir, and lies wholly under the command of the caſtle guns.

Their houſes are built of mud, kept clean, and many of them furniſhed with chairs or ſtools, good mats to lie upon, earthen pot and pans, and ſeveral changes of tomis.

The town is noted for the plentiful market held every day, of all ſorts of proviſions, brought from the country, as alſo of conſiderable quantities of gold, from Fetu, Abrambo, Aſiento, and even Mandingo.

The town of Oegwa was formerly well peopled, but this, as well as all the others, has ſuffered very much in the Commanian war; beſides that, the multiplicity of Engliſh interlopers hath continually ſtript it of its inhabitants; for, when they call here, they always carry ſome of them to Whidah. They give names to their children moſtly by the days of the week they are born on; Quaſhi Yeday, Kuujo, or Sunday-Monday, Tueſday; and at Manhood, change it to ſomething expreſſive of their diſpoſition; Aquerro Okhu, Yokati, Titwi, that is like a parrot, lion, or wolf, &c. The ſame they do by white men, impoſing a name of their own chuſing.

They are of a warlike diſpoſition, though in time of peace, their chief employment is fiſhing. At this they are very dexterous, eſpecially with a caſt net, nor are they leſs acquainted with the hook and line for ground fiſh. They go a fiſhing every day during the dry ſeaſon, except Tueſday, which is their fetiſh day, or day of reſt. They frequently venture abroad in the rains, though they are ſometimes driven in again at the approach of a tornado, before they have been two hours abroad.

Cabo Corſo, as the Portugueſe call it, and Cape Corſe, or Coaſt, as the Engliſh have corrupted it, is formed by the ſhore jutting out a little, and making an angle, whoſe ſouth and eaſt ſides are waſhed by the ſea. About nine miles to the eaſt of El Mina, on this cape, is ſituated the Engliſh fort called Cape Coaſt Caſtle, being an irregular ſquare, two of whoſe ſides lie along the ſhore.

This is the principal fort and factory of the Engliſh company to which their ſhips continually reſort; and here they receive orders either by themſelves or with ſupercargos, where elſe to proceed.

The walls of Cape Coaſt Caſtle are high and thick, eſpecially on the land ſide, part thereof being of rock ſtone, and part of large bricks, which the Engliſh make at ſome diſtance from the place. The height of the walls is the ſtrength of this fort, ſufficient againſt any negro power; as they lately experienced in an attack the Fantins made upon the caſtle's dependants, who found their ſecurity under the walls.

The parade within, which is twenty feet perpendicular above the ſurface of the rock, forms a kind of quadrangle, being open on the eaſt ſide to the ſea, which makes it airy, cool and pleaſant, affording a fine proſpect of Queen Ann's Point, and the ſhips in Anamaboe road. On this platform are thirteen pieces of heavy cannon. The other three ſides of the ſquare are curiouſly built up, containing many beautiful, ſpacious, neat apartments and offices; particularly on the ſouth-ſide, a large, well built chapel, the back part of which joins to the caſtle wall, having the great body of the rock, called Tabora, on the ſide of it, which not only ſerves to break off the violence of the ſea, but is a good defence againſt an enemy on that ſide.

This caſtle has four flankers. The thirteen pieces of cannon on the platform, which are eight pounders, command the road and paſſage up to it; and the ſmall arms ſcour all the landing places behind the rocks which encompaſs it. On the battlement are ten guns, and twenty-five on the flankers, from a minion to nine pounders. On the rock Tabora, twenty paces from the caſtle, are four or ſix twelve pounders, in a round tower, which ſerves to keep the blacks of the town in awe, though otherwiſe it ſeems uſeleſs, the caſtle being ſo high, that its cannon can both ſufficiently protect or command the town.

This caſtle makes a handſome proſpect from the ſea, and is a very regular, and well-conſtructed fortification, being as ſtrong as it can be well made. At the entrance is a well-ſecured and large gate facing the town, and within which, is a ſquare, where four or five hundred men may very conveniently be drawn up and exerciſed, Its four flankers have a covered communication with each other; and over the tank is a noble battery of fifteen whole culverin and demi cannon, lying low, and pointing upon the road which it commands.

Our author obſerves, that the caſtle mounts altogether forty pieces of heavy cannon; and about 100 white men in garriſon.

This garriſon hath a military land officer to diſcipline and command them under the Agento. He is the lieutenant of the caſtle, but goes by the title of Captain. Every night at eight o'clock the gate is ſhut, where he appoints a good guard, and comes to the agent or merchant for the word.

The natural ſituation is on a round head jutting out into the ſea to the ſouth ſouth-eaſt, and its being encompaſſed on that ſide, and the ſouth-weſt by ſeveral rocks, and the ſea itſelf render it inacceſſible on that ſide, the waves of the ocean continually breaking on thoſe rocks. There being but one long ſandy beach to land forces, where one hundred men could eaſily repulſe a thouſand; and that if the fort could hold out three days, the army would want proviſions, it being eaſy to ſtop all the paſſes, and cut the men off from freſh water.

Yet notwithſtanding theſe advantages, this caſtle is not altogether ſecured againſt an enemy. The three great hills which lie near it to the north-weſt and north-eaſt of the town, are no leſs inconvenient to it, than the Daniſh mount was, before it came into the company's poſſeſſion, for there batteries might be eaſily erected to reduce it by any nation who were maſters of the blacks and their country. For this reaſon the Engliſh make it their buſineſs to keep them in their intereſt by preſens, beſides a monthly ſum paid the king of Fetu for the priviledge of the caſtle.

The lodgings and apartments within the caſtle are very large, and well built of brick, having three fronts.

The agents and factors have genteel convenient lodgings, and there are no better barracks any where. They lodge two in a room, and receive their pay duly once a week in gold duſt.

There is one ſpacious warehouſe, and ſeveral ſmaller ones; a convenient trunk or place for the ſlaves to live in by themſelves; a good forge, with ſmiths to make iron-work; a large kitchen to dreſs the proviſions, the factors keeping a very plentiful table; but they eat only twice a day, at ten in the morning and four in the evening. There are ſeldom fewer than ſixteen at their table, which, as our author was aſſured, ſtood the company ſome years from twelve to fourteen thouſand pounds.

The general's lodging communicates with the chapel, a capacious hall, which ſerves to preach and dine

in;

in; hence they can over-look what the company's ſervants are about. A curious contrived balcony runs along the buildings of the firſt ſtory, with handſome ſtair caſes on the outſide, at certain diſtances on each front, for a communication between the lodgings of the garriſon. Under theſe balconies are ſeveral ſhops. Next the agent's apartment is a large, ſtately hall. There are alſo ſpacious ſtore-houſes, and compting-houſes for the factors and other officers.

In the caſtle is kept a ſchool to teach the little black children of the town to read and write, in order to prepare them to be chriſtians: but the labour is loſt, for their parents will never give their conſent.

Near the great gate is a dungeon for the confinement of murderers, traitors, and ſuch malefactors, till an opportunity preſents of ſending them to England to be tried.

Under the ſquare, or place of arms, is a ſpacious vault, having an iron grate at the ſurface, to let in light and air on the ſlaves, chained and confined here, till a demand comes for them.

Under the battery is a curious tank, or ciſtern, containing 400 tons. It is a long ſquare cut out of a rock, and terraſſed over, with a convenient pair of ſtairs down to it. This tank, which is filled every rain, ſupplies not only the caſtle with water all the year, but frequently the company's ſhips. The method of filling it is thus: there being many channels made from the caſtle to the tank, as ſoon as it begins to rain, the bambay, (an officer ſo called) makes the negro ſlaves ſtop all the paſſages of the channels, and then ſweep the caſtle very clean. After which, he opens the channels into the tank, where the clear water runs in great quantities, the rains here being generally in long, and heavy ſhowers. Upon this tank, which is ſtrongly arched over, there is a moſt delightful walk by the aforeſaid battery.

The only landing place is juſt under the fortreſs, in a ſmall bay to the eaſt, where the ſtrand is clear of rocks, being a ſandy flat, on which the blacks run their canoes without danger. The way thence lies along the caſtle walls to the principal gate, looking weſt-north-weſt, up the country. It has neither ditch nor draw-bridge before it, nor ſo much as a portcullis; being only defended by the two round flankers on the land ſide, and a low, ſmall battery of ſix guns.

The anchoring place is two miles from the ſhore, where Agent Greenhill, in the year 1660, made frequent obſervation, that the variation was twenty degrees fourteen ſeconds, weſt. It generally flows here ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, and north-north-weſt upon the full and change. The water upon ſpring tide, riſes ſix or ſeven feet.

The caſtle expects to be ſaluted by all ſhips that anchor in the road of Cape Corſe, not by firing of guns, but by lowering the top-ſails down to the tops, and fires with ball on all ſuch ſhips, Engliſh or others, as omit to do ſo.

The company's ſhips are ſupplied with water from a large ciſtern in the caſtle, or from a large pond, lying at ſome diſtance towards the ſea, between Cape Corſe and El Mina; the blacks conducting the boats thither, and rolling the caſks backwards and forwards along the paths, amongſt the rocks, at a place called Domine.

When the tank is ſo low, that ſhips cannot be ſupplied with water from thence, they are forced to fill it at a ſtanding pool, called Domine's hole, a good diſtance from the caſtle, and roll it thence over craggy ſtones to the landing-place, where negros attend, for hire, to ſwim the caſks off to the long-boat, which lies about a cable's length off ſhore at an anchor, not daring to come nearer for the great ſwell that is conſtantly upon the whole coaſt. The negro ſwimmers watch a ſmooth, and roll the puncheons of water into the ſea till they float, then each ſwims after his caſk, ſometimes above, ſometimes under water, ſtill puſhing it before him, till they come to the boat. The merchandiſe and ſtores brought by the ſhips for the caſtle, are ſent in this long-boat as near the ſhore as they dare go, and are met by the canoes to unlade them. Theſe being flat bottomed, play upon the ſea until they perceive a ſmooth, and then with violence running themſelves on ſhore, take out the goods, and launch off again.

The director-general is ſupreme, or firſt perſon in the factory, at 2000 pounds per annum; two other merchants, at 300 pounds, and a ſecretary at 200 pounds, are what compoſe the council for the company's affairs, ſend factors to their outer forts, and ſupercargoes on board veſſels, to collect the trade, who are to tranſmit and make up their accounts here. The general ſupports a table for them; a chaplain and ſurgeon, with ſalaries of eighty pounds per annum, who have orderly meals, without any idle bottles.

Though the general has but one vote in buſineſs, yet it is tacitly conſented to, from his better allowance and power as governor, that he ſhall lead the others, who ſign only for their ſalaries: he therefore diſpoſes ſolely preferments to the factors and writers, who, as they pleaſe, or diſpleaſe, may be continued, or removed to advantage. For, as on ſervice for the fort they are allowed a commiſſion in trade additional to their pay; ſo in ſome of the outward ports, ſuch as Acro, or in a ſhip, they make conſiderable increaſe; while at others, Annamabo, or Dixcove, they find a great deal of trouble, wet lodging, ſcarcity of proviſion, and no profit.

The government of Cape Corſe caſtle, is ſometimes veſted in one perſon, with the title of Captain-general of the Engliſh ſettlements on the Gold Coaſt of Guinea. As for the council, it may be reckoned a cypher; the chiefs acting as they pleaſe, by the ſeeming conſent of a council, that does not oppoſe them, as being veſted with a full power by the company to diſpoſe of all employments at their pleaſure.

The town of Oegwa forms a ſort of triangle: two of its angles almoſt incloſe the caſtle, and the third extends a great length to the walls of the gardens, which lie north of it and the town; the way from the caſtle gate to the garden gate, lying through the middle of it.

Our author, who ſurveyed this ſettlement in 1727, ſays, that theſe gardens are pleaſant and large, being near eighty miles in compaſs, but have no limits or incloſure, except on the ſouth-ſide, next the town: the whole ſpace being called garden, as far as any walks are planted. They are very fertile, and produce every thing that grows within the Torid Zone.

The ſhore about Cape Corſe lies almoſt eaſt and weſt expoſed to the ſouth. The country is full of hills, not very high, but cloſe together; the valleys being very narrow, and covered with a ſort of low, but thick ſhrubs. The negros do not till above a tenth part of the ground, and yet in ſix months it is overgrown as before. Some impute theſe ſhrubs to the badneſs of the air, others to the rain-water in their pits, which ſtrains through the earth, and has a ſweetiſh taſte, with a mixture of acid, like vitrol; others aſcribe it to the exceſſive rains: but it has been obſerved, that it is not the wet alone which makes this country unhealthy; for the ſurface here is every where ſand or gravel, which is reckoned the moſt wholeſome ſoil, having under it a ſort of whitiſh marl, like fullers-earth.

Here is abundance of excellent large fiſh of ſeveral ſorts, ſmall poultry, and large Muſcovy ducks, at low rates. The mutton and kid, though plenty enough, is very lean and inſipid: but beef is ſeldom to be met with. The caſtle is well ſtocked with tame pigeons.

As to the air, not knowing that it is more faulty here than in other places on the coaſt; it is thought that the unhealthineſs may proceed from the ground being covered, as before mentioned, with ſhrubs; whence, in the valleys eſpecially, ariſes towards night and morning a certain fog, or miſt, which

may diſtemper the air; but it is ſaid the mortality here is chiefly owing to intemperance and bad diet. The air indeed is exceſſive hot, and ſo piercing, that it penetrates a man's body, much more than in France or England. It alſo corrodes iron much faſter.

In the neighbourhood of the caſtle are two forts, each juſt three quarters of a mile from it; one called Phipps's Tower, the other Fort Royal. The firſt is a little round tower, built by the governor, or General Phipps, from whom it takes the name, on the top of a ſteep hill, by the ſide of the gardens. It ſtands north-weſt from the town, and mounts ſeven guns.

Cape Corſe has always been a noted place for traffic, ever ſince the Europeans frequented Guinea. The French drove a conſiderable trade here, till they were interrupted by the Portugueſe of El Mina, who, in 1590, or 91, ſeized a French ſhip, killing moſt of the men, and making the reſt ſlaves. They did the like in 1592, by a boat belonging to an Amſterdam ſhip. However, in 1600, the natives of Mowri being at war with them, the Dutch trade of Cape Corſe, began to revive. Abundance of gold is brought from Fetu, Abrambow, and Mandingo, as well as other places, above 800 miles inland, by the native merchants, who take off, in exchange, a great quantity of goods, eſpecially linen, and braſs baſons of the ſmall ſort. The factory have every now and then, a large demand for ſalt, made and brought hither from Acra, before-mentioned.

Three quarters of a mile from Cape Corſe, is the negro town of Manfrow, and Fort Royal, called alſo Queen Anne's Fort, belonging to the Engliſh. It is built on a hill, named Dunſtein, or, The Daniſh Mount, becauſe formerly poſſeſſed by the Danes, who had a Caſtle there, named Fredrickſburgh, which was built by them (with the aſſiſtance of the negros) after they were driven out by the Dutch from Cape Corſe.

By the treaty made between the Engliſh and Danes, when they retook Cape Corſe from the Dutch, it was concluded that the latter ſhould have a fortified factory here.

Fredrickſburgh was ſeated on the hill which terminates in a point. The whole circuit was above 300 paces. It commanded the country round it, even Cape Corſe itſelf, which is not above a muſquet ſhot diſtant. The form of the plot on which it ſtood is round, but the fort itſelf was triangular, having three baſtions, one of which commanded the road to the ſouth, and the ſecond over-looked Cape Corſe to the weſt, and the third fronted the Dutch fort of Naſſau, at Mowri, on the eaſt. The fort of this hill, (which is not above 100 paces high, and has a winding aſcent) is ſurrounded by houſes of the negros.

The Danes had here in garriſon above 20 whites fit for ſervice, beſides Grometto blacks. It was generally obſerved, that of all the European nations on the coaſt, the Danes loſt more men in proportion, although ſettled in the beſt air. This is aſcribed to their ill diet, which, ſays the author, is worſe than that of the Engliſh at Cape Corſe; for they are often in want of money to buy neceſſaries, and great lovers of ſtrong liquors.

The beſt road for ſhips at Manfrow, is due ſouth of the fort, in thirteen or fourteen fathoms good anchorage ground, which the Engliſh at Cape Corſe pretend lies in their limits. The eaſieſt landing place is on the eaſt ſide of the hill; they put the boats to anchor without the rocks, waiting for the negros canoes from ſhore, to carry them over the breakers, which are ſometimes dangerous.

The Daniſh general has a fine ſpacious garden for his diverſion, on the north-eaſt ſide of the fort, above half a mile from it, ſtored with great variety of trees and plants, eſpecially orange and lemon-trees. In the midſt of it is a ſtately ſummer-houſe. The country behind the Daniſh mount is hilly, cloſe, and not much cultivated, but covered with ſhrubs and woods, through the indolence of the natives.

The vicinity of the Daniſh Mount at Manfrow is a great diſadvantage to the fortreſs, which lying under, and ſo near it, might with a large cannon be battered to pieces. The author has from this fort ſeveral times ſeen the men walking in the Engliſh place of arms at Cape Corſe. The Engliſh, who were ſenſible of this defect, endeavoured by all means to live amicably with the Danes, and at length purchaſed Fredrickſburgh from them. This fort was delivered by Mr. Harris Luck, their general, in the year 1685, to Henry Nurſe, Eſq; agent for the Royal African Company of England, and by them named Fort Royal.

Although this fort was then a very mean fortification, yet the Engliſh were very much pleaſed with the poſſeſſion.

Our author obſerves, that the Engliſh agents rebuilt and fortified this fort in 1698, and that had they perfected it according to the plan, it would have been one of the ſtrongeſt places in Guinea, being inacceſſible every way, (through the ſteepneſs of the hill) but by a narrow path, which one gun may defend; and even, though then ruinous, was, by its ſituation, capable of levelling Cape Corſe caſtle to the ground. It has mounted and diſmounted twenty-one guns, with which they take up or anſwer all the ſalutes in the road; which is very convenient for the ſick people at Cape Corſe, who are not much diſturbed with the noiſe.

The town of Manfrow, (or Manfro) is almoſt round, and lies below the Daniſh mount on the ſhore, ſeveral great rocks rendering any acceſs difficult. It is not very conſiderable, the negros being moſtly fiſhermen, labourers, or ſalt boilers, with ſome few brokers for the inland blacks.

Beſides the daily market town of Oegwa, or Cape Corſe, there is a conſiderable one at Abrambow, a large town, twenty-ſeven miles north, where, by the king of Fetu's appointment at a certain time of the year, there is a rendezvous from every part of the country for public dancing, and is termed the Dancing Seaſon, which laſts eight days. A great number of people repair hither, and ſpend the day, and moſt of the night in this toilſome diverſion. At the ſame time are decided all ſuits and controverſies which could not be determined by the inferior juſtices in their reſpective diſtricts. This ſupreme court is compoſed of the king Fetu, his doy, or prime miniſter, the jeroffo, and the braffo, with two Engliſh factors of Cape Corſe caſtle, choſen by the general, who are to have each as many new ſuits as the court ſits days. This article, it is reckoned, coſts the company 300l. a year.

The village of Aquaffow is very large, and lies weſt from Cape Corſe. It is a market where the blacks bring ſlaves to be killed and buried at the funerals of their kings.

The little kingdom of Sobu, (or Sabou) extends about two leagues in breadth along the coaſt, reckoning from the foot of the Daniſh mount, to about two miles below Mowri, where it joins to the country of Fantin to the eaſt, and about four leagues inland to the north. It is bounded by Atti to the north, and Fetu to the weſt.

Sobu produces great plenty of Indian corn, potatoes, yams, bananas, oranges, lemons, and other fruits, beſides palm oil; great quantities of which, eſpecially the latter, they export to Acra and Axim. The natives are reckoned the moſt induſtrious people on the coaſt, either in agriculture, fiſhing, or trading with the Europeans and the Accanez blacks, who bring down much gold here in exchange for goods, fiſh, and ſalt.

The father of the preſent king of Sobu, had long wars with the Atti and the Accanez blacks, his neighbours to the north, occaſioned by his intollerable exactions; but the preſent king being of a peaceable and leſs covetous temper, has appeaſed theſe troubles. The Atti blacks are more numerous than thoſe of Sobu; yet their being good at fire-arms, have often routed

routed them, and brought down ſeveral heads of both nations to the Dutch factory at Mowri.

The town of Sobu, the king's reſidence, lies about two leagues inland, and is a large populace place.

The firſt place on the ſea coaſt to Queen Anne's Point, a fort lately built of ſtone and lime, ſeated on a little hill within leſs than half a mile of Fort Royal, or the Daniſh Mount to the weſt; and two miles from the Dutch fort of Naſſau to the eaſt. It mounts ſix guns, and has a garriſon of five whites and ſix Gromattos.

The next place is the village of Icon or Congo, lying half a league within the Daniſh mount. Here are ſtill to be ſeen on two ſmall eminences, the ruins of a fine ſtore-houſe the Dutch had there.

Mowri lies eaſtward two miles from Congo, a ſmall league from Fort Royal, and two leagues and an half beyond El Mina. According to Artus, this town lies high, but is irregular and dirty, and has an inconvenient market-place, though it abounds with palm-wine and fruits. It belongs to the king of Sobu, who has a collector here. Great numbers of the inland merchants from Cano, and other remote places, bring hither much rough gold, as it comes out of the earth, and a great quantity of merchandiſe. The place was inconſiderable before the Dutch trafficked here, but has greatly improved ſince, and it is now the beſt place of trade on the coaſt.

The beſt landing-place at Mowri, is in a bay juſt under the cannon of the fort, on the eaſt north-eaſt, which muſt be by the help of canoes, as is practiſed in other parts of the coaſt.

The fort of Naſſau before-mentioned, is ſituated on a rock, whoſe foot is waſhed by the ſea. It was built by the Dutch, and was their chief ſettlement when the Portugueſe held El Mina; next to which, it is now the chief fort poſſeſſed by the Dutch. It is almoſt ſquare, the front being a little longer than the other ſides. It is provided with four batteries and eighteen pieces of cannon. The walls are higher than any fort, except El Mina, upon the whole coaſt. The Curtain, which takes in two ſea batteries, is ſo ſpacious and convenient, that ſuch a battery might be eaſily made, as the Engliſh have at Cape Corſe for commanding the ſea; but its greateſt ornaments and conveniences, are the four ſquare towers placed at the angles. It was formerly garriſoned by ſeventy or eighty men, whoſe number at preſent, though very much diminiſhed, is ſufficient to defend it againſt the negros.

This fort was built, in 1664, by order, and at the charge of the States General, and called Fort Naſſau, in honour of the family of Orange. It was built ſo as to command the town of Mowri, which lies round it like a circle, except on the eaſt ſide, where it is defended by the ſea. The States afterwards gave it to the Weſt India company. Its firſt ſtructure was ſlight, the batteries being only of turf, often ruined by the rains, which expoſed the garriſon to the inſults of the Portugueſe at El Mina.

The country of Fantin borders on Sobu to the weſt, the iron mount, two miles below Mowri, being its extremity. This hill is about a mile long, and has on its higheſt part, a cloſe ſhady walk. From the foot of this hill, Fantin extends northward. This country is bounded by Atti, Aqua, and Tonqua, eaſt by Acron, and on the ſouth by the ſea, along which it extends ten leagues.

The Fantineſe are naturally a treacherous cheating people, and particularly dexterous in counterfeiting gold. They drive a very great trade with all ſorts of interlopers, boldly in the ſight both of the Engliſh and Dutch, neither daring to hinder it, as they can raiſe a great force, and have it in their power to ſhut up the paſſes to the Acaneze and other nations northward, who drive a great trade on the coaſt, as well for European goods, as fiſh, and white ſalt; of this laſt great quantities are ſent to Acanez, for which that nation pays a certain duty in gold to thoſe of Fantin. Moſt of this ſalt is made in a large pond by the heat of the ſun, not a great way diſtant from the town.

The inland people employ themſelves in tillage and trade, and ſupply the markets with fruits, corn, and palm-wine; the country producing ſuch great plenty of maiſe, that great quantities of it are exported both by Europeans and blacks, who come hither from other parts. Here is a ſort of palm-wine called Quaker; it is ſold at double the price of the common ſort, and nevertheleſs is moſt greedily bought up. This land is alſo rich in gold, ſlaves, and all neceſſaries of life, but eſpecially in corn, in which they deal largely with the Engliſh ſhips. This great oppulency has made them ſo haughty, that, in the way of traffic, an European muſt conſider himſelf as their inferior.

Here is no king, a braffo, or leader, having the chief command. He is a ſort of governor, but his power is pretty much reſtrained by the old men, who are a ſort of national counſellors, acting perfectly according to their own inclinations, without conſulting the braffo. Beſides theſe, every diſtrict of Fantin has its own chief, who will ſometimes own the pre-eminence of the braffo, who has only the empty title of the Supreme Magiſtrate.

This country is very populous, and full of villages; the principal along the ſhore are, Anican, Annamabo, Aga, Cormantin, Amerſa, Little Cormantin, Aqua, Laguya, and Montfort, beſides ſome others of leſs note, from Montfort to Cape Ruyge-Haeck, all which villages contain about 4000 fiſhermen. The capital town is Fantin, which lies about five leagues inland.

The village of Anican lies on a little hill, two leagues eaſt from Mowri. The place itſelf is inconſiderable, and not worth anchoring at. The road lies half way between it and Annamabo caſtle, ſo that the laſt may be eaſily ſeen from it, though ſeated in low ground. The Dutch had a factory here formerly, but finding trade did not anſwer the charge, and that the Engliſh and Portugueſe had got footing there, they quitted it.

The Portugueſe, ſince the year 1679, caſt up a redoubt of turf for their ſecurity, the commander whereof, Lorenzo Perez Branes, had ten or twelve of his countrymen to defend it. His trade conſiſted of tobacco and pipes, Braſil, ſweetmeats, ſoap, rum, and ſuch like American commodities.

Two miles beyond Anican, and two leagues and an half from Mowri, and four from Cape Corſe, is Annamabo. It is a pretty large town, and the inhabitants are reckoned very bold and ſtout fellows, very treacherous, and great cheats. The gold here is moſt mixed with braſs of any in all Guinea; it lies about four leagues to the eaſt of Cape Corſe.

The Dutch repreſent it as the ſtrongeſt town on the whole coaſt, affording as many armed men as the kingdom in general of Sobu or Commani, and yet but a fifth part of Fantin.

The village of Annamabo, which is pretty large and populous, is divided into two parts; the one inhabited by El Mina fiſhermen, the other by thoſe of Fantin, who pay a duty to the Braffo of Annamabo for the liberty of fiſhing there. The natives are generally deſperate villains, and muſt be narrowly watched, and their gold well examined. The village lies under the cannon of the Engliſh caſtle.

At Annamabo the Engliſh have a ſmall, but very neat, compact fort, the road before which is always full of Engliſh ſhips. This place might afford a conſiderable gold and ſlave trade, if the Engliſh interlopers did not carry it very near all off, and the Zealanders take what the others leave.

The Engliſh here are ſo plagued with the Fantinian blacks, that they are ſometimes not ſuffered to ſtir out of the fort, and if the negros diſlike the governor, they uſually ſend him in a canoe, by way of contempt, to Cape Corſe; nor are they able to oppoſe it, but rather forced to make their peace by a preſent.

In 1701, it was reported, that the Dutch, contrary

trary to articles, aſſiſted the former with powder. September the 4th, being Sunday, the negros, in a tumultuous manner, approached the caſtle, ſhot at it, broke open the outer ſpur-gate, and ſet fire to the out-walls and corn-room; but the guns being ſmartly diſcharged, they ſoon quitted their ground; and in requital, that night, the Engliſh burnt the major part of their town. After twenty-two days outrage, the negros requeſted a truce, promiſing to compoſe matters to the deſire of the Engliſh. The king of Sobu came there as mediator. They objected to nothing that was propoſed, obliging themſelves to pay the damage done to the fort, and took their oaths to perform the agreement, giving up their ſons alſo as pledges. But ſoon after, having received aſſiſtance, they recommenced hoſtilities.

The Engliſh caſtle was lately built in the room of an old houſe which ſtood there in 1679: the mud-walls of which are to be ſeen before it. This is a ſmall, neat, compact fort, or rather a large, ſtrong houſe, defended by two turrets on the one ſide, and two flankers on the other next the ſea, all built of ſtone, brick, and lime, and ſeated on a rock; about thirty paces from the ſtrand. It has twelve good guns and two padereros mounted, and is commonly garriſoned by twelve whites, and thirteen blacks, under a chief factor. The lodgings within are convenient, with proper warehouſes.

The landing here is rather difficult, the ſhore being full of rocks, on which the ſea breaks dangerouſly. The ſhips-boats anchor cloſe by, and the people are carried on ſhore in canoes to a narrow ſandy beach, juſt under the full command of the caſtle, incloſed with which are houſes for the Grometto blacks, and others of the company's ſervants. This wall was to be pulled down when the caſtle was quite finiſhed, and one of brick built in the room of it. The country about Annamabo is full of cloſe hills, beginning at a good diſtance from the town. There are five together higher than the reſt, which are a good land mark to know this place, from ſome leagues to the weſt. Here is great variety of trees, affording a pleaſant proſpect: as alſo, the beſt palm-wine on all the Coaſt of Guinea, of the ſort called Quaker. There is likewiſe plenty of maiſe, and an infinite number of paroquets about as big as ſparrows, their bodies of a curious green, and their heads and tails of a moſt beautiful red; ſome of which the author carried to Paris, as preſents to ſome of the princes of the blood. Theſe birds are ſold for a crown a dozen, but ſo hard to keep, that not one in twenty ſurvives the voyage to Europe.

Here is good green cabbage; as alſo, papas, a green fruit, about as big as a little melon, which taſtes like cauliflowers. The greateſt inconvenience is the want of freſh-water, which they are obliged to fetch by their ſlaves from two leagues diſtance. The maiſe, or Indian wheat ſells there by the cheſt, at one akier of gold. The cheſt contains about three buſhels; when there is a great demand or ſcarcity, it riſes to twa or three akiers. In plentiful years, or times of peace, it has been ſold at ten, and even eight tahos of gold, which is not three ſhillings Engliſh. This factory was deſerted in 1730, but is neceſſary to be reſettled.

About half a league, or two miles from Annamabo, is Aga, a village on the ſea-ſhore, where formerly, as well as Annamabo, the Dutch had a fort; till by treachery they were forced out by the Engliſh, who, being jointly garriſoned with the Dutch, treated them barbarouſly. The company have planted their flag upon a negro's houſe here, and keep one factor to buy millet of the Fantinians, for their ſlave ſhips, but he finding greater profit in trading with the interlopers, can ſpare his maſter's ſhips but ſmall ſhare.

The Danes and Dutch had formerly a fort here. On the ruins of the former, the Engliſh have built a factory of turf, kept by two whites, and ſome Grometto blacks, beſides a factor, with the Engliſh flag. The Dutch fort was only a bare redoubt, deſtroyed by the Engliſh in 1665; being blown up the ſame day that the Dutch admiral De Ruyter, attempted to land at Annamabo: but in this he failed, being hindered by the great breaking of the ſea, and the fire of the Engliſh, aſſiſted by the Fantin blacks, from behind the rocks that cover the ſhore, and the cannon of the fort. The Engliſh at Aga, concluding that the Dutch would ſucceed at Annamabo, and then viſit them in their way to Cormantin, undermined the fort there, and left a match of ſuch a length to the powder, as they thought would laſt till the Dutch took poſſeſſion, but it blew up before they arrived.

Three leagues from Mowri is the village of Cormantin, called Little Cormantin, to diſtinguiſh it from another ſtiled the Great.

Cormantin before the year 1600, was a conſiderable mart, but then of little amount. The town lies on an eminence, and is remarkable for a tall tree in the middle of the market-place; having five little hills to the weſt, and the mountain Mango to the eaſt. The Portugueſe and French traded much here; and the Dutch did ſo too, till the natives began to adulterate their gold, which ſoon occaſioned the trade here to decay: ſo that now the inhabitants reſort to Mowri for what goods they want.

The village of Little Cormantin is only conſiderable for the fertility of the country round it, and the Dutch fort Amſterdam, which commands it. This was the chief reſidence of the Engliſh when De Ruyter diſpoſſeſſed them of it in 1665. It was much enlarged and beautified by the Dutch in 1681, and 82, being a ſquare fort, built with hard rock-ſtone and lime, ſtrengthened with three ſmall, and one large battery, mounted with twenty pieces of cannon. In the centre is a large ſquare tower, deſigned to have a cupola on it, where the flag-ſtaff ſtands.

There are good lodgings, and all offices for the commanders and garriſon, which conſiſts of twenty-five whites, beſides Grometta blacks. The breaſt-works are large, and the proſpect from the top of the tower delightful, over-looking all the ſea and country. It has alſo large convenient ciſterns for rain-water.

This fort is ſtrong by nature, as ſtanding on a high, rocky hill, in moſt places ſteep and craggy, and only acceſſible by a path cut into ſteps along the deſcent of the hill.

The Engliſh had a fort with four baſtions here, before it was taken by the Dutch in 1665. The former found means to recover it, but were again diſpoſſeſſed by the latter, who have ſettled a good trade there, as well as at Adja and Jamolia, where they have fortified factories. In the fort at Cormantin, is a large, ſquare building, flat roofed in the middle, which ſerves for a lodging to the governor, and for a magazine; and the platform at top will bear cannon. The country is rich in gold, yet the ſoil is good, and well peopled. The natives are induſtrious, and love trade, the art of which, as well as the œconomy, they have learned from the Dutch.

Great Cormantin, lies a cannon-ſhot below Fort Amſterdam, upon a high hill; is ſo large and populous, as juſtly to be called Great. All the inhabitants, beſides the traders, are fiſhermen, amounting to 800, or 1000 men. From this place, the country of Fantin reaches twenty-two or twenty-three miles along the ſhore, being all the way repleniſhed with ſmall villages, being very pleaſant paſſing by it in a canoe.

The lands about theſe Cormantines produces plenty of fruit and corn. The air is very wholeſome. The natives brew excellent beer, made of maiſe, or Indian corn, luſcious as ale, called petaw. They bake bananas in bread and biſcuit, and alſo maiſe for their common food.

Once Annamabo and Cormantin were two of the principal places of trade on the coaſt, for the Dutch and Engliſh, on account of the great reſort of the Accanez blacks, who came down in little caravans; but the difference that aroſe between theſe two nations

in 1664, and 1665, along the coaſt of north and ſouth Guinea, did them both great damage, obliging the firſt to retire to Mowri, and the Engliſh to Cormantin. Theſe latter were ſo ſevere to the natives, that they and the Accanez blacks invited the Dutch at El Mina, whoſe government they had been long uſed to, and liked to ſettle a factory at Agga, which was taken by the Engliſh in 1664, and blown up in 1665. The Engliſh on their part, to thwart the Dutch, endeavoured to corrupt the braffos of Fantin and Accanez, who took their money without performing the conditions agreed on; and finding the jealouſy between the nations, in point of trade, occaſioned their having goods cheaper, they encouraged the Engliſh to build a ſmall fort at Annamabo, to rival the Dutch at Mowri and Agga.

Mowri, Annamabo, Aniſhan, and Cormantin, are places where great quantities of European goods are vended, viz. linens, ſileſias, copper, iron-bars, old ſheets, brandy and rum, pewter-baſons, muſquets, bugles, beads of all ſorts, powder, &c. When Cormantin was taken from the Engliſh, as above mentioned, the Fantineſe, expreſſed great ſatisfaction to ſee the Dutch ſettled there again. Their reaſons were, that the Engliſh governor had incommoded them with his garriſon; and that they thought the Dutch ſold their goods cheaper. However, they gained a point upon the Dutch, who formerly agreed to give them a good ſum of gold, beſides 300 guilders, for every ſhip of the company's which ſhould trade there, (ſlave ſhips excepted) in conſideration of their aſſiſtance in recovering Fort Amſterdam, and other ſervices; but now they oblige them to pay for all ſhips alike. They alſo extort a good ſum yearly from the Engliſh.

After the reduction of Fort Naſſau at Mowri, and their diſappointment at Cape Corſe and Annamabo, the Dutch General, Falkenburgh, at a council of war held on board the admiral, moſt earneſtly preſſed an attempt on Cormantin. The enterpriſe being reſolved on, Valkenburgh ſent Du Ruyter a reinforcement of 400 canoes full of armed blacks from El Mina, with whom the Dutch fleet came to anchor in Cormantin road. The bay, though ſpacious, being dangerous to land at, and the coming out as bad, De Ruyter, on the 7th of February, 1665, ſent a detachment of 900 men, ſupported by the Mina blacks, to land at Annamabo, which the Engliſh had taken, as well as Agga, or Adja. Theſe forces approaching the ſhore, were ſo warmly received by the Cormantin blacks, poſted behind the rocks and buſhes, that the Dutch, unable to bear their fire, together with that of the caſtle, and ſuſpecting their deſign betrayed by the braffo of Annamabo, ſtood off to ſea, and rejoined their ſquardron.

De Ruyter, however, was not diſheartened with this repulſe: for the blacks of Annamabo, and Agga, who had been ſuſpected of favouring the Engliſh, ſent to aſſure him of their fidelity; promiſing next day to join his forces, and aſſiſt him in taking Cormantin Fort. They came and brought with them 3000 Fantin blacks, their allies, whom they had hired for that ſervice.

Theſe forces landing in a calm day, without any loſs at Agga, where they were joined by the auxiliary negros of Agga and Fantin. From hence they marched in good order, each black having a white handkerchief about his neck, to diſtinguiſh him from thoſe of Cormantin. About noon they arrived at the Engliſh fort, which Valkenburgh ſummoned to ſurrender immediately; and at the ſame time cauſed a body of his forces, conducted by ſome blacks of the town, whom he had gained, to advance to a riſing ground, juſt out of reach of the cannon.

The beſieged made a terrible fire, and frequent ſallies, which, for a while, ſtopped the progreſs of the van-guard; ſo many of the Dutch blacks being killed, that the paſſes were blocked up with their bodies. Moſt of this execution was done by 300 Engliſh blacks, commanded by one John Cabez. The main body at laſt coming up, moſt of theſe blacks were cut off, or retired precipitately to the fort. Valkenburgh then ordered the town to be ſet on fire; the ſmoke of which, for a while, took away the ſight of the fort from the Dutch, and threw the Engliſh into ſuch conſternation, that ſeeing the enemy approach with granadoes in their hands, and a mortar, to give the aſſault, they ſtruck their flag, and opened the gate; and the Dutch, according to their account, took poſſeſſion of the fort at ſo ſmall an expence as 62 marks of gold, which they paid the auxiliary blacks of Fantin, and the braffo and caboſhirs of Annamabo and Agga.

Amerſa, Aqua, Laguyo, Tantumquerri, Montfort, and ſome other ſmall villages to the eaſt on the Fantin ſhore, as far as Acron, have but an inconſiderable trade. Aqua lies on a little river two leagues eaſt of Cormantin. The land about it is low and flat, producing plenty of Indian corn; and there is wood and water for ſhips that want.

Laguyo is two leagues farther eaſt from Aqua, on a riſing ground, deſcending towards the ſhore. It has not much trade for ſlaves, and the gold is none of the beſt.

Tantumquerri lies ſeven leagues eaſt of Cormantin, of courſe three from Laguyo. This is a pretty, little, regular fort, having four ſmall flankers, mounted with 12 guns. It is pleaſantly ſituated near the ſea-ſide, but the landing-place is indifferent.

The ſmaller villages to the eaſt of this laſt are better frequented by Europeans; the inhabitants being poor fiſhermen, who carry their fiſh on board ſhips, as do thoſe of Laguyo and Montfort; yet theſe people talk of their great plenty of ſlaves and gold on ſhore, on purpoſe to keep ſhips longer in the road, that they may ſell their fiſh for pedlars ware and toys. The Engliſh ſhips chiefly ply on this coaſt as far as Acra.

Though the Engliſh and Dutch poſſeſſed Forts in Fantin, yet neither of them have any power there; ſo that when the natives are inclined to it, they ſhut up all the paſſes ſo cloſe, that not one merchant can come from inland to trade with them, and ſometimes hinder proviſions being brought, till a peace is concluded with them. The language of the blacks are almoſt one and the ſame from Axim to Fantin, all along the Gold Coaſt.

The country of Acron lies between that of Fantin and Augwina, or Agonna, on the ſea-ſhore, running eaſt to the famous cape, called Monte del Diablo. It is divided into Great and Little Acron, the former lying inland; as to its government, it is a republic. Little Acron is a kingdom. They are independant of each other, but live in perfect amity under the protection of the Fantin negros, enjoying peace, and cultivate their fruitful land ſo as to have a ſufficient crop for exportation.

The king of Little Acron, in our author's time, was a civil, good-natured man, about fifty, reputed one of the richeſt on the Gold Coaſt, though he dreſſed no better than his ſubjects. It is rather an anarchy than a monarchy, for the king can do nothing without the conſent of the chief men. The country abounds in deer, hares, pheaſants, partridges, &c.

Little Acron has a village on the coaſt towards the middle of it, called Apam. This village is very little, and was always inhabited by fiſhermen; but, as well as Acron, is well ſituated for trade; and if the natives were more tractable, might become a populous town. It ſtands a little way up a ſalt river, which runs juſt below the fort, riſing about four miles within land. It abounds both in fiſh and fowl, and is very pleaſant.

Apam lies under a ſmall fort, begun to be built by the Dutch, in 1697. It is called Leydſaamheyde, or Patience, from the great oppoſition given them, when building it, by the negros. It is fortified by two batteries, mounting eight pieces of cannon.

The country of Augwina, begins at or about Monte del Diablo, by the Dutch called Ruyge Hoeck, (diſtant

tant about a league from the ſalt river of Acron) and extends thence eaſt along the ſhore to Anonſe in Aquambo, or Acra. On the north it borders on Sonquay, and ſouth on the ocean, along which it ſtretches fifteen leagues.

The coaſt from Cormantin to Monte del Diablo, extends ſouth-eaſt by eaſt, about twelve leagues, thence to Barcu, nine leagues, and from Barcu to Acra river, nine more.

The country eaſt of Coecks Broot-Hill, is low and flat to the ſea, but hilly in land. Some leagues farther to the eaſt, it is woody, and the land dry. This country has the advantage of a very fine, large, freſh water river, abounding in oyſters and fiſh, and the banks of it furniſhed with monkeys and baboons, as large as any in Guinea.

The country of Augwina is as fertile and pleaſant as that of Acron in all reſpects. The people, who are fiſhermen, are bold, warlike, and verſed in working gold and ſilver. In our author's time, (1682) it was governed by a woman of great courage and wiſdom, who took the title of Queen. She was about thirty-eight years of age, and, to preſerve her power, lived unmarried.

Our author adds, that this is the ſole kingdom in Guinea, where the ſupreme power is hereditary to either ſex; and the next heir to the crown is her eldeſt daughter, her ſons being ſold for ſlaves, or ſo diſpoſed of as not to interrupt this female ſucceſſion. This daughter is early initiated in the ſame political practice, having a gallant purchaſed for her ſeparate amuſement. The inhabitants live peaceably under this government, ſeldom going to war. The Engliſh had a ſmall fort here for ſome time.

Augwina has ſeveral towns and villages along its coaſt, as Dajow, Polder's Bay, Mango, Winniba, Wiamba, or Simpa, Old Barcu, or Barracu, Jaccou, Innya, Lampa, Succamma, New Little Barcu, and Coecks Broot, a high round hill, in form of a ſugar-loaf, two leagues weſt from Acra. All this coaſt is dangerous with the breaking of the ſea.

The French ſay Mount del Diablo, abounds with gold, which after great rains, the blacks gather in great quantities, as it is waſhed down with the ſands. The Duch gave it the name of Ruyge Hoeck, becauſe being high land, they often ſaw it at a diſtance before they could reach it in ſailing from eaſt to weſt, the wind blowing conſtantly here for the greater part of the year at ſouth-weſt a freſh gale, and the tide ſetting at eaſt, ſo that it takes a long time to turn it up.

We are told of one Mr. Baggs, who, in 1700, died at Cape Corſe, where he was agent for the Engliſh, and was intruſted with a more ample commiſſion than any of his predeceſſors, for having informed the African company of this hill, and promiſed to dig gold or gold-oar out of it for them. To this purpoſe he brought all ſorts of neceſſary inſtruments along with him, but for ſome reaſon or other did not proceed in his deſign. An Engliſh voyager was informed, by a negro gold-taker, that he had ſeen this mountain ſmoke like a volcano; from whence, and being the haunt of rapacious wild beaſts, they have borrowed the name, and call it Devil's Hill.

Winniba, formerly called Wiamb, lies five leagues beyond Apam. It is a ſmall town, conſiſting of not more than twenty houſes. Round it are pleaſant fields, incloſed with good hedges, and full of Indian corn and good graſs. This country lying low, about a mile from the town, towards the inland, are many large lakes or ponds of water, on whoſe banks are many Guinea hens, with great variety of other fowls, and abundance of wild deer, which range the plains about theſe lakes.

Winniba fort ſtands on the aſcent of a hill, in the jutting out of the coaſt, agreeably ſeated among trees.

The Engliſh factory being a double ſtone houſe, was ranſacked by the blacks in 1769, and the factor had much ado to ſave his own and his people's lives, eſcaping by night to Cape Corſe, where he landed much wounded and covered with blood. This place is eaſily known from ſea, by the two Engliſh houſes yet ſtanding, without any roof on the ſhore, about 200 paces from Winniba.

This Winniba is a large, ſquare fort, with four flankers, all built of ſtone and lime. It mounts eighteen guns, and has commonly twelve whites, and twenty-eight Gromettas, with a ſuitable tank or ciſtern for water, and a ſlave houſe for 100 negros. It ſtands 120 paces from the ſea, within three miles of Shido to the weſt, and thirty-ſix miles from Acra to the eaſt.

Winniba Fort, is on the ſame plan and dimenſions as that at Tantumquerri; nor is the landing place any better. It ſtands on a riſing ground about fourteen yards from the ſea, having a handſome avenue of trees up to the outer gate. It has alſo a large ſpur, which contributes much to its ſtrength and uſe, being a ſafe place to ſecure their caſtle at night from the wild beaſts. There are alſo good gardens.

Barracu, or Barcu, lies on the coaſt ſix leagues eaſt of Winniba. It is ſituated on the top of a hill, where the French uſed to trade. Here the language, which is the ſame as on the gold coaſt hitherto, begins to change. The natives are ingenious, not only melting gold, but in working it into chains and jewels. They alſo brew a drink not unlike our ſmall-beer, which they call Pitow. Poultry are more plentiful and cheap here than on all the coaſt. They have alſo parroquets in abundance. They buy much iron from the Dutch, which they know how to work well, and make all kinds of arms or weapons for themſelves. The trade is now removed to Acra, where they go in their canoes to buy what goods they want. The land between is low and flat, remarkable for a broken tree in form of a gibbet, which the negros regard as a fetiſh.

Barcu is the chief town on the Augwina coaſt, and it is a proper place for a factory or fort for trade, the land being pleaſant and plentiful. This country was formerly in the Engliſh intereſt, by contract with the queen thereof; but the Dutch encroached ſo as to make a ſettlement at Barracu, where they have erected a ſmall triangular fort of twelve guns. Their chief at this place, in 1706, took ſeveral Engliſh goods from the traders, telling them he would always do ſo, if they bought from the Engliſh; but Sir Dalby Thomas the governor, recovered them.

While the Portugueſe prevailed on this coaſt, the French traded here, which is the reaſon why the blacks remember ſo many French words, eſpecially of the Norman dialect. Here are as many parroquets as at Annamabo.

Little Barcu lies about a league and a half eaſt of Barracu, on a ſmall river.

All theſe places of Acron and Augwina, are well ſeated for trade, if they are not at war with their neighbours, for when they are, little gold, and few ſlaves is to be had. The Acra blacks come down this coaſt to traffic, when they hear of ſhips that have good cargoes, ſuch as old ſheets, Coeſvall linen, bugles, iron and brandy. A good ſlave ſells here, as they do all along the coaſt, for a benda, that is, two ounces of gold.

The kingdom of Acra, or Acara, is tributary to the king of Aquambo. It is bounded on the weſt of Augwina, from which it is ſeparated by a ſmall river. To the north it has Aboura and Bonu, to the eaſt Labadde and Ningo; and to the ſouth the ocean, being 16 leagues in compaſs, and almoſt round, ſcarcely two leagues and an half lying on the ſea.

This was formerly eſteemed the laſt kingdom on the coaſt, becauſe they found no gold beyond the river Volta, which bounds it to the eaſt. It lies fifteen leages to the eaſt of Cormantin.

Acra was formerly a kingdom, but its inhabitants were conquered by their inveterate enemies the Aquambos, and driven to a place called Little Popo, which at preſent contains the great kingdom of Acra.

This happened in the year 1680 and 1681, when the country was ruined, and reduced to a tributary province.

The ſoil is a pale red, fat mould, producing little or no fruit, and very few trees; but it yields yams, and ſeveral ſorts of beans and peaſe. The country beyond the flat is hilly. Near the European forts are numbers of remarkable ant hills, which may not improperly be called turrets, and look at a diſtance, like the ſalt heaps in the Iſle of Rhe in France, at the beginning of the Kerring ſeaſon.

The land from the ſhore, to about three leagues inland, is pretty level and even, and is a good ſporting country for hares, rabbits, ſquirrels, wild boars, red and fallow deer, wild goats, pintado hens, and other fowl. What large and ſmall cattle they have, are brought from Labadde to the eaſt. Here are ſuch plenty of hares among the ſhrubs, which grow thick, that the blacks kill them with ſticks, and the Europeans take them with ſpaniels. In this country there are more lions, tygers, muſk-cats, leopards, and other ravenous creatures, than in any other parts of Guinea.

Here are thoſe deer, which are not above eight or nine inches high, and whoſe legs are not bigger than a ſmall pick-tooth quill. The males have two horns turning back on their head, two or three inches long, without branches or antlers; theſe are crooked, black, and ſhining like jet. Nothing can be more tame, pretty, or fond, than theſe creatures; but they are ſo tender, that they will not bear the ſea, and whatever care could be taken, none have been yet brought alive to Europe.

Acra contains many large towns within land, of which Great Acra is the chief. Little Acra is the middlemoſt of three maritime villages in this kingdom; the other two are Soco to the weſt, and Orſoco to the eaſt, each under the cannon of an European fort. At Soco is the Engliſh fort James; at Little Acra, Crevecœur, belonging to the Dutch; and at Orſoco, the Daniſh fort, Chriſtianſburgh, all three reckoned inferior to few of thoſe on the coaſt.

Theſe three fortreſſes are ſituated in the compaſs of leſs than a league and an half of ground, each on a rocky head land, advancing a little on the ſtrand. It is dangerous landing here, except at Acra, where it is eaſier at the firſt and laſt quarters of the moon, with the help of Bar canoes.

Soco conſiſts of about one hundred ſcattering houſes, it having been much enlarged in 1692, by the acceſſion of many families, who retired hither from Little Acra, when it was deſtroyed by the blacks of Aquambo: ſo that the year following, it became one of the fineſt and largeſt on the Gold Coaſt, ſeated on a level ground, regularly built. It has a great trade with the Engliſh, to the prejudice of the Dutch. Here ſtands James Fort, already mentioned, belonging to the Engliſh.

Little Acra, about half a mile diſtant from Soco, was a handſome and commodious market-town, well-governed and much reſorted to, before the Aquambos burnt it a few years ſince, leaving ſcarely ſixty houſes ſtanding, Fourri, King of Acra, choſe rather to live here than at Great Acra, which is up the inland.

At this place the Dutch have a ſtrong fort, called Crevecœur, ſituated about half a cannon-ſhot from James-Fort, on a rocky head-land; and though boats and pinnaces can come cloſe to the ſtrand in ſafety, yet the landing is well defended by the guns of the fort, and ſmall arms of the garriſon. It is ſquare, built with four batteries, which, as well as the curtains, are rock-ſtone and lime, neither very thick, nor very high: So that it could not ſtand much battering, and the Engliſh from James-Fort, though much ſmaller, might ſoon reduce it to a heap of rubbiſh with their cannon. Within it is a large, flat, ſquare houſe, with a platform, and on it a turret with a cupulo, on which the Dutch flag is diſplayed, as at all the forts on the coaſt, as ſoon as any ſhips appear at ſea. The lodgings are neat and convenient both for the officers and garriſon, which conſiſts of fifteen whites and 25 blacks. It has a handſome gate towards the north, overlooking the village of Little Acra, and the road to Great Acra. This gate is ſecured by a corps-de-garde and two barriers, but has no ditch or paliſado before, like the reſt of the forts on the coaſt, none excepted. The blacks being wholly ignorant in attacking caſtles, make theſe outward defences regarded as unneceſſary. It has 14 guns, and ſome padereros, on the batteries. The ſituation is ſuch, that it enjoys a better air than the other two forts to the eaſt and weſt of it.

Orſoco is not ſo conſiderable as it has been, having been deſtroyed by the Aquambos, and the inhabitants removed to Popo.

The fort of Chriſtianſburgh was built here by the Danes, and ſo called in honour of their king. It is a ſquare building, ſtrengthened with four batteries and twenty guns. It appears very beautiful, looking like one continued battery, as in effect it is; for the roof being entirely flat, the cannon may conveniently be planted on all parts of it.

In 1679, it was governed by John Ollricks of Gluckſtead, a worthy man, whom the blacks murdered at the inſtigation of a Greek, who lived ſome years under him. This villain ſoon after ſold the place to Julian de Campo Baretto, formerly governor of St. Thomas, for about 224 pounds.

The Danes at Frederickſburgh, near Cape Corſe, ſolicited the reſtoration of the place, and ſoon after, 1682, redeemed it for a ſum of money, reſettling their trade here, which they poſſeſſed till the year 1693, when the blacks ſurpriſed it in the following manner:

The Danes had committed ſome inſults on the king of Acra, who ſtudied revenge, and took the opportunity of the weakneſs of the place, by the death of ſeveral of the garriſon. The king obſerving that the Danes had great confidence in one Aſſemmi, a black, who had great intereſt in that country, and procured them much trade, engaged him in the deſign. Accordingly, Aſſemmi made the Daniſh governor believe he would bring him a conſiderable number of merchants at once to buy arms, adviſing him to raiſe the price. On the day appointed, Aſſemmi brought with him 80 blacks, whom the Danes admitted into the fort, ſuſpecting no treachery. When the blacks had agreed for the arms, and paid the price in gold, they loaded their muſquets with powder and ball, as if to try them, but ſuddenly fell on the garriſon, which conſiſted of about twenty-five or thirty Danes, who preſently yielded the fort. They immediately diſperſed the Danes up the country; after which the king of Acra and the blacks ſtripped the fort, taking a booty of about 7000l. The fort was given to Aſſemmi, who garriſoned it with his blacks, ſettling in it, and trading with all the European ſhips which come there, to great profit.

The conqueror kept poſſeſſion till two Daniſh ſhips arrived on the coaſt; to which, by means of a very conſiderable preſent to the king of Aquambo, but more by the Dutch interceſſion, it was re-delivered; but they were no great gainers by it; for to garriſon the fort, they left their fleet ſo poorly manned, that they became a prey to the pirates in the ſight of Guinea.

About a century ſince the king being gained by conſiderable preſents, which the Danes and Dutch made him, to grant them a liberty; at firſt, they aſked to build each of them a ſtore-houſe to ſettle a factor in, under the obligation of ſeven marks of gold yearly for each houſe. The houſes thus built, the Dutch and Danes never reſted inſinuating to the natives, that whereas they were continually expoſed to the aſſaults of their mortal enemies, the Aquambos, it would be for their ſafety, to admit theſe houſes to be turned into forts, to protect them and their families with their cannon. By this means they prevailed to have theſe places put in the condition they were.

The

The Dutch being the firſt who obtained this privilege of the king of Acra, bought a proper place for a fort, which they built with a ware-houſe of rock-ſtone, 62 feet long, and 24 broad. The floors were planks laid on joiſts, and the roof covered with tile; all the buildings being encompaſſed with bulwarks, and the walls made with port-holes for guns. Some time after the Danes, and at laſt the Engliſh, obtained the ſame liberty.

The forts, on ſome occaſions, have proved a good refuge to the natives, eſpecially in the year 1680. when the king of Aquambo conquered Acra; for had it not been for theſe retreats, few or none had been left alive, or in a condition to carry on the trade they now do, which is conſiderable, notwithſtanding a great number of families removed hence to Lay, Popo and Whidah.

At this place alone ſometimes more gold is received than on the whole coaſt beſides: and its traffic would be yet enlarged, if the negros of Aquambo and Akim would agree, as they generally are at difference. The latter pretending a feudal right over the former, and demanding an annual tribute of them, which thoſe of Aquambo will by no means ſubmit to; and the king, to ſecure his quiet, is ſubtil enough, by fair words and preſents, to ſow diſſentions betwixt the governing men of Akim.

The landing here is very dangerous, on account of the ſwell. The beſt anchorage is oppoſite to the Daniſh fort. The freſh ſouth-weſt gales, which blow here all day from May to September, (except in the rainy ſeaſon) bring in a violent ſea, the tide ſetting eaſt, very rapid with the wind, ſo that ſhips work hard on their cables.

In the wet ſeaſon, the tide ſets as the wind and moon rule it. For two or three days before and after the new and full moon it ſets to the weſt, as it does alſo after it has blown hard at north-eaſt, and eaſt-north-eaſt, and the wind returns to ſouth-ſouth-weſt, or ſouth-weſt; when tide for 24 hours will run upwards againſt the wind, as has been experienced, lying before Cape Corſe, Annamabo, Cormantin, and Acra.

Next in order beyond Accra, is Labadde, but ſo ſmall and inconſiderable, (being only four leagues in circumference) that it ſcarce deſerves notice, except that it touches on the ſea, between Acra and Ningo, and that only for a league along the coaſt. In this ſpace lie the two villages of Orfow and Labadde. The laſt is a large populous place, incloſed with a dry ſtone wall, ſituated amongſt fine meadows and plains. The inhabitants of theſe villages are generally huſbandmen, tilling their ground, and looking to their ſheep and ſwine, which they bring from Lay, and fattening them, ſell them at Acra and other places on the coaſt, to good advantage. They make ſalt of the ſea-water for their own uſe, but the trade is inconſiderable, here being little gold. The country is governed by a petty king.

The kingdom of Ningo (which by the French is called Lampi, and, by the Engliſh Lampa, or Alampo) borders weſt on Labadde and Great Acra, at Egwira, eaſt on Soco, and ſouth on the ſea of Guinea, extending about thirteen leagues along the coaſt, from Labadde to Lay.

The prince of Ningo bears the title of King of Ladingcour, though he and his ſubjects are dependants on the king of Aquambo, who rules them arbitrarily, puniſhing the ſlighteſt faults with inſtant death.

The country hereabout is indifferently populous, and fertile, but very well ſtocked with cattle, as cows, hogs, ſheep, beſides chickens, &c. all which are daily bought up very cheap by the blacks of the Gold Coaſt, to tranſport to the upper coaſt.

The remaining trade of theſe people conſiſts in ſlaves, which are alſo bought up by the above-mentioned negros, but moſt of them tranſported hence by the Engliſh, French, and Portugueſe ſhips. Sometimes the ſlave trade here proves very advantageous, eſpecially about the village Lay; but when the inland counties are at peace, no ſlaves are to be had, ſo that the trade being uncertain, the Dutch only touch here in paſſing, without any dependance on it.

Beſides trade, the inhabitants employ themſelves in agriculture and fiſhing, the firſt of which proves profitable; but the fiſhery, eſpecially that on the ſea, turns at moſt, but to ſmall account: for the ſhore here is very high, and of very difficult acceſs; wherefore it is ſometimes not to be come at with ſmall canoes; but this is abundantly made up by the lakes and rivers, which are very richly ſtored with good fiſh.

The principal villages in this country are Little Ningo, Tema, or Temina, Sincho, or Chinca, Brambo, Pompena, or Ponni, Great Ningo, Lay, or Alampi, and Occa, all barren places, and very difficult to land at. Thoſe moſt noted for trade are Sincho, Great Ningo, and Lay; though in 1680, the Dutch had ſome trade at Tema.

Chinca or Sincho, lies five leagues eaſt from Acra, a place much reſorted to from the beginning of the laſt century, when it was firſt known to the Dutch; though now the inhabitants apply themſelves much to fiſhing, to ſupply the market at Spiſe, a large town inland, for which they pay no duty to the king. The blacks here buy much linen, and ſeveral ſorts of cloth for the country trade, as do all the blacks along the coaſt from hence to Rio Volta. Their language differs from that of Acra. The land yields plenty of proviſions, and abundance of fine large oranges. They ſometimes catch thornbacks here fifteen feet long.

Great Ningo lies five leagues eaſt of Sincho, and like that can ſcarce be ſeen from the road; nor has it any notable land-mark, except the high mount, called Redondo, ſtanding due north of Lay, up the country. This place has ſometimes a briſk trade for ſlaves and gold, which is brought to the blacks of Ningo and Lay from Quaco, a country lying above them to the inland, abounding in that metal. The blacks of this village, and the country about, drive a great trade of cattle, which they fatten in their paſture grounds; and either the Gold Coaſt negros come to buy them, or they carry them thither, or to Acra, where they make thirty crowns of a bullock.

The town of Lay, or Alampi, is two leagues eaſt from Great Ningo, and appears from the road, at Mount Redondo, bearing north-north-weſt, ſix leagues up the country. Here is the beſt anchorage, the ground being ſand, mixed with very ſmall ſtones. This hill is very large, and ſhaped like a ſugar-loaf.

The ſhore about Lay conſiſts of high, ſteep cliffs next the ſea, in ſeveral places rent aſunder, and in ſome adorned with palm and other trees at ſome diſtance from each other. Before theſe cliffs run a fine, white, ſandy ſtrand, of a moderate breadth. The town ſtands on the aſcent of a little hill, looking towards the north, ſo that few of the houſes can be ſeen from the road. The inhabitants are civilized and fair dealers, but ſo ſuſpicious, they will ſcarce venture on board any ſhips, till hoſtages are firſt ſent on ſhore.

Alampi, which is a conſiderable place for ſlaves has been poſſeſſed by the African company for ſome years, having had a factory with five whites, ten Gromettas, and ſmall arms. They made ſome ſteps towards building a fort there, but the Dutch interpoſed with the natives, and it has been diſcontinued for ſome time.

When the Aquambo and Axim blacks are at War, here is commonly a great number of ſlaves to diſpoſe of, the priſoners taken on either ſide being ſold to the Europeans. The Axim blacks carry theirs to Lay, and the Aquambos, theirs to Acra, where they ſell them for cawris, or bujis, ſeyes, perpats, Coeſvelt-cloths, Sileſia-linen, bugles red and yellow, knives, fire-arms, powder, chintz, ſalampores.

One Santi, a famous black, uſed to manage this trade by the king of Lay's appointment, ſettling the price of ſlaves according to their ſex and age, and alſo of European goods: then hoſtages being given, he ſent the ſlaves on board by degrees as they came down from the inland country to the town, and received the goods in proportion to the ſlaves delivered; ſo that a ſhip was often furniſhed with 4 or 500 ſlaves in a fortnight or three weeks.

The French, Engliſh and Portugueſe chiefly frequent this coaſt for ſlaves and proviſions: however, at ſome times, when the inland country is at peace, here are no ſlaves to be had, the trade being quite uncertain.

The country of Ningo, Lampi, or Alampo, is flat and low, populous and fertile, well ſtored with cattle; as cows, ſheep, and ſwine, beſides poultry, which are continually brought up there to ſupply the Gold Coaſt. Their fiſhery is inconſiderable, the ſhore being high and inacceſſible; but the want of ſea-fiſh is made up by the great plenty in the lakes and rivers.

The people of Soco are chiefly huſbandmen, having no employment but that and fiſhing, though their fiſhery turns to little account on their coaſt till one comes to Acra. Very few of them are rich, unleſs it be the Lampi, Acra, or Aquambo-blacks, a number of whom are ſettled amongſt them, as well as at Lay, Ningo, Sincho, and ſo to Pompena, or Ponni, weſtward.

Beſides the four villages before mentioned on the Soco coaſt, there are ſeveral hamlets and cottages intermixed between them on the ſhore, but not of any note. Some authors reckon this country a part of the kingdom of Lampi. The maritime port of Soco is flat and low, riſing gradually inland, and very woody.

Rio da Volta was ſo called by the Portugueſe for its rapid courſe and reflux. Its ſource (according to a very modern author) is in the kingdom of Acam, bordering ſouth on that of Gago, in nine degrees north latitude; running thence through the country of Tafou, in which are ſaid to be mines of gold, and ſo downwards ſouth through Quaco, Aboura, Ingo, and other places. The coaſt about it is flat and low, but up the land it riſes into hills, and very ſteep mountains. The ſhore is bordered all along with a fine, large, ſandy ſtrand, forming ſeveral little bays, having nine fathoms water about a league out to ſea. The land is pretty open for ſome miles on either ſide of the river, from whence may be ſeen a great number of palm-trees placed at equal diſtances. The country farther up, is all woody, or covered with ſhrubs and buſhy trees.

This is a fine wide river, diſcharging its waters ſo violently into the ſea, that it is ſometimes viſible three or four miles from ſhore. How far it extends its courſe inland, the author knew not. The great freſhes, carry down continually great numbers of trees, which ſticking faſt in the mouth of the river, occaſion a very high ſurf of extraordinary violence, as well as lofty agitation of the waves; ſo that this place is paſſable with canoes but twice in the year, and that is uſually betwixt April and November, the weather being then calm on the coaſt, which generally is juſt before the rainy ſeaſon, when the reflux of the river is not ſo ſwift: but after the rains, it is not poſſible to perſuade a negro to venture, tho' they are conſtantly uſed to paſs in boats along ſhore, which here, by reaſon of the above mentioned ſurfs, they cannot do. In effect, the River Volta is remarkable for the rapidity of its ſtream, making a very great ſea upon the bar; and carrying itſelf off for ſome way unmixed: at two leagues diſtance it is only brackiſh. From hence begins the Papou (or Papo) Coaſt, low and woody. Having thus given the reader an account of the principal places in Guinea; we ſhall now proceed to cloſe our voyager's narration.

On the 20th of April 1727, they embarked from Whidah in the following manner: their canoe lay on the beach with her head to the ſea, and thoſe who were paſſengers ſtepping in, ſat down in the fore part, becauſe the after part is for the canoe men to ſtand to their paddles, being commonly 11 or 13 in number. When they were fixed in their places, the negros took hold of the canoe, and having watched an opportunity ran her off on the back of a wave; when leaping in, they handled their paddles ſo dextrouſly, that, before the return of the next wave, they had puſhed her out of danger of the ſhore breakers. This was not all, for about 30 yards off is a bar, where the ſea breaks more violent than on the ſhore: however, they got over this, on the outſide of which, 40 yards diſtant, lies a third bar, the moſt dangerous of all. Between theſe two rows of breakers (which roared like thunder) they lay by on their paddles near a quarter of an hour. At laſt the men ſeeing a great wave break on a ſudden, made a puſh towards it, and darted their canoe quite through the ſucceeding wave, which being pretty ſmall, only wetted them a little, and thus eſcaped the ſharks, which followed them in great numbers and got ſafe on board.

The next morning the 21ſt at day break, they weighed from Whidah, intending for Prince's Iſle to wood and water for their voyage home; and, on the 8th of May, arrived at that harbour. Here they bought up what freſh proviſions they could get, at a dear rate, took in water and wood, and careened their ſhip. The 16th they departed, and, on the 20th, croſſed the line, and paid as uſual. The 23d they deſcried Cape Lopez in one degree ſouth latitude, being the laſt ſight they had of the African ſhore. Here it was Sir Chaloner Ogle ſuppreſſed the famous Pirate Roberts, for which he was knighted. Mr. Smith ſaw ſeveral of his followers hanging in chains at Cape Coaſt.

When they had run down about four degrees to the ſouthward of the line, they came into the true ſouth-eaſt trade wind, and ſteered away weſtward, near 400 leagues in ſouth latitude: after which, they ſhaped their courſe north-north-weſt, croſſing the line again on the 5th of June. The next day they fell into the alternate calms and ſtorms that are always near the line at thoſe times of the year, eſpecially between the north-eaſt and ſouth-eaſt trade winds. At length, however, they got fairly into the true north-eaſt trade; and with a good gale, held their courſe about north-north-weſt, till July the 1ſt, when being in thirteen degrees, nineteen minutes, north, their ſhip ſprung a leak: finding ſhe made more water than their pumps could diſcharge, they were under no ſmall apprehenſions, being ſo far from land, and having no ſhip in company: however, the captain after a diligent ſearch, at laſt diſcovered a ſmall leak cloſe up by her ſtern, about a foot under water. It being impoſſible to come at it on the outſide, on account of the ſhip's dipping or pitching under water, they removed part of the cargoe, which raiſed her bow a little higher out of the ſea, and conſequently eaſed the leak.

However, as it ſtill continued, they reſolved to bear away before the wind, which they found much relieved the ſtrain the ſhip laboured under, ſo that they could juſt diſcharge the water with both pumps as faſt as it came in. They then conſulted what was beſt to be done, and according to the captain's propoſal, agreed to bear away for the Weſt Indies, for they were then in the north-eaſt trade wind; ſo that being in the latitude before mentioned, a weſterly courſe would carry them directly on to Barbadoes. Their diſtance by computation, was near 700 leagues: however, they reſolved to do their beſt to keep her above water as long as poſſible; and for that end, aſſigned each other their reſpect employments; the captain and mate were to take the helm four hours by turns; one Mr. Wheeler and the author were to take turns to dreſs the victuals, and make hot punch for the men at the pump, who were allowed three half pints each, every watch, to keep up their ſpirits; for which end the ſailors were divided into two watches, that after they had been nine or ten days in this extremity, the men

grew diſcouraged with exceſſive labour, and began to murmur, though they had every day freſh proviſions killed for them: but they endeavoured to hearten them as well as they could by the hopes of ſoon ſeeing Barbadoes. Their yawl, which was a good large boat, was on deck, but their long-boat having been ſtowed between decks, ſeveral were deſirous of having her brought up, and the ſails, maſts, and oars put on board her and the yawl: alſo all other neceſſaries: ſuch as compaſſes, proviſions, water &c. to be ready to take their boats in caſe of the worſt: others were very much againſt the propoſal, fearing ſome of their men, who are now grown deſparate, would take advantage of the night to run away with the long-boat and leave the reſt; which muſt have been attended with the loſs of the ſhip, it requiring all hands to keep her clear.

On the 16th of July, three of their men, who had the larboard watch from four o'clock till eight, fainted away at the pumps, and were carried like dead men off the deck; which occaſioned the ſtarboard watch to be called, before the bell rang for eight. This drove them almoſt to deſpair. However, Mr. Smith had provided ſome breakfaſt; and, as they were eating it, one of the men at the pumps leaped up, and cried as loud as he could, Land! Land! running about, like a madman, for joy. On this, neglecting their food, they looked out ſharp, and plainly ſaw the land, the moſt agreeable proſpect they had ever beheld. This was July the 16th, at nine in the morning, and proved to be the iſle of Barbadoes. At four in the afternoon, they anchored in Carliſle Bay, which was then full of ſhips. The ſame night, Thomas Leake, Eſq; the Royal African Company's agent there, came off to relieve their weary men at the pumps; and the next morning Mr. Smith went on ſhore to Mr. Leake's houſe. Soon after he was introduced, by his friend Dr. Warren, to his excellency Governor Worſley.

Mean time, on the 17th, their ſhip was hauled along ſide of a hull which lay in the bottom of the bay; and while ſome were employed in unloading the goods into the hull, in order to heave her down and ſearch her bottom, the reſt kept both pumps continually at work, which were now ſcarce able to keep her above water, though ſhe lay motionleſs in a ſmooth bay.

While Captain Livingſtone, Mr. Leake, and ſome other gentlemen, were one day abroad, the men pumped out a ſmall, half-conſumed young dolphin, without either head or tail, being about three inches and an half long, which the captain put into ſpirits of wine to bring home, being aſſured this little fiſh had lain ſome time in the leak, and kept out many tons of water, to which they owed the preſervation of their lives. In heaving the ſhip down, keel out of water, they diſcovered a large gaping leak, within two ſtreaks of her keel, where ſhe had left about four feet of her ſheathing. They ſtripped off all the reſt from that ſide of her bottom, but found no leak of any ſignification, till they had ſtripped the other ſide, when they had found a few ſmall ones. Her plank was all ſound and good, nor did her ſeams want any oakum, except about ſeven inches, where the piece of ſheathing was loſt.

Having refitted this veſſel, they left Barbadoes on the 18th of Auguſt, and when they had croſſed the north-eaſt trade, and come into the way of the variable winds in latitude 29 degrees north, they met with briſk gales at weſt and ſouth-weſt, which carried them at the rate of nine or ten miles an hour. September the 22d, they came into ſoundings of fine ſand, eighty fathoms water. The 25th they made the Lizard, and, with a ſmart gale at ſouth-weſt, came up the channel.

At day-break, on the 26th, they were abreaſt of the Iſle of Wight, when the wind changed to ſouth-eaſt, and blew ſo hard, they were obliged to bear away for Portſmouth; and though they made the proper ſignals, yet no pilot boat would venture off; however, their chief mate being well acquainted with the channel, undertook to carry in the ſhip, which he ſafely performed, and at eleven o'clock they anchored in Portſmouth harbour, September 26, 1727, having thus concluded their long and dangerous voyage.

VOYAGES TO, AND SETTLEMENTS IN BRASIL.

BRASIL was diſcovered by Don Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, by accident, as we have already obſerved, in the year 1500, and the diſcovery being thought of too much importance to be neglected, ſettlements were formed there at various times, and the new colonies flouriſhed amazingly.

In order to facilitate theſe eſtabliſhments, the crown had recourſe to the making very extenſive grants, to ſuch as had either an inclination to ſettle there, or a power of ſending others. Upon this plan it was that ſome of the chief nobility had lands allotted them, equal in extent to Portugal itſelf. This was to be improved, and rendered valuable at the expence of others.

John III. king of Portugal, in the year 1549, ungenerouſly revoked thoſe grants made by his predeceſſors to the original proprietors.

The ſame year he ſent over Thomas de Souſa, with the title of Governor-General of Braſil, who ſetting ſail with a fleet of ſix men of war, carried with him a great number of officers, both civil and military; a conſiderable body of ſoldiers, and ſix fathers of the new order of Jeſuits, to attempt the converſion of the Indians. He was inveſted with an entire new plan of power, adjuſted according to the view of the court, was ordered to build a new town in the bay of All Saints, and to take the neceſſary meaſures for ſecuring the colony againſt its enemies.

He arrived in the month of April, and ſoon began to execute his orders, making war upon the Braſilians, building the town of St. Salvador, and monaſteries for the Jeſuits.

What this governor could not finiſh, his ſucceſſor Edward Acoſta, ſaw compleated; ſo that in his time, the number of towns as well as inabitants, was doubled; he ſtrengthened the towns by raiſing better fortifications, a ſtep that became neceſſary, becauſe other nations began to think of ſettling in America, and ſharing with the Spaniards and Portugueſe the advantages ariſing from the colonies.

Acoſta demoliſhed the old fortifications, which were of earth, raiſed new ones of brick and ſtone, and furniſhed them with artillery. Nor was it long before the expediency of this new method of fortifying was juſtified by experience, as the French made more than one bold attempt to diſturb the Portugueſe in the poſſeſſion of this country.

In the reign of Henry II. of France, the affairs of that

that kingdom were in great confusion, the disputes between the Catholics and Calvinists being carried on to the utmost height, which made numbers of people desirous of leaving their native soil, to seek an easier and more contented situation in a distant country.

Among these was Nicholas Durant, lord of Villegagon, and knight of Malta, who having served at sea with great reputation, was made vice-admiral of Britany. Though this post was rather honourable than lucrative, it created him so many enemies, and he was so ill treated at Nantes, that he resolved to leave the kingdom, and carry a colony into some distant part of the world; and having received some tolerable accounts of Brasil, he drew up a scheme for fixing a settlement in that country, which he presented to Gasper de Coligny, admiral of France, requesting his assistance towards fitting out a squadron for that purpose.

The admiral therefore represented the affair in such a light to the king, that he obtained permission to fit out three large vessels, which after having taken a sufficient number of adventurers on board, sailed from Havre de Grace in the month of May, 1555, and arrived at Brasil in November following, after a troublesome and dangerous voyage.

At first they landed upon a rock, which they found uninhabitable, but marching farther within land, they fixed upon a very commodious spot of ground, almost under the tropic of Capricorn, where they built a convenient fortress, to secure themselves both against the Portuguese and the natives, and gave it the name of Fort Coligny.

When they were fixed, the Sieur de Villegagnon wrote the admiral a full account of his proceeding and situation: he described the country and its inhabitants: said it would be no difficult matter to maintain themselves there, and make it both a useful and a thriving colony; but remarked that such as were sent over to him must not expect the delicacies of Europe; that they had no other bread but what was made of a certain root ground to powder, no wine, much fish, and some venison; and that people who could content themselves with such provisions, would find a secure retreat at his fort in Brasil.

The admiral, on receipt of this letter, communicated it to the famous John Calvin of Geneva, who prevailed on a dozen zealous protestants of that city, to engage in the design of improving this new settlement. One Du Pont, a person of character and good sense, undertook the conducting this affair, in conjunction with two ministers, Peter Richer, who had formerly been a Carmelite, and William Chartier, both of them good men, but very great zealots.

These set out together from Geneva in the month of September, 1556, and went to Chatillon, where they were kindly received by the admiral, and by his assistance, joined to their own interest, they soon collected 300 men, who embarked at Honfleur on board three ships about the middle of November following.

They arrived at Fort Coligny on the 7th of March, 1557, and were received with great joy and satisfaction. But it was not long that things continued in this state, for the Sieur de Villegagnon and the Minister Richer, fell out about religion, and their disputes rose to such a height, that he drove Richer and all his adherents out of the colony, upon which they sailed up the Rio Janeiro, and established themselves upon the continent, where they remained about eight months, and then, being weary of the country, returned to France, where they did not fail to represent the Sieur de Villegagnon in the blackest colours, as an apostate and hypocrite; on which the admiral, who had no other view than serving the protestant cause by this establishment, finding the end not likely to be answered, determined to give himself no farther concern about it.

The Sieur de Villegagnon finding himself thus abandoned, lost all patience, and taking the best methods he was able for the protection of the colony in his absence, he returned to France, where he published an apology for his own conduct, in which he painted the ministers in as bad a light as they had placed him; but finding no good consequences arose from this proceeding, he retired to a commandary of his own order, and spent the rest of his days in writing against the Protestants.

The Portuguese in the mean time, seized this opportunity, to rid themselves of their new neighbours, and the very next year, Emanuel Sa, then governor of Brasil, cut off the French that were left behind, and destroyed their fort.

After this the Portuguese continued to enjoy their settlements quietly for a considerable time; till at length, a French Captain, named Riffaut, who had been cruising on the Spaniards, happened to touch at the island of Marignan, on the Coast of Brasil, and contracted so great an intimacy with the Indian Chief of the island, that he invited him to bring a sufficient number of his countrymen, to fix a settlement there, which he assured him would turn out to good account, and that he would assist him to the utmost of his power.

The French captain readily embraced this offer, and returning to France, he, in the year 1549, found means to fit out three ships, so effectually, that there was just grounds to hope for extraordinary success from the expedition: but before he could reach the intended island, his men mutinied several times, and on his arrival on the coast of it, either by accident, or by quarrels among his people, the largest of the three ships ran on shore and was lost, which obliged him to return to France, but some few of his people, among whom was M. de Vaux, chose to remain with the natives, who gladly accepted their company.

In the mean time the Dutch resolving to come in for a share in the new settlement equipped a strong squadron, under Admiral Willikins, and entering the Bay of All Saints, took St. Salvador, the capital of Brasil; but Philip the fourth, King of Spain and Portugal, caused a large fleet to be sent out, which arriving safe in the bay, found the town already blocked up by a land army. The garrison mutinied and the governor was obliged to surrender.

However, the Dutch determined not thus to abandon their design. In 1630, they again made good their footing on that continent, though not without some difficulty: the town of Olinda was now in possession of their countrymen, but closely blocked up by the famous Alberquerque. In the mean time Admiral Pater was informed that a Spanish and Portuguese fleet was at sea.

The Dutch admiral had but sixteen vessels; but jealous of the honour of his country, he was determined to fight at any rate; and therefore resolved not to wait for, but meet the enemy, which he accordingly did, in six degrees south latitude. As soon as they appeared in sight, the Dutch fleet seeing how unequal the dispute was likely to prove, ten of their captains bore away, and left the admiral with six ships only, to fight an enemy of almost ten times his number.

Admiral Pater had two flags under him, who, to their immortal honour, were two of those who staid with him; so that to six ships there were three admirals.

The engagement was long and bloody: several of the Portuguese vessels were sunk, and it plainly appeared, that if the other ten ships had staid, victory would have declared for the Dutch; but at length Admiral Thys, in the Prince William, was sunk, and not long after, a Portuguese man of war discharging a broad-side at the Dutch admiral, a ball fell into the powder-room, by which the ship was blown up, and that brave man lost. On which, the four Dutch ships that remained retired, but did it with so much courage and address, that they not only arrived safe at Olinda, but likewise carried off a Portuguese man of war they had taken.

On Admiral D'Oquendo's arriving on the Coast of Brasil, he contented himself with sending refresh-

ments and reinforcements to the army of Alberquerque, but made no attempt againſt the city of Olinda, and conſequently left things little better than he found them; which he excuſed from the great loſs he had ſuffered in battle, amounting in the whole, to no leſs than thirteen ſail, taken and ſunk.

In the month of October, he ſet ſail for Liſbon, but in his paſſage met with four Dutch men of war, who did not heſitate to attack him, though he had ſtill 40 ſail, and moſt of them large ſhips. D'Oquendo in this engagement, loſt the captain of his own ſhip, and twenty-two other captains, beſides his vice-admiral, three men of war, two frigates, and about ſeven hundred private men; ſo that he carried home the remains of a fleet, unfortunate from the beginning; and yet without any impeachment of his own character; the blame falling entirely upon the miniſters, who had obliged him, notwithſtanding his remonſtrances, to ſail, with ſhips which were not above half manned or equipped. The miniſters unable to remedy this misfortune, declared themſelves willing to do all in their power to repair it; and therefore orders were given for providing a larger fleet, and for equipping and manning thereof in a propper manner; the command of which, was given to Don Fredrick de Toledo, who had acquired great reputation; but after abundance of pains being taken, it was found that nothing could be done that ſeaſon, and therefore it was deferred till the following ſpring; when it was determined to ſend ſuch a force as ſhould put an end to the war at once; but as it was far eaſier to project fine ſchemes, than to execute them; ſo, notwithſtanding this famous admiral actually proceeded on his voyage with a large fleet, every way well provided, yet he effected ſo little, that authors have not even recorded the particulars of what he did.

From this time the Dutch arms were very proſperous in Braſil, and the amazing ſucceſs they meet with was ſuch as to induce the natives of Siara, one of the moſt northern captainſhips to declare for the Dutch, and offered to aſſiſt them againſt the Portugueſe, upon a promiſe of being left to the enjoyment of their freedom: whereupon a body of troops being ſent to join them, under Capt. Gartman, he, with the aſſiſtance of a Braſilian prince, reduced that whole diſtrict.

Count Maurice now reſolved to put in execution the repeated orders he had received from the Weſt India company, for attacking St. Salvador in the bay of All Saints, which was eſteemed the capital of Braſil: wherefore he embarked all the forces he could collect at Olinda, and on the 8th of April, 1638. landed with them in the bay of All Saints, thinking to have ſurpriſed the Portugueſe: but the count de Banjola, being in the neighbourhood with a ſmall body of regular troops, threw himſelf into the place, though the governor of it was his enemy; and it was on the enmity ſubſiſting between them that count Maurice founded his hopes of ſucceſs.

Count Maurice attacked, and without much difficulty made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong fort of Albert, that of St. Bartholomew, and the famous caſtle of St. Philip. This ſucceſs encouraged him to erect two batteries, to attack at the ſame time Fort Roſes, which covered the city on one ſide, and a horn work, which was its principal ſtrength on the other. Between theſe there was a piece of ground covered with ſhrubs and buſhes, where count Banjola adviſed the governor to poſt himſelf with four hundred men, while he made a ſally. This had the intended effect; for after an obſtinate diſpute, the Dutch, endeavouring to retire through that peace of ground, were attacked in the rear; and beſides three hundred of their beſt men, loſt four officers of diſtinction, and their principal enginger; upon which Count Maurice abandoned the caſtles he had taken, and made a haſty retreat.

The Spaniſh government having in the mean time, received an exact account of the ſtate of affairs in Braſil, came to a reſolution of repairing their late miſtakes, by ſending thither ſuch a fleet and army, as ſhould effectually put an end to the war, by obliging the Dutch to abandon all their conqueſts.

However the vigilance of the Count de las Torres was ſuch, that he put to ſea with a fleet of ninety ſail, large and ſmall, with 12000 men on board, in the month of January 1640.

Count Maurice, on the other hand, having aſſembled 41 men of war, waited for the enemy within four miles of Olinda under the Count, this laſt fleet was commanded by William Loos, a Dutch admiral of diſtinguiſhed bravery. The fleets meeting on the 12th of the ſame month, between the iſland of Tamara and the river Gojana, fought from one in the afternoon till night; the Dutch in this engagement loſt four men, one of whom was their Admiral Loos; but he was replaced the next day, by James Huyghens, who engaging the Spaniſh fleet a ſecond time, obtained conſiderable advantages.

At length after many ſtruggles on the 13th of June, 1641, they ſigned a league offenſive and defenſive, regarding the dominions of both ſtates in Europe, and a truce for ten years in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies: it was alſo ſtipulated, that commiſſioners ſhould meet in eight months in order to conclude a definitive treaty of peace, and to ſettle the pretenſions of both parties: but the Dutch took care to provide, that if this treaty ſhould prove ineffectual, the truce and free trade between both ſtates ſhould ſtill continue; only the Portugueſe ſhould be reſtricted from exporting any of the commodities of Braſil into Holland, and the Dutch were to be under the like reſtrictions reſpecting the dominions of Portugal.

Nevertheleſs there were continual bickerings between the two ſtates in this part of the world, till affairs were reduced to the ſituation which they now remain. The country diſputed being in poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe.

The country of Braſil may be reckoned 2000 miles from eaſt to weſt, and 2500 from north to ſouth, tho' even to this day the Portugueſe have hardly penetrated 500 miles in any part of it.

The northern parts of the country, which lie near the equator, are ſubject to great rains and variable winds, more eſpecially about the months of March and September, when they were frequently diſturbed by moſt dreadful hurricanes and tempeſts, which laying the country under water, render it very unwholeſome.

The part of Braſil which lies to the ſouth, is one of the fineſt countries in the world, in every reſpect: but the Portugueſe dominions are but narrow in this part, being bounded by the Spaniſh territories on the river of Plate.

The native Braſillians differ very little in ſtature or complexion from the Portugueſe: but they greatly exceed them in the ſtrength, robuſtneſs and vigour of their bodies. Some of them lived on plains, ſome in villages, and others moved from place to place according to their fancies. Their villages conſiſted only of three or four large houſes, not unlike our barns, in which a whole family or tribe lived together, under the authority of the eldeſt parent.

From the time the Dutch abandoned Braſil, the Portugueſe have ſuffered no ſhips to trade thither, except their own. All the trade of the five northern captainſhips, viz. Paria, Maragnan, Siara, Rio Grande, and Paraiba, is carried on at the laſt mentioned port, which lies on a river of the ſame name, at the diſtance of about five leagues from the ſea.

Paraiba is a fine and well peopled town, and there are annually ſeven or eight ſhips ſent thither from Liſbon and Oporto, of the burden of 200 tons each. Their lading conſiſts chiefly of ſugar, of which they make more in the northern captainſhips than in the ſouth: eſpecially ſince the diſcovery of the gold mines which has made the ſouthern inhabitants negligent with regard to cultivation.

The ſugar of Braſil was the firſt that was brought to Europe, the Portugueſe having erected their works in this country as early as the year 1580; and their being ſo long in poſſeſſion of it, has made them more careful in the management of their ſugar than any

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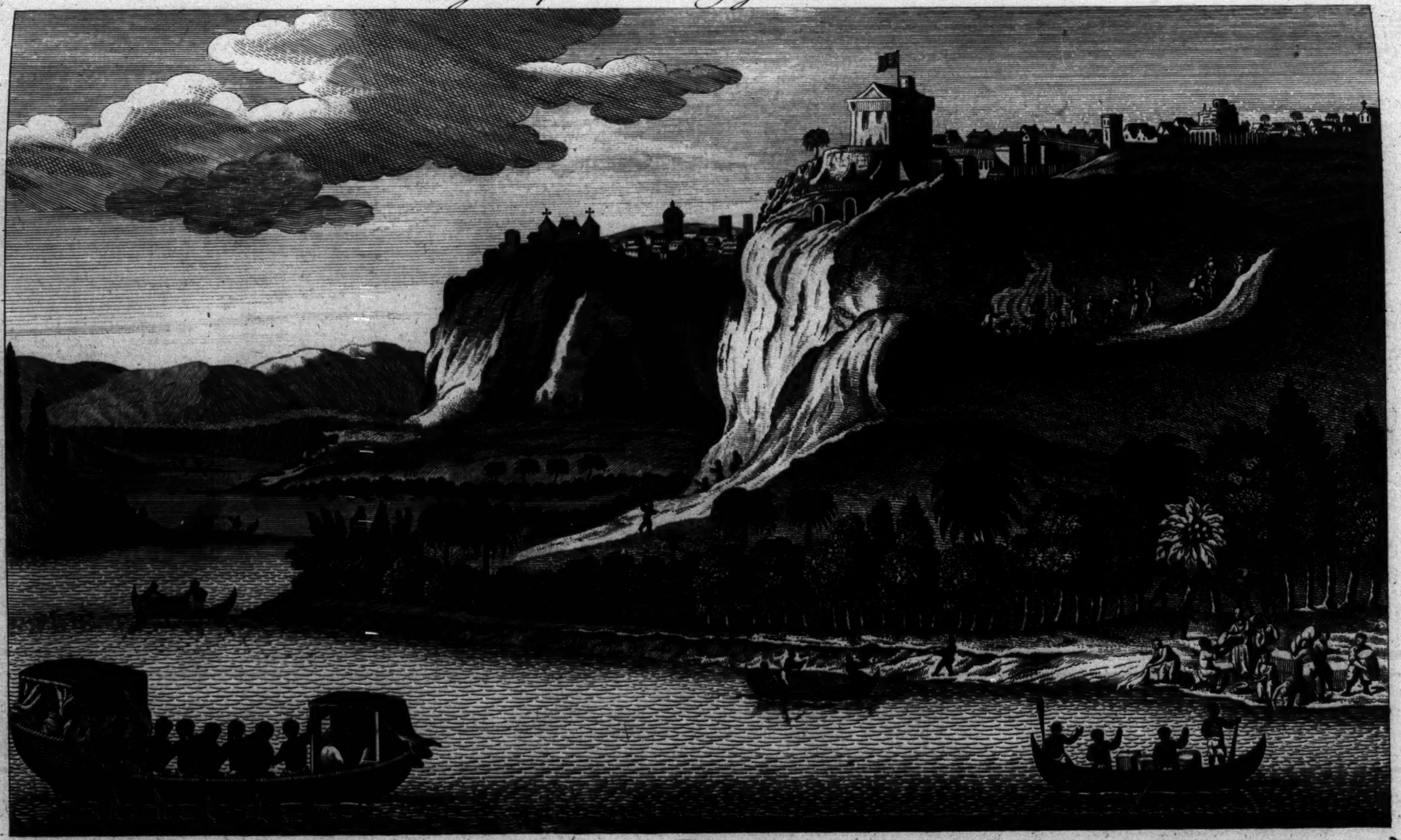
Engraved for Moore's Voyages and Travels.



View of St. SALVADOR, a City of South America.

other nation; ſo that even now the clayed ſugars from Braſil, are finer and whiter than ours, and yet the method of preparing it is no ſecret.

They alſo bring woods for the dyers uſe, ſeveral kinds of drugs, precious ſtones, and other valuable commodities from Paraiba, which is the leaſt frequented port of Braſil; however, theſe northern captainſhips are beſt peopled, and their inhabitants are eaſy in their circumſtances, though there has been as yet no mines worked in thoſe parts, notwithſtanding ſome Spaniſh writers affirm, that from the appearance of the ſoil on the ſides of the mountains, it is highly probable they are rich in ſilver.

The Braſil tree grows in dry barren places, and among rocks, is very large and thick, and the timber is generally crooked and knotty. It bears flowers of a very beautiful bright red, which have a very fragrant ſmell, and inſtead of hurting, as moſt perfumes do, it cheriſhes and ſtrengthens the brain. Though the tree is very large, it is covered with ſo thick a bark, that when the Braſilians have ſtripped it off, a tree as thick as a man's body, is left no thicker than the calf of his leg. The wood is very heavy, dry and hard; it cracks much in the fire, but ſcarce raiſes any ſmoke. That which is the thickeſt, ſoundeſt, and hardeſt, is eſteemed the beſt.

The Bay of Bahia, or as the Portugueſe call it, the Bay of All Saints, is about 12 leagues over; but in ſeveral places is ſcarcely navigable, on account of ſhoals and ſand-banks. In this bay there are ſeveral ſmall iſlands, on which the Portugueſe have plantations of tobacco and ſugar, and they have likewiſe very good fiſheries on the coaſts of the iſlands, and on the banks.

The city of St. Salvador is a fortified town. It lies at the entrance of the bay in 14 degrees ſouth latitude, and is at preſent the centre of the Portugueſe trade in this part of the world. It has a very fine port, which by a little induſtry, might be rendered more commodious.

St. Salvador is at preſent the ſeat of an archbiſhop, and is divided into upper and lower. We ſhall begin with deſcribing the latter, in which reſide all the merchants and people of buſineſs; and perhaps there is not in the world a place of its ſize of greater trade. It lies at the foot of a hill which is extremely ſteep. There is in it a royal arſenal, beſides the king's warehouſes and magazines, which are large, well filled, and kept in excellent order. There is likewiſe a very fine yard for building of ſhips, which are not only built here at leſs expence than in Europe, but are more ſerviceable than European veſſels, becauſe the timber has the peculiar advantage of the worms being unable to penetrate it.

The upper town is ſeated on the ſummit of a hill; the houſes are large, and tolerably convenient; but the inequality of the ground on which they ſtand, ſpoils their appearance, and renders the ſtreets very diſagreeable. The great ſquare is in the middle of the town, and the four ſides of this ſquare are taken up with the viceroy's palace, the town-houſe, the mint, and other public buildings, which are built of ſtone brought from Portugal, this country producing none fit for the purpoſe.

All other captainſhips which lie farther to the ſouth, carry on their trade by the Rio Janeiro, ſo called from its having been diſcovered in the month of January, in which is at preſent one of the moſt conſiderable rivers in the world. The banks of it are as beautiful and pleaſant as can be imagined; the climate fine; the ſoil is ſtrongly fertile, producing ſugar, indigo, tobacco and cotton, all in great perfection. It has been likewiſe found that European corn will grow there with very litle trouble; but on account of the gold mines, this and all other improvements have been diſcouraged, though independent of thoſe mines, this might be conſidered as the richeſt part of Braſil.

The city of St. Sebaſtian, is the capital of this country. There are ſeveral other conſiderable towns on the Rio Janeiro, all of which have a large ſhare of trade; as appears from the number of ſhips ſent thither every year from Portugal.

The king's fifth of the gold returned annually from Braſil to Liſbon, is about 300,000l. ſterling, ſo that the whole return is about a million and a half, to which, if we add what is privately brought to Europe without paying the duty, and which is exchanged with the Spaniards for ſilver, we may very reaſonably ſuppoſe that the annual produce of the Braſilian gold, is not leſs than two millions.

The captainſhip of St. Vincent lies ſouthward from that of Rio Janeiro; it is bounded on the north by the new captainſhip of Rio; on the ſouth by the new captainſhip, or that called Del Rey; on the eaſt by the ocean, and on the weſt by the moutains of La Plata, and countries inhabited by various ſavage nations.

The town of St. Vincent is ſituaetd in a very fine bay of the Atlantic ocean, and is a well fortified place. Not far from the north-weſt lies the town of Santos, which ſome eſteem the capital of the province, and which is as fine a port as any in the Weſt-Indies.

The captainſhip of Del Rey is the only one to the ſouthward of St. Vincent. It extends from the latitude of 28 to 34 degrees 30 minutes ſouth, being about 400 miles in length, but not above 100 broad in any part of it.

Their method of reckoning up their age is ſingular enough, they lay by a cheſnut every year, beginning the computation of the years with the riſing of a ſtar called Tacu, or the rain ſtar.

Perſons of the blood royal are diſtinguiſhed by their hair cut in a particular form, and by long thumb-nails, which latter is peculiar to the king, princes of the blood being allowed long nails on their fingers, but not on their thumbs.

The people in the inland parts of Braſil acknowledge a Supreme Being, whom they call Tuba, which ſignifies "Somewhat moſt excellent;" and they call thunder by the name of Tubakununga, that is, "a noiſe made by the Supreme Excellence." They have likewiſe ſome imperfect ideas of the general deluge.

With regard to futurity, they are of opinion that the ſoul does not die with the body, but is conveyed to certain pleaſant vales beyond the mountains, where they are to ſpend their time in ſinging and dancing, and to enjoy the greateſt pleaſures; but theſe rewards are only for thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in performing great actions for the welfare of their country, &c. On the contrary, thoſe who have lived an idle life, they ſay will be tormented by evil ſpirits, for whom they have many different names, and of whom they are extremely afraid.

Theſe people have prieſts among them, whom they conſider as prophetic inſtructors, and whom they fail not to conſult in all affairs of conſequence, eſpecially thoſe of war.

Braſil, as our author obſerves, beſides leopards, tygers, and ounces, has ſome animals peculiar to the country, of which the following are the moſt remarkable.

The tapirouſſon, which though ſomewhat reſembling a cow, differs much from that animal in other reſpects; it has long horns of a reddiſh colour, ſhort neck, and long hanging ears, ſmall legs, and does not divide the hoof. The fleſh taſtes like beef. The hide when dry is almoſt impenetrable.

The cauti is ſomewhat like a badger; it is cruel and ravenous, and devours every creature it can maſter, though its chief food is birds and their eggs, and young ſerpents.

The porcupine is alſo a native of this country, where it is called Kuandu; it is about the ſize of an ape, with round, ſtaring fiery eyes. It is covered with quills inſtead of hair. Its chief food is fowl. The fleſh of the porcupine is eaten by the Braſilians.

The Armadilla is ſo called from being completely

covered with ſcales like armour. The head is like that of a hog, and it has a ſharp noſe and a ſmall ſharp tongue, with ſhort ears of a dark brown colour, it feeds upon roots and alſo upon all ſorts of carrion.

The ſluggard (or ſloth) is about the ſize of a fox: its head is round; and its mouth is conſtantly foaming, its teeth is ſmall and blunt, and its noſe is high and ſmooth; its body is covered with hair of an aſhen colour. It ſcarcely moves but by compulſion, dwells on trees, and hides itſelf from the approach of rain.

The ſenembi or land crocodile is common in Braſil. Its fleſh is ſaid to taſte like that of a rabbit.

The tamendua or ant bear, feeds on theſe inſects which it is ſaid to catch by leaving out its long tongue, till a number of them ſettle on it, and then drawing them in all at once.

Here are found variety of beautiful parrots, one ſpecies in particular (called the Tuin) which though ſcarcely bigger than a ſparrow, is perpetually talking and ſinging, and will feed out of the mouth of the perſon who breeds it.

The bird called the Guiranheugetta is about the ſize of a Goldfinch: its wings and back are blue, its belly and breaſt yellow, and it has a diadem of yellow feathers upon its head. It has the notes of many other ſorts of birds, and makes ſo great a variety of turnings and changes in its ſinging, that it forms a perfect concert of itſelf.

Braſil produces a kind of bats of the ſize of a crow, which have very ſharp teeth, and bite with great violence. Theſe build neſts in old walls, or in hollow trees.

The bill-bird is about the ſize of a pigeon, and has a ſaffron coloured crop about the neck, of three or four fingers in compaſs. Its bill, which is full as large as its whole body, is yellow on the outſide, and red within; and its feathers, which are yellow on the breaſt, and black on all other parts, are tipped with red.

There is a bird of a very odd appearance, called the Barn bird. Its bill is of a moſt amazing length; it has a crown of green and white feathers upon its head, one half of which, together with half the neck, has no feathers at all. It is about the ſize of a ſtork, and when ſkinned and boiled, is eſteemed tolerable good food.

Many ſorts of wild fowl are alſo found here, which differ but little from thoſe of Europe. Among the ſmall birds, the Braſilian humming-bird is the moſt remarkable, for though very ſmall, it makes a loud noiſe, and is of ſo variable a hue, that whatever way it is turned it changes its colour.

Among the different kinds of ſerpents found in Braſil, is the rattle ſnake, which is alſo common among the Engliſh ſettlements, but the moſt remarkable is the guaku or liboya, a ſerpent of a moſt prodigious ſize, of a voracious nature, and will leap out of the hedges upon men or wild beaſts. However it is not ſo venomous as other ſerpents, and the fleſh of it is eſteemed tolerable food.

The gekko is a ſerpent of a moſt venomous nature, and the bite of it proves mortal, unleſs the wounded part be immediately cut off or burnt with a hot iron.

The ſcorpions of this country grow to a very large ſize, and their ſting is venomous.

The lizards of Braſil, which are about four feet in length, are eaten with ſafety by the natives.

Among the ſpiders of this country, there is one ſort of a remarkable large ſize, which is uſually found in dunghills, or the cavities of hollow trees. Theſe weave webbs like other ſpiders; and if provoked, they wound with a ſting ſo ſmall as to be ſcarcely viſible, and yet ſo venomous, that it raiſes a bluiſh ſwelling, which is extremely painful, and if not prevented by a ſpeedy antidote, will even prove mortal.

Among the vegetables of Braſil, is the mandioca root, from which the Braſilians derive a great part of their ſubſiſtance; for being dried, powdered, and afterwards baked in the manner of bread, it ſerves for the common food of the inhabitants of a good part of America. This root is not unlike a parſnip, is nearly the thickneſs of a man's arm, and two or three feet in length. It has this peculiar quality belonging to it: that when eaten freſh, it proves a certain poiſon to the human ſpecies; but when roaſted, the eating of it is not attended with the leaſt ill conſequence; and though beaſts of all kinds feed and grow fat upon it, yet the juice proves pernicious to them as well as men.

The nara likewiſe is very remarkable; it bears a reſemblance to the ſempervivum; but its leaves are not ſo thick and full of prickles. In the middle of it there grows a fruit not unlike a pine-apple, which has ſomething of the taſte of the melon, but is much more delicious, and has a very fragrant ſmell.

The pocaire is a ſhrub of ten or twelve feet in height, the ſtem of which is conſiderably thicker than a man's thigh, and yet ſo tender, that one ſtroke of a ſword will cut it aſunder. The leaves are like thoſe of water ſorrel; they are commonly ſix feet in length, and very broad, but are exceedingly thin, and have only a rib in the middle to hold them together; on which account they are ſo torn by the winds blowing them about, that they hang in rags, and theſe ſhrubs when ſeen at a diſtance, look as if they were ſtuck with feathers. The fruit, which is called poco, is about the length of a man's hand, and like a cucumber both in ſhape and colour. The taſte of it reſembles that of a fig, but its delicacy is far ſuperior.

Here is alſo great plenty of ananas, or pine-apples, which, when ripe, are in this country, as yellow as gold, and of a very fine ſcent. Their taſte is ſuperior to that of the richeſt preſerved fruits, and the liquor drawn from them is as good as malmſy wine.

The pacoba, which is likewiſe called Adam's fig-tree, is very large; the ſtalks are ſoft and ſpungy, and the leaves very long, ſmooth, and ſoft like velvet. The fruit grows in cluſters like figs, at about a foot diſtance upon the main ſtalk, and one cluſter often contains two hundred. The fruit being gathered before it is quite ripe, and laid by to ripen, becomes yellow, and acquires a pleaſant taſte.

Braſil produces ſeveral ſorts of palm, and other fruit trees, likewiſe mulberries and dew berries, together with woods of various colours.

In effect, the greater part of this country is repreſented by voyagers as a paradiſe of nature, and well worth the conteſt which it ſo long occaſioned between two powerful ſtates. The Portugueſe are at this time ſenſible that in carrying their point, they have gained a moſt valuable acquiſition.

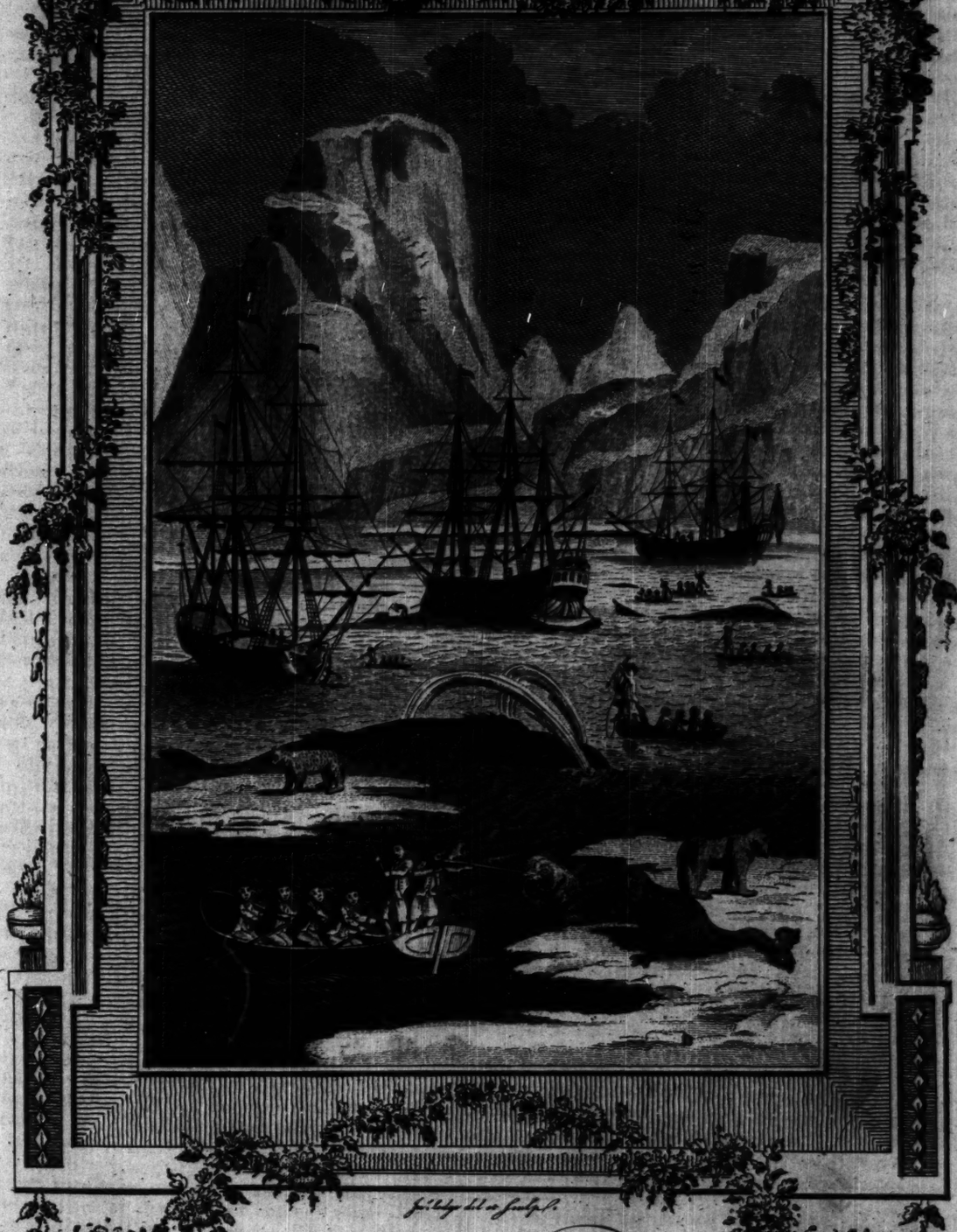
VOYAGES TO GREENLAND, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE WHALE FISHERY.

THE ſame ſpirit of diſcovery which animated the Portugueſe, ſpreading among other nations. Attempts were made at various times for the diſcovery of a paſſage by the north-eaſt and north-weſt to the Indies.

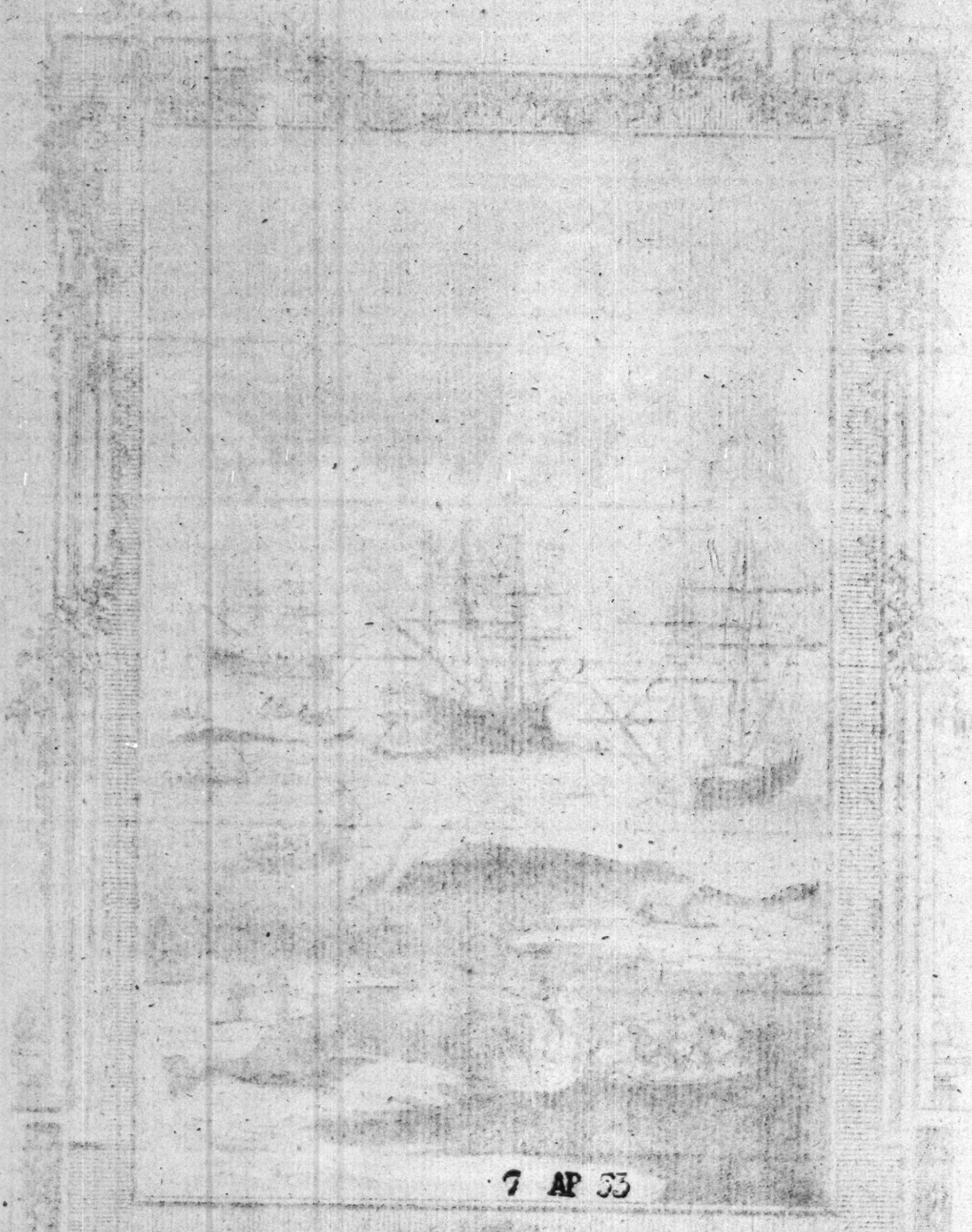
Among the reſt, the Engliſh were not backward. In the year 1553, under the reign of Edward IV. ſeveral perſons of conſequence entered into a ſociety, which they called, The Company for the Diſcovery

of

Engraved for Moore's Voyages & Travels.



View of the **WHALE FISHERY,** *&c. in Greenland.*



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of unknown Countries. The chief director of this company, was the famous Sebaſtian Cabot, who under the reign of King Henry VII. firſt diſcovered the northern part of America; from whence in ſome antient maps that part is called Sebaſtian Cabot's country.

This company equipped three ſhips, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, an Engliſh knight, and Richard Chancellour, vice-commodore, with orders to endeavour to find out a paſſage to the north-eaſt through the Tartarean ſea to China.

Theſe three ſhips purſued their voyage together, without any ſiniſter accident, till they came to the heighth of Wardhuis and Lapland, where Richard Chancellour was ſeparated from the reſt by foggy and ſtormy weather.

In the mean time Sir Hugh Willoughby, after he had been toſſed up and down for a long time, did at laſt (according to the diary writ by his own hand) viz. on the 14th of Auguſt, come to an anchor near a country ſituate under the 72d degree, which country ſince has been ſtiled in many maps, Sir Hugh Willoughby's country. From thence he purſued his voyage along thoſe coaſts, till the ſudden approaching winter obliged him to enter a certain harbour, there to paſs the winter. At laſt, he himſelf was found frozen to death, with the crew of his two ſhips, conſiſting of 70 perſons, in an obſcure harbour of Lapland, called Arcina Kecea, being diſcovered by ſome Ruſſian fiſhermen, who accidentally came that way. His corps being brought home and honourably interred in London.

The Engliſh ſhips trading to Muſcovy becoming thereby acquainted with thoſe northern coaſts, had obſerved a great number of ſea-horſes in thoſe ſeas: ſo that ſeveral ſhips were ſent out from England to catch them, chiefly for their teeth ſake, which were ſold at a very dear rate in Muſcovy.

It was in the year 1593, that the Engliſh ſent the firſt time their ſhips to catch thoſe ſea-horſes. They landed in an iſland, called by the Dutch the iſland of Bears; by the Engliſh, Cherry-Iſle, from one of the chief directers of their company. The ſea-horſes are in great numbers thereabouts, of which they killed a great many, kept their teeth and made oil out of their fleſh. Which trade they continued with great advantage for ſeveral years after.

But in proceſs of time the ſea-horſes began to be ſhy, that as ſoon as they perceived any men they got into the ſea, which rendering the catching of thoſe beaſts the more difficult, and ſubject to great danger, the whales began to be purſued by the induſtrious mariners.

In the year 1612, the Engliſh ſent two ſhips more thither, who meeting with a Dutch veſſel which was ſent thither upon the ſame errand, they obliged them to return home without any booty.

The next following year, 1613, they purſued the ſame deſign with more vigour than before: for having obtained a patent from king James, forbidding all others, as well foreigners as natives (except the Muſcovia companies) to ſail to Spitſbergen; they equipped ſeven men of war, wherewith they chaſed the Dutch, French, thoſe of Biſcay, and even the Engliſh themſelves that were interlopers, from thence.

In the year 1614, the Dutch and Zelanders appeared near Spitſbergen with eight ſtout veſſels, under convoy of four frigates of 30 guns each: ſo that the Engliſh, who were but 15 ſtrong, durſt not enter into diſpute with them at that time. The ſame happened the next following year, 1615.

In the next following two years the Engliſh had the better of the Dutch; but in the year 1618, the Zelanders came with a ſtrong ſquadron, and diſputing the preference with the Engliſh, plundered their ſhips, and forced them to retreat.

The conteſt betwixt theſe two nations continued for ſome years after, till both ſides being weary of it, the paſſage thither was left free and open to all nations.

Spitſbergen is the moſt northern part of the world, which hitherto is come to our knowledge, being ſituated betwixt Nova Zembla and Greenland, and extends from 76 to the 80th degree. It is called Spitsbergen from its high and piqued mountains which are ſeen at ſea. Theſe mountains are of a coarſe ſand, intermixed with ſmall flat ſtones like our ſlates, and conſequently have no firm bottom.

The country itſelf is uninhabited, but affords three ſeveral kinds of four leg'd beaſts, viz. white bears, not inferior in bulk and ſtrength to our oxen, they live for the moſt part upon the ice. Beſides theſe, there are likewiſe foxes here, grey, white and black; and rein-dear, ſomewhat ſmaller than a ſtag, but very like them in ſhape, and every thing elſe, only their horns are not ſo ſmooth. Their food is a certain green moſs, inclining to a yellowiſh colour, which ſprouts out among the ſand and ſtones, being for the reſt not unlike that which grows upon trees. Some are of opinion, that deeper in the country there grows ſome graſs: and probably there may be ſome hot ſprings there, and perhaps alſo ſome grounds not ſo much expoſed to the ſnow, which affords ſome ſuſtenance in winter to thoſe beaſts.

In the beginning of June, when the foreign ſhips commonly make their firſt appearance on theſe coaſts, the country all over (as far as one can ſee) covered with ſnow; and the rein-deers are ſo lean, that they can ſcarce hang together; but in ſix weeks after, when the ſnow is melted away, they thrive to that degree, that they have two inches fat on their ribs. They do not fly from men, but rather meet them, and that ſo near, that ſometimes one may lay hold of them, or at leaſt cannot fail to hit them with a gun; at the noiſe of which the reſt diſperſe, but return ſoon after to the ſame place.

The country is exceeding cold; and though the whole ſummer is but one continued day, the ſun not going below the horizon for ſix weeks together; yet is this but a ſlender allay to the cold, which is there the more fierce, the more clear the ſky appears, as may be likewiſe obſerved with us in winter-time; the mountains eſpecially ſend forth ſuch cold damps as are intolerable. The air is frequently foggy here, to ſuch a degree, that one cannot diſcern any thing at the length of a ſhip; ſo that nothing but a thirſt after lucre could induce mankind to expoſe themſelves to ſo many inconveniences.

There are ſeveral kinds of whales in the frozen ſea, not to ſpeak here of ſome ſea-monſters, which are mentioned by ſome upon the very credit of the mariners who pretend to have ſeen them. The whales may be conveniently divided into the white and black ones. The black are again of two different kinds; for ſome have only one hole or pipe, and thoſe are all one ſort; out of the head of thoſe are taken the matter which is called by the apothecaries Spermaceti; others have two, and thoſe are again diſtinguiſhed by their different degrees of bigneſs. The biggeſt kind is called Grand Bay; the reſt are ſubdivided into five different ſorts, all which agree in this, that they have no fins on their backs. There is one kind which is never found without them, and for that reaſon has got the name of Fin-fiſh, but being a fierce beaſt, and commonly very lean, is not ſo much ſought for. The white whales are ſo called, becauſe their backs are covered with a number of white cockle-ſhells.

Every nation has its own ſtation or harbour, where they have fixed their coppers, huts, and other inſtruments, fitted for the boiling of the whale oil, which are always kept behind.

The manner of catching and killing of the whale is performed thus: As ſoon as they eſpy a whale, either from the ſhore or ſhip, they put out three ſhallops, manned with ſix men each, among whom is one, who being called the harponeer, is the perſon who is firſt to wound the whale with his harpoon. Thoſe three ſhallops row as faſt as poſſible they can after the whale, but muſt be very cautious they do

not come too near his tail; when they come pretty near him, they are as silent, and make as little noise with their oars, as possibly they can; for fear the whale should take to the bottom of the sea. When they are near enough, the harponeer of one of these shallops, who believes himself to set within reach, throws his harpoon at him with all his force; this harpoon is about three feet long, having on both sides hooks or notches to prevent its being torn out again, after it is once fixed in the body of the whale; it has a wooden handle, the better to balance it for the conveniency of throwing, and a line fastened at the end, which being about two hundred fathoms long, is laid in a vessel in the shallop; for no sooner the whale finds himself wounded, but with incredible swiftness he goes towards the bottom of the sea: so that the line smoaks, being rubbed against the side of the shallop, and would certainly take fire if the men did not constantly pour water upon it. There is also one whose business it is to take care that the line be not entangled: for if that should happen, they have nothing to do but to cut the line, or else it would overset the shallop. If they find one of these lines fall short, those of the next shallop furnish them with theirs, which they fasten to it: but all this would stand them in little stead, if the nature of this fish were such as to abide long under water; whereas after he has run some hundred fathoms deep, he is forced to come up again to take breath, at which time he sends forth such a terrible sound through his pipes, that it may be heard at half a league distance, though some make a much greater noise than others. As soon as the fish appears upon the surface of the water, the shallops pursue him, being directed by the line which shews them the way. The harponeer, who comes first nearest to him, throws another harpoon into his body, which makes him once more take towards the bottom, but after he comes up again the second time, they do not make any further use of the harpoons, but of certain small pikes, not unlike a lance, of which there are two sorts, throwing-lances and pushing-lances. The throwing-lances resemble an arrow, and are used much in the same manner, but have no hooks at the end; for they are thrown into the body of the whale, and drawn out again, the intention of which is to tire the fish by so many wounds, till they dare venture at him with pushing-lances; for whilst he is in his full strength no body dares come near him, for whatever he hits with his tail and fins, he batters in pieces, as has been seen sometimes in some shallops, which have been torn in flitters, and the men thrown up to a great height into the air. When they find him almost tired, and his strength considerably abated, they draw nearer to him, and make use of the other lances, which resembles our pikes; with those they wound him, but especially near the fins, where this creature is most sensible; and this they hold so long till they have hit his lungs or liver, at which time the fish spouts out a great quantity of blood through the pipes, which rises into the air as high as the mast; then they desist, and the fish finding himself wounded in so sensible a part, begins to rage most furiously, battering the sea and his body with his fins and tail, till the sea is all in a foam; and when he strikes his fins against his body, and his tail at the waves, it may be heard at half a league distance, the sound being no less than if a great cannon was discharged. This struggling affords so agreeable a spectacle to the beholders, that those who have seen it assure us, that they could never be tired with the sight of it. Whilst the whale is making his last efforts, the shallops are obliged to follow him sometimes for two leagues together, till having lost all his strength, he turns upon one side, and as soon as he is dead upon his back; then they draw him with ropes either on shore (if he be near Spitsbergen) or else to the ship, where he is kept so long till he rises above the water; for the first day he lies almost even with the surface of the water, the second, he rises about six or seven feet above it, and the third, sometimes as high as the hides of the ship. On board each ship there is one, whose business it is to open the fish, who after he has put on his garment for that purpose, cuts open his belly with a very large knife, which is not done without a roaring noise, and an intolerable smell sent forth from the entrails of this beast; but notwithstanding, the man proceeds in this business, separating the flesh from the bones by pieces of two or three hundred weight, which are conveyed thus either on shore, or on board the vessel, where they are cut again in smaller pieces.

The tail of this creature serves for a hacking-block, being so very nervous and strong, that it exceeds any wood whatsoever for this use. Being thus cut into small pieces, those who have their settlements at Spitsbergen, extracts the oil immediately by boiling it on shore, which being put into barrels, is thus transported to the respective places to which the ships belong. But those who want this conveniency, and go only on board to catch the whales in the open sea, are forced to put up these pieces in barrels, which they carry home, and boil them after the same manner as they do at Spitsbergen; but this is of less value than the other, as having a very disagreeable scent.

The whale, when full grown, is of a most enormous bulk, and produces besides spermaceti, many puncheons of oil. Another valuable part is the whale-bone, which is sold to great advantage. This fish is viviparous, the female bringing forth her young like quadrupeds.

Greenland is called that country lying to the utmost point of the north, which extends from south to east, from Cape Fare through the Mare Glaciale, or Frozen Sea, as far as Spitsbergen and Nova Zembla. Some are of opinion, that it joins to Great Tartary, but without any certain reason. To the east it borders on the Frozen Sea; to the south upon the ocean; to the west upon Hudson's Streights, by which it is separated from America, and its bounds to the north are unknown hitherto. Some are of opinion that it is on the same continent with America, because the supposed streights, called Davis's Streights, have since been found to be no more than a bay; but Captain Monk, who attempted the same passage, gives us no great reason to believe that it is separated from America, as will plainly appear from his own relation.

A certain Norweigian gentlemen of considerable quality, called Torwald, and his son Erick, having committed several murders, were forced to fly to Ireland. Torwold died soon after, and his son Erick, surnamed Red-Hair, being of a turbulent spirit, and being prosecuted on the account of another murder committed there, went to sea in quest of a country, which lying west off of Ireland, was called Gundebiurn; he was not long at sea before he discovered two promontories, one of which jetted out into the sea from the continent, the other from an island very near to the shore. The promontory on the island was called Witsercken, that on the continent Warf: betwixt both is a good bay, where there is safe riding at anchor: unto this he gave the name of Sand Stafn. The promontory of Witsercken exceeds the other both in height and circumference. Erick Red hair called this promontory of the island Muckla Jockel, which is as much as to say, the Great Ice Shoal; afterwards it got the name of Blowsercken, which is as much as Blue-shirt; and lastly it was called Witsercken, or White-shirt, questionless from the colour of the ice and snow, which covers a great part of it all the year round. Erick's first landing place was in the isle which he called Ericksun, where he passed the first winter.

The next spring he passed over to the continent, where meeting with some grass he gave it the name of Greenland, the place where he landed was called by him Ericsforden, near which he built a castle, called Osterburg. About the fall of the leaf he built another towards the west, unto which accordingly he gave the name of Westburgh. The next winter he passed

over to Erickſun, and the following ſummer again to the north of Greenland, where he met with great rocks, which he called ſnowrocks; and not far from thence found a good harbour, to which, by reaſon of the great number of ravens he ſaw thereabout, he gave the name of Ravensforden. This harbour lies directly north from Ericksforden, which is to the ſouth, being ſeparated from one another by a branch of the ſea.

Erick, after he had continued three years in thoſe parts, took a reſolution to go over into Iceland, where he gave ſuch an advantageous account of the good paſturage, and plenty of cattle, fiſh and fowl of his new found country, that a great many of the inhabitants embarked themſelves to follow him into Greenland.

The Daniſh chronicle aſſures us, that the poſterity of Erick and his followers multiplied conſiderably in Greenland; and that, advancing deeper into the country, they met with fertile ground, good paſtures, and ſprings of freſh water. They divided it into eaſtern and weſtern Greenland, according to the ſituation of the two before mentioned caſtles. In the eaſtern Greenland they built a city called Garde, whither the Norwegians uſed to come every year to traffic with the inhabitants. Afterwards they built another city, unto which they gave the name of Alb, (and being great zealots) laid the foundation of a monaſtery dedicated to St. Thomas, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea-ſhore. The city of Garde was the epiſcopal reſidence, where the cathedral was dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron of ſea-faring men.

In the year 1343, whether it is that the people were ſwept away by ſome epidemical diſtemper, or from what other cauſe is uncertain, the connexion with Greenland (commonly called Old Greenland) was loſt, and ſome affirm, the country itſelf has never been found by any European.

Chriſtian IV. King of Denmark, being deſirous to find out a paſſage between Greenland and America, to facilitate the voyage to the Eaſt Indies; ordered one Captain Monck, a perſon of great bravery, to ſail with two ſtout ſhips to the Streights, which were not many years before diſcovered by one Mr. Hudſon, an Engliſhman.

This Mr. Hudſon having been ſeveral times before on the northern coaſts, was at laſt prevailed upon by ſome Engliſh merchants to try his fortune, whether he could find out a paſſage between Greenland and America to the Eaſt Indies; accordingly he ſet ſail from England with one ſhip only, in the year 1610, and paſſing along the coaſt of Greenland, was, what with the fogs, and what with ſtorms forced into a ſtrait paſſage, which at laſt brought him into an open ſea, which made him begin to conceive certain hopes that he had been ſo fortunate as to be the diſcoverer of the ſaid paſſage. But after he had, for a conſiderable time, cruiſed up and down this ſea, without being able to diſcover the deſired paſſage, he reſolved (contrary to the opinion of the reſt) to paſs the winter thereabouts, though he was not ſufficiently ſtored with proviſions for ſo long a time; and they muſt inſallibly have periſhed for want of food, if they had not met with ſeveral ſorts of birds, and among the reſt with white partridges, of which they catched above an hundred dozen; and theſe leaving that part of the country towards the ſpring, they were in their ſtead ſupplied with ſwans, ducks, geeſe, and other ſuch like water-fowl, which were eaſily catched. Beſides, they met with a certain tree there of a miraculous nature, its leaves being green, inclining to yellow, had a ſtrong taſte of ſpice, and being boiled, afforded a balſamic oil; the decoction itſelf being a preſent remedy againſt the ſcurvy, the ſciatica, and other diſtempers occaſioned by cold and viſcous humours. The approaching ſpring furniſhed them with ſuch ſtore of fiſh, as would be ſufficient to freight the whole ſhip, if Mr. Hudſon had not been more intent upon his intended diſcovery than any thing elſe; which however, not being able to effect, he ſaw himſelf under the neceſſity of bending his courſe back to England. In the mean while there happened a mutiny againſt the captain, carried on by one Green, his clerk; who being educated by him, but by reaſon of his miſbehaviour was threatened, as well as ſome other of the ſhips crew who had been wanting in their duty, and dreading the puniſhment, forced his cabin, from whence they took him and his ſon, and putting them and ſeven more in a ſhallop, committed them to the mercy of the ſea. One Philip Staff, a carpenter and a good ſeaman would not ſtay behind with thoſe villains, but choſe rather to go along with his captain. What became of them is wholly unknown, though it is probable they either periſhed for want of food, or elſe were murdered by the ſavages. The ſame fate attended the ring-leaders of this mutiny, who were ſlain by the ſavages; the reſt arrived not till the following year 1611, on the 6th of September, in England, after they had ſuffered ſeverely for want of proviſions, being forced to live upon graſs, and the ſkins of birds, the fleſh they had eaten long before.

To return to Captain Monck, who ſet ſail from the ſound with two ſhips, one manned with forty-eight men, the other with ſixteen, on the 16th of May, in the year 1619. He arrived on the 20th of June near Cape Farewel, being very rocky, covered with ice and ſnow, and ſituate under ſixty-two and a half degrees. From thence ſteering his courſe to the north-weſt towards Hudſon's Straits, he was much incommoded by the ice, which however, did him no conſiderable damage, he having ſea-room enough. Among other accidents that befel him, it froze ſo violent on the 18th of June at night, and the winds blew ſo hard and cold, that his ſails were rendered uſeleſs by reaſon of the ice that adhered to them; yet the following day proved ſo exceſſive hot in the afternoon, that they were forced to lay by their cloths, and go in their ſhirts only.

He did not arrive at Hudſon's Straits till the 17th of July, which he called after the king of Denmark, Chriſtian's Straits. His firſt landing was in an iſland directly oppoſite to Greenland; and having ſent ſome of his people to take a view of the country, they found no men, but by their footſteps, were convinced there were ſome in the iſland. The following day they ſaw ſome of the ſavages, who ſeemed to be ſurprized at the ſight of the Danes, hid their arms behind a great ſtone heap, and then advanced towards them in a friendly poſture, but kept continually a watchful eye upon their arms, for fear the Danes ſhould come too near them. Notwithſtanding which, they found means to get between them and their arms, which they ſeized. The ſavages ſeemed to be exceedingly troubled at this loſs, and in a humble manner begged the Danes to have them reſtored, without which, they were not able to ſubſiſt, hunting being their only livelihood. They offered to exchange their cloaths for them, which moved the Danes at laſt to compaſſion; ſo that they not only gave them back their arms, but alſo preſented them with ſeveral toys, which they received very thankfully, and in lieu of them brought the Danes ſeveral ſorts of fowl and fiſh. One among them having got a ſmall looking-glaſs, and ſeeing himſelf in it, was ſo over-joyed, that he put it into his boſom, and run away as faſt as his legs could carry him. The Danes laughed heartily at his ſimplicity; but what diverted them moſt was, that they perceived ſome of theſe ſavages to make their court-ſhip, after their way, to one of their ſhip's crew, who having long black hair, and being of a ſwarthy complexion, with a flattiſh noſe, they took him for one of their countrymen, who perhaps had been carried away from Greenland ſome time before; which often furniſhed them afterwards with matter of laughter, ſo that the poor fellow was always jeered as long as the voyage laſted.

On the 19th of the ſame month, Captain Monck ordered the ſails to be hoiſted up in order to leave this iſland, but was forced to return into the ſame harbour by reaſon of the ice, which obſtructed his paſſage. In the mean time they left nothing unattempted to find out

ſome of the inhabitants, but in vain; they found ſome nets ſpread near the ſea-ſhore, on which they hung knives, looking-glaſſes, and other ſuch like toys, in hopes to allure them to the ſea-ſide; but no body appeared, whether out of fear of the Danes, or becauſe they were commanded to the contrary by their ſuperiors, is uncertain.

Captain Monck being diſappointed in his hopes of meeting with the inhabitants, ordered a wild rain-deer to be ſhot, of which there were great numbers there; wherefore he gave the name of Reenſund to the iſland, and to the harbour that of Monckepes, being ſituated under 64 degrees 20 minutes; and after he had planted the Daniſh arms there, he once more left the iſland on the 22d of July, but met with ſuch bad weather, and ſo many great ice ſhoals at ſea, that on the 28th of the ſame month, he was forced to ſeek for ſhelter between two iſlands, near one of which he came to an anchor; but finding it unſafe to continue there, he brought his ſhips as near ſhore as poſſible he could, ſo that at low water they lay upon the ſand, and the high tide carried ſuch a prodigious quantity of ice to the ſhore, that they were in no ſmall danger, if by their induſtry they had not prevented it. There was a great ice-ſhoal near fifty feet thick, which being looſened by the violence of the ſea, carried all before it, and among the reſt their ſhallops, which narrowly eſcaped ſinking.

They ſaw ſeveral footſteps of men on ſhore, a ſign that the place was not deſtitute of inhabitants; but whatever care they took, they could not get ſight of any. They alſo found there ſome mineral ſtones, and very good talck, of which they carried off ſeveral tun weight. There were ſeveral other ſmall iſlands thereabouts, but the ſea ran ſo high near the ſhore, that the Danes did not venture to land. Theſe iſlands are ſituated under 62 degrees 20 minutes, about fifty leagues within Hudſon's, or as Monck calls it, Chriſtian's Streights. The bay where he came to an anchor in, he called Hareford, from the great number of hares they met with there. He again he ſet up the arms of Denmark, and the initial letter of his maſter, viz. C. IV. ſignifying, Chriſtian IV.

He ſet ſail again from this place, on the 9th of Auguſt, with a north-weſt wind, ſteering his courſe weſt ſouth-weſt, and on the 10th came to the ſouth of the ſtraits of America, and caſt his anchor near a large iſland, unto which he gave the name of Snow Iſland, becauſe it was all covered with ſnow.

On the 20th of Auguſt, he directed his courſe to the north-weſt, being then, (as his own diary teſtifies) exactly under the elevation of 62 degrees 20 minutes; but there fell ſo much ſnow, and the wind blew ſo violently, that they could ſee no land, though the ſtreights were not above ſixteen leagues over thereabouts. After having paſſed the ſtreights, he got into Hudſon's ſea, which he furniſhed with another name, or rather gave it two names inſtead of one. For that part of it which waſhes the American ſhore, he called Mare Novum, or the New Sea. To the other part which extends to Greenland, (if it be really Greenland) he gave the name of Mare Chriſtianum, or Chriſtian's Sea. He continued his courſe weſt north-weſt, till he came to 63 degrees 20 minutes, when finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by the ice, he reſolved to paſs the winter there; the harbour he called Monck's Winter Harbour, and the country New Denmark. In his relation, he only makes mention of two iſlands in the Chriſtian Sea, which he ſtiles the Two Siſters; and in the New Sea but one, called Dichles Oeland.

He adviſes thoſe who undertake the voyage through theſe ſtreights, to keep as much as poſſible in the middle, to avoid being carried away by the ſtormy tides, and the great ice-ſhoals, which are of ſuch a thickneſs, there, that if a ſhip happens to get between them, it ſeldom eſcapes. He ſays that it flows exactly five hours in the Chriſtian Sea, the tide being regulated by the moon.

On the 7th of September, Captain Monck caſt anchor there; and after his people had refreſhed themſelves for ſome days, he ordered them to bring the ſhips into a little creek, where they were ſheltered againſt the violence of the winds and ice. The next thing they had to do was to provide themſelves good huts againſt the approaching winter ſeaſon. This harbour lay near the entrance of the river, which was not frozen up in October, though the ſea was full of ice all round about.

On the 17th of the ſame month Captain Monck had a mind to go up the river in a boat, but could not go farther than about a league and a half, by reaſon of the cataracts, or rocky water-falls, that oppoſed his paſſage: he then marched with ſome of his men about four leagues deep into the country, to ſee if he could meet with any of the inhabitants; but no body appearing, he reſolved to return another way. Here he met with a certain ſtone, raiſed above the ground, upon which was painted an image reſembling the devil, with claws and horns; near this ſtone was a place about eight feet ſquare, incloſed with leſſer ſtones.

On one ſide of this incloſure there lay a heap of ſmall flat ſtones, intermixed with moſs of trees; on the oppoſite ſide was a large flat ſtone laid upon two others in ſhape of an altar, upon which they found three coals laid acroſs. They ſaw ſeveral more of theſe altars, as they walked about, and ſome foot-ſteps of men near each of them; though they did not come in ſight at that time. It is very likely that the inhabitants uſed to ſacrifice upon thoſe altars, either with fire, or perhaps offer their ſacrifices to the fire itſelf; for round about them they ſaw abundance of bones, which were probably the bones of the ſacrificed beaſts, whoſe fleſh the ſavages had devoured raw, according to their cuſtom. They met alſo with many trees cut down to the roots with iron inſtruments, and with dogs that were muzzled. But what moſt confirmed them in their opinion, that this iſland was not deſtitute of inhabitants, was, that in many places they could diſcover the holes where they had fixed the poles belonging to their tents, and found many pieces of ſkins of bears, wolves, dogs, and ſea-calves, wherewith they uſed to cover them; which ſeemed to intimate, that the inhabitants here led a vagabond life, like the Tartars and Lapponians.

After the Danes had planted their huts, they cut good ſtore of wood to be laid up for the winter, and killed abundance of wild-fowl. Captain Monck killed a white bear with his own hands, which they eat; and he ſays expreſsly, that it agreed very well with them. They catched abundance of hares, partridges, and other fowl, beſides four black foxes, and ſome ſables.

On the 27th of November, there appeared three ſuns to them, and on the January following, two. On the 10th of December old ſtile, there happened an eclipſe of the moon, which they ſaw about eight o'clock at night, after which they ſaw the ſame night the moon ſurrounded with a very bright circle, through the middle of which, was a croſs, which divided the moon in two.

The cold began to increaſe with the winter ſeaſon to ſuch a degree, that they ſaw ice of three hundred feet thick; no beer, no wine, or brandy, was ſtrong enough to be proof againſt it, but froze to the bottom, and the veſſels ſplit in pieces; ſo that they cut the frozen liquor with hatchets, and melted it before the fire, previous to their drinking it. If they happened to leave any quantity of water in their copper or tin veſſels, they found them all in pieces the next morning; neither were the poor Danes able to reſiſt ſo exceſſive a froſt, which maſtered the metals, for they all fell ſick, and their ſickneſs increaſed with the cold; they were generally ſeized with a griping looſeneſs, which did not leave them till it put an end to their days. Thus they dropt away one after another; ſo that about the beginning of March, the captain was forced to do duty as a centry, for want of

others.

others. The worſt was, that the ſpring did augment their diſtemper, for their teeth were ready to fall out, and their gums ſwelled to that degree, that they could not take any nouriſhment but bread ſoaked in water. The poor remnant of theſe unfortunate wretches were in the next following May ſeized with another looſeneſs, with ſuch violent pricking pains in their limbs, as made them look like mere ſhadows, their arms and legs being quite lame, and full of blue ſpots, as if they had been beaten, being a diſtemper not unknown to ſeamen, by whom it is commonly called the Scurvy. So many of them died, that there were not enough left to bury them, the reſt being likewiſe ſick and weak, and to complete their miſery, they began to want bread, inſtead of which they made uſe of raſberries, which they digged out from under the ſnow, which ſupplied the defect of bread, but they were forced to eat them as ſoon as they were taken from under the ſnow, where they kept freſh, but ſoon grew uſeleſs afterwards.

On the 12th of April it rained the firſt time after ſeven months; and towards the end of May there appeared again all ſorts of fowl, ſuch as wild geeſe and ducks, ſwans, ſwallows, partridges, ravens, ſnipes, faulcons, and eagles, but they were too weak to catch them.

On the 4th of June Captain Monck himſelf fell ſo dangerous ill, that he took no food for four days together, and expecting nothing leſs than preſent death, he made his laſt will, in which he deſired thoſe that might by chance come to this place to bury his corpſe, and to ſend the diary of his voyage to the king of Denmark. After four days were paſt he began however to recover a little, and with much ado got out of his hut, to ſee whether there were any of the ſhip's crew left alive, of whom he found no more than two out of ſixty-four perſons he brought along with him. Theſe two being overjoyed to ſee their captain in a condition to ſtir abroad, took him in their arms, and carried him to a fire, to refreſh his ſpirits. They now began to encourage one another, promiſing to ſtand by one another to the laſt gaſp. They digged every where among the ſnow, till at laſt they met with a certain root, which being both a reſtorative and food to them, they were reſtored in a few days. The ice now began to melt a pace, ſo that on the 18th of June they catched ſome ſalmon, and other fiſh, which, with what exerciſe they uſed in hunting, ſo ſtrengthened them in a little time, that they reſolved to return to Denmark.

The ſummer ſeaſon approaching, they were extremely peſtered with gnats, which made them haſten their departure; ſo that on the 16th of July they went on board their leſſer ſhip, (leaving the biggeſt behind) and ſteered their courſe towards Monck's Harbour; they were much incommoded by the ice, and loſt their boat and rudder. Whilſt they were buſy in making a new one, they faſtened their ſhip to an ice-rock, which being looſened by the tide, their ſhip was carried away with it; but the ice being melted ſoon after, they got clear again, and met with their boat which they had loſt ten days before. It was not long before they got faſt within the ice once more; but the weather changing almoſt every day, they were ſoon releaſed again. Having at laſt repaſt the ſtreights, they ſailed by Cape Farewel into the ocean, but were, on the 8th of September, overtaken by a moſt terrible tempeſt, which threatened no leſs than their total deſtruction, they being quite tired out and not able to manage their ſhip; ſo that leaving themſelves to the mercy of the winds, they loſt their mainmaſt, and their ſails blew over-board, which however they made a ſhift to ſave.

In this condition they were forced upon the coaſt of Norway, where they caſt a piece of an anchor (the only one they had left) in a ſmall creek, where they hoped to ſhelter themſelves againſt the ſtorm, but found themſelves deceived in their hopes, for they were in moſt eminent danger of being daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks, if by good fortune they had not got between them and the ſhore, where after they had refreſhed themſelves for ſome days, they purſued their voyage, and arrived at laſt in Denmark.

Captain Monck had no ſooner ſet foot on ſhore, but he went to Copenhagen to give the king an account of his unfortunate voyage, who not imagining him to be ſtill among the living, received him with all imaginable marks of his favour.

Thus we have ſeen the brave Captain Monck return to the Daniſh ſhore, which, as might reaſonably be ſuppoſed, would put an end to all his ſufferings; but it ſeems his ill deſtiny had preſerved him for more, which was to put an unhappy period to the life of this brave man.

For whilſt he was in Denmark, he uſed often to ruminate upon his paſt adventures; and being by degrees convinced of what had been the chief cauſe of his miſcariage in his voyage through the ſtreights, he took a reſolution to try his fortune once more, in which he hoped to ſupply the defects of the former, which aroſe from a want of a proper knowledge of thoſe ſeas, and ſome other circumſtances. Accordingly he propoſed his deſign to ſome perſons of quality, who approving of it, equipped two ſhips, which he was to command in chief.

Having provided himſelf with all neceſſaries for ſuch a voyage, he was ready to ſet ſail, when (as ill fortune would have it) the king ſent for him, and happening, among other things, to ſpeak of his former unfortunate voyage, told him, that he had loſt two ſhips by his want of conduct, which the captain anſwering ſomewhat haſtily, the king took his cane and puſhed it with anger againſt his breaſt. The captain took this affront ſo heniouſly, that he immediately went home to bed, and could not be perſuaded to take the leaſt nouriſhment: ſo that in ten days after he died for melancholy, and want of food.

It may be neceſſary to take notice, that for a ſucceſſion of years, before the voyage above-mentioned was undertaken, ſeveral Daniſh monarchs had at heart the making a new ſettlement in theſe parts.

Chriſtian II. had obliged himſelf by his coronation oath, to endeavour the recovery of Greenland; but inſtead of bringing new acquiſitions to the crown, he loſt both the crowns of Sweden and Denmark, being depoſed by his ſubjects, which is the reaſon he is always painted with a broken ſceptre.

Under his reign one Erick Walckendor, a brave Daniſh lord, was lord chancellor of Denmark, who being after his maſter's diſgrace conſtituted biſhop of Druntheim in Norway, bent all his thoughts on the recovery of Greenland. For which reaſon he ſearched all the antient records, and adviſed with the oldeſt and ableſt mariners, who were ſuppoſed to have any knowledge of that country; but whilſt he was laying the foundation of this deſign, a quarrel aroſe between him and another great lord in Norway, in the year 1524, who being too powerful for him, procured his baniſhment to Rome, where he died. Fredrick I. Chriſtian's uncle, being got into the poſſeſſion of the two kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, was buſy in proſecuting thoſe whom he believed to have the leaſt kindneſs for Chriſtian, which made him encourage the baniſhment of Walckendor, who was thereby diſabled from proſecuting his deſign of the recovery of Greenland.

Chriſtian III. who ſucceeded Fredrick I. attempted the diſcovery of Greenland, but without ſucceſs, which made him recal the ſevere prohibition of going to Greenland without licenſe. But Norway at that time being reduced to great poverty, and not in a condition to undertake ſuch a deſign, this remedy proved likewiſe ineffectual.

King Fredrick II. ſucceeded his father in the throne, and being willing to endeavour the recovery of Greenland, ſent one Magnus Henningſon to proſecute this deſign. If what is related in the chronicle may be taken for authentic, there muſt be ſome fatality which prevented the diſcovery of Greenland at that time; for this Henningſon, after he had been toſſed up and

down at sea by tempests, for a long time, came at last in sight of the shore; but to his great amazement found his ship to stop in the open sea, where there appeared neither ice nor sands; so that after he found all his endeavours of getting near the shore to be in vain, he was forced to return to Denmark, where he gave an account to the king of what had befallen him, and laid the fault of his miscarriage upon the magnet stones, which he believed to be in prodigious quantities thereabouts, in the bottom of the sea.

Previous to this, in the year 1577, Martin Forbisher, an Englishman, had made the first discovery of that country, which is now called New Greenland, and because his account contains many remarkable things concerning the inhabitants and their manners, we shall give the reader some of the most material passages of it here.

This Martin Forbisher set sail from England in the year 1577, to endeavour the discovery of Greenland, which he got sight of at last; but by reason of the great quantities of ice, and the approaching winter, not being able to reach the shore, was forced to return home, where he gave an account of his voyage to Queen Elizabeth, who then swayed the sceptre in England.

The queen sent him the next following spring with three other ships, to pursue the former design, when he got safely to Greenland. But the inhabitants, at the approach of the English, leaving their huts, retired among the rocks, from whence several precipitated themselves into the sea.

The English, after they had in vain endeavoured to mollify these savages, went to their huts, which were tents made of the skins of sea-calves and whales, fixed to strong poles, and sewed together with the sinews of beasts; they had an opening towards the south and west, but were closely and very artificially joined together to the east and north, the better to defend themselves against the coldness of those winds. They met with no living creature there except an old woman, with a child in her hand, which they took from her, and she made a most miserable outcry for the loss of it.

From thence they sailed along the coast, where they saw a sea-monster's head above the water, with a horn about three or four feet long. They landed again, and found the surface of the earth rocky, but very good ground beneath it; they also met with great store of glittering sand like gold, of which they took 300 tons along with them.

They used their utmost endeavours to enter into discourse with the savages, who seemingly shewed no great aversion to them, and gave them to understand by certain signs, that if they would row up higher in the river, their expectations should be answered. Accordingly Martin Forbisher got into a boat with some soldiers, and having ordered his ships to follow him, went up the river, and seeing a great number of the savages posted among the rocks, he did not think fit to expose himself by approaching too near the banks. At last, three among them, who appeared something better than the rest, having made a signal for him to land, he resolved to do it, all the rest being at a considerable distance: but his boat scarce touched the bank of the river, when the savages began to appear in great numbers, which made him soon choose the stream again.

The savages endeavoured to persuade them by signs to come on shore, throwing them some raw flesh. But finding the English suspicious, they resolved to draw them thither by the following stratagem: they laid one of their men upon the bank, who pretending to be lame, they supposed the English would come to take him, whilst they pretended to be retired at a farther distance, being all out of sight behind the adjacent rocks. But the English being aware of the snare, discharged a gun at him, which made him soon recover his legs; and the savages coming to his assistance, pelted the English in the boat with stones and arrows, but were soon dispersed by their guns.

The savages are very strong and well set, of an olive colour; their cloaths being made of the skins of sea-calves, sewed together with the sinews of beasts. The womens apparel is not different from that of the men, for they wear breeches, with many pockets in them, in which they carry their knives, needles, yarn, and looking-glasses, which they either get from strangers, or else are cast on shore by the sea. Their faces are painted with blue, and some let their hair grow very long, hanging down over their shoulders untwisted. Their shirts are made of fish guts, sewed together with sinews; their garments loose fastened about their middle with a girdle; they are naturally very nasty, and freely expose their privy members. All their riches consist in their slings, bows, arrows, and boats. Their bows are very slender, and their arrows thin, tipped at the end with a pointed bone or horn; they manage them with great dexterity, and hit the fishes as they are swimming in the water. Their boats are covered all over with the skins of sea-calves, and fitted only for a single person. Their larger vessels are made of wood, and covered with the skins of whales, they are big enough to contain 20 men at a time. Their sails are made of the same materials with their shirts; and notwithstanding there is not the least iron-work about them, are so strong, that the savages venture very deep with them at sea.

No venomous things are to be found here unless spiders; and the gnats are very busy in the summer time; they have no fresh springs, but this defect is supplied by the melted snow. They have dogs of a prodigious bigness, which they use before their sleds instead of horses.——But to return to Denmark.

Among all the Danish kings, no body had been more zealous to promote the discovery of Greenland than King Christian IV. for which purpose he sent for an expert seaman, out of England, who being acquainted with those seas, he gave him three ships under the command of Gotske Lindenau. They set sail from the Sound in the year 1605, in the summer, and continuing their course for some time together, the Englishman at last turned to the south-west to avoid the ice, whilst the admiral steered his course north-east, and safely arrived at Greenland. He had no sooner cast anchor near the shore, but the savages came with their boats all about his ship, and were welcomed with some wine, which however they did not relish very well; but seeing some oil of whales, they begged some of it, which being given them, they drank it off very greedily.

They had brought along with them good store of skins of bears and sea-calves, and several pieces of the sea unicorn, which they exchanged for needles, knives, looking-glasses, and such other toys. They did not seem to put any value upon gold or silver, but were extremely fond of iron, for which they would exchange their bows, arrows, boats, oars, nay their shirts.

The admiral Golske Lindenau tarried three days on this coast, but durst not venture on shore. On the 4th day being ready to set sail again, he detained two of the savages, who happened to be on board of him, and were so outrageous that they were forced to bind them; the rest seeing their companions in danger of being carried away, made a most hideous outcry, and shot at the Danes with their arrows, but were soon put to flight by the discharge of a cannon, after which the admiral returned home to his own country in safety.

The Englishman had in the mean while landed on the other side of Greenland, where he met with several good harbours, and plenty of pasturage. The savages exchanged their commodities with him, as they had done with their admiral, but seemed more mistrustful; for no sooner had they got any thing from the Danes, but they went away in all haste to their boats, as if they had stolen it.

The Danes being desirous to take a view of the country, went on shore well armed, and met with

good

good grounds, but rocky like Norway. The ſmell of ſulphureous vapours, ſeemed to intimate that there were ſulphureous mountains, not far from thence. They found alſo a certain ſilver oar, of which they carried a great quantity into Denmark, a hundred weight of which, yields about twenty ounces of ſilver. As they were returning to their ſhip, they took four ſavages, one of whom was ſo refractory, that they were forced to knock him down with the but-ends of their muſquets, which frightened the others into a more pliable temper. But the ſavages having taken the alarm, purſued the Danes to relieve their companions, and had found means to cut off their paſſage to the ſhip: but by the help of their fire arms, and the great cannon from the ſhip, they ſoon cleared their way, and got ſafely on board with the other three ſavages, whom after their return into Denmark, they preſented to the king: they were found better proportioned, and more civiliſed than thoſe that were brought over by Lindenau, who ſailed again in 1606, taking with him the ſame three blacks, one of whom died by the way.

Lindenau taking the ſame courſe the Engliſhman had done, arrived on the third day of Auguſt, with four ſhips in Greenland, the fifth being ſeparated from them by a ſtorm. The ſavages appeared in great numbers near the ſea-ſide, but were as miſtruſtful of the Danes, as they were of them, which made them ſail in queſt of another harbour, which they reached ſoon after, but found the ſavages of the ſame temper with the others, and appeared in a poſture to fight them if they ſhould attempt to land.

The Danes, who by reaſon of the great number of ſavages, thought themſelves no equal match for them, ſailed along the coaſt; and the ſavages would follow them at ſome little diſtance in their boats, of whom they took ſix, and then carried them together with their boats and oars on board their ſhips.

As they were riding at anchor one day in a certain ſmall bay, the Admiral Lindenau's gentleman, very earneſtly deſired his maſter to give him leave to go on ſhore, to try whether he could treat with the ſavages; which being granted at laſt, he went, but had ſcarce walked a few paces, when the barbarians falling upon him, cut him to pieces in an inſtant.

Their knives and cutlaſſes were made of unicorn, ſo ſharp edged, by wheting them againſt ſtones, that they cut as well as if they were made of the beſt ſteel.

Lindenau finding but little hopes to ſucceed in this enterpriſe, returned to Denmark. In his return he met with the ſame ſhip that was ſeparated from them before by the ſtreſs of weather; but another ſtorm ariſing ſoon after, they were again diſperſed, and did not meet again till near a month after, when they purſued their voyage to Denmark, and arrived at Copenhagen on the 5th of October, after a ſecond dangerous and troubleſome voyage.

The ſame king ſent a third time two ſtout ſhips to Greenland, under the command of Carſten Richartſon, a Holſteiner, who having on board ſome of the moſt experienced mariners of Norway and Iceland, ſet ſail from the ſound on the 13th of May, and got ſight of Greenland on the 8th of June, but could not approach the ſhore by reaſon of the ice, which lay heaped up like mountains, ſome leagues deep at ſea, for there are ſome years when the ice continues all the ſummer long without being melted; which obliged the Holſteiner, who had been ſeparated from the other ſhip, and was afraid of being entangled in the ice paſt retreating, to return to Denmark, where he, notwithſtanding his miſcarriage, was well received by the king.

The ſavages that were taken and brought into Denmark in the two firſt voyages, had liberty to walk about where they pleaſed, under the guard of ſome waiters. They lived upon milk, cheeſe, butter, raw fleſh and fiſh, according to their own cuſtom, being averſe to bread and boiled meat, but much more to wine, the oil of whales being their favourite liquor. They would frequently turn their faces to the north and fetch a heavy ſigh. One time their keepers being careleſs, they got to their little boats, and without more ado put to ſea, but by a ſtrong wind were forced twelve leagues beyond the ſound, on ſhore in Schonen, where being taken by the country people, they were ſent back to Copenhagen. This ſerved as a warning to their waiters to be better upon their guard for the future; but they pined themſelves to death one after another.

When a Spaniſh Ambaſſador was once ſent into Denmark, there being five of thoſe ſavages yet living, the king ordered that, for the diverſion of the ambaſſador they ſhould row up the ſea in their little boats: theſe boats were ſhaped not unlike a weaver's ſhuttle, being about ten or twelve feet long; they are made of whale-bones of an inch thick, joined together by the help of the ſinews of beaſts, and covered all over with the ſkins of whales, there is in the middle a hole big enough for one man to put his body in. Thus they go to ſea putting their legs underneath, and if any ſpace be left round their body, they ſtop it up with their jackets (which are made of the ſkin of ſea-calves) ſo tight that no water can enter, which done, they are proof againſt all ſtorms and tempeſts beyond what may be expected from ſhips of a conſiderable bulk; for though they are often times turned topſy-turvy, they always turn again upright. They make uſe only of one oar, which they manage with the ſame dexterity as the rope-dancers do their poles, to keep an even balance; and with this they row ſo ſwiftly, that (as it was tried at the ſame time) they could keep pace with a boat with ſixteen oars.

The ambaſſador extremely well ſatisfied with this ſpectacle, made each of them a very good preſent, with which they bought themſelves cloaths made after the German faſhion, and other accoutrements, ſuch as boots, ſpurs, and feathers, and afterwards offered to ſerve the king on horſeback. But this gay humour was of no long continuance, for the deſire of returning to their native country being ſoon revived, two of thoſe who had once before ventured to eſcape at ſea, and conſequently were not the leaſt miſtruſted of attempting ſo dangerous an undertaking a ſecond time, did once more attempt to reach Greenland in their boats. They were purſued with all ſpeed, but one was only overtaken, the other no doubt being ſwallowed up in the waves. It was obſervable in him who eſcaped, that whenever he ſaw a woman with a child in her arms, he uſed to fetch a deep ſigh, which made the Danes believe that he had left a wife and children behind him. The reſt were more narrowly watched, which ſerved only to increaſe their melancholly, of which they died one after another. There remained however at laſt two alive, who lived near twelve years after all the reſt of their companions were dead: they were cheriſhed with all the fair promiſes imaginable, which ſeemed to be ſome comfort to them; but they could never be brought to the true underſtanding of the Chriſtian faith, being quite ignorant of the Daniſh tongue. They were ſometimes obſerved to lift up their eyes towards heaven, and to adore the riſing ſun. One of them died whilſt he was employed in pearl-fiſhing, at Coldingen.

This Greenlander having given them to underſtand one day, that he was very dextrous in fiſhing of pearls, the governor of Coldingen took him along with him to make uſe of him upon that account, which the ſavage performed with ſo much dexterity, that he ſeldom returned without ſome good pearls. The governor, who was very avaricious, being over-eager after ſuch a booty, would not ſtay till the next ſpring, but forcing the poor ſavage to dive in the midſt of winter under the ice, he fell ſick and died. His comrade remaining now alone inconſoleable for the death of his companion, found means the next ſpring to get to ſea in his little boat unperceived by any body; he was however purſued with all ſpeed, but having

having the ſtart of them, was got 30 leagues out at ſea before he could be retaken. They gave him to underſtand by certain ſigns, that it would have been impoſſible for him to have reached Greenland, but that he muſt have periſhed among the waves, at which he made certain ſigns, that he intended to have run along the coaſt of Norway to a certain height, from whence he would have croſſed the ſeas, taking his direction by the ſtars. He was brought back to Copenhagen, where he died ſoon after with melancholly.

This was the end of theſe unfortunate Greenlanders, who approached in ſtature to the Laplanders, being well ſet, but ſhort, of a ſwarthy colour, with flat noſes and thick lips. Their boats, apparel, and other impliments, were kept at Copenhagen, as alſo a Greenland almanack, compoſed of twenty eight or thirty ſmall ſticks, faſtened to a leather ſtring, by which they uſed to diſtinguiſh their time.

Since that time the king of Denmark did not think fit to ſend any more ſhips at his own charge to Greenland, but ſome merchants of Copenhagen being joined in a company, (in which ſeveral perſons of quality had likewiſe a ſhare) called the Greenland Company, they ſent in the year 1636, two ſhips to Davis's Streights, where they were no ſooner come to an anchor, but eight ſavages came in their little boats on board of them. Whilſt they were buſy in laying out their ſea-calves and fur-ſkins, and ſeveral pieces of ſea unicorn, in order to exchange them with the Danes for needles, knives, and looking-glaſſes, it happened accidentally that a gun was diſcharged on board the ſhip, which put the ſavages in ſuch a fright, that they all leaped over board under water, and did not ſo much as put out their heads again till they were at leaſt 200 paces diſtant from the ſhip, but being given to underſtand by certain ſigns that they intended them no harm, they returned, and continued to traffic as before.

Their manner of dealing is thus: They chuſe among the European commodities what they like beſt, which being laid on one ſide, they lay down as much of theirs as they think fit to give in exchange, and this is continued thus till both parties are agreed. They ſaw at the ſame time a dead fiſh on the ſhore, with a bone, or rather a tooth on one ſide of his head, which the ſavages had broken in pieces, and ſold to the Danes. This fiſh is of a prodigious ſtrength, and a declared enemy of the whales, juſt as the rhinocers is to the elephant, among the tereſtial creatures; for if he meets the whale, he ſtrikes his horn into his ſide as deep as it will reach: ſome aſſure us, that it ſometimes runs with ſuch a force againſt the ſhips, that thereby it becomes leaky.

But the intention of the Danes was not ſo much to exchange commodities with them, as to take a full view of the country; and the mate of one of the ſhips having taken notice near a certain river where he landed, that the ſand reſembled both in weight and colour, true gold ſand, loaded his whole ſhip with it, and with great joy returned directly to Denmark, telling his ſhip's crew as they were under ſail, that now they were all rich enough. The lord high ſteward of Denmark, who had a conſiderable ſhare in the ſhip, being ſurpriſed at the ſudden return of this veſſel, the mate told him he was freighted with gold, which made the lord high ſteward ſend ſome quantity of it to the goldſmiths of Copenhagen, to try whether they could bring any quantity out of it; but theſe not being able to produce one grain from this ſand, he was ſo much exaſperated at this diſappointment, that he immediately commanded the mate to go out to ſea, and to throw his pretended gold ſand into the bottom of it, without ſpeaking one word more to any body. The poor mate was forced to obey, but with ſo much reluctancy, that finding himſelf diſappointed in the hopes of his ſuppoſed treaſure, he died ſoon after for grief.

It was not long before the lord high ſteward repented himſelf for his raſhneſs; for ſome ſand reſembling this, was found in the mines of Norway, from whence ſeveral perſons, well verſed in the ſeparation of metallick bodies, drew a quantity of very good gold, which ſeemed to prove that the diſappointment was owing to the unexperienced goldſmiths of Copenhagen.

In this voyage it was, they brought that piece of the unicorn from Greenland, which was to have been ſold to the great Duke of Muſcovy: it is ſtill to be ſeen at Copenhagen, and valued at 6000 crowns. The Danes had likewiſe taken two ſavages, whom they tied to the maſts till they were a great way out at ſea, when they were untied again; but they no ſooner found themſelves at liberty, but they leaped into the ſea, in hopes, as may be ſuppoſed, to reach the ſhore by ſwimming, which was impracticable for them to do, by reaſon of the great diſtance they were then from it.

It is moſt probable, that the ice from the north-weſt has quite ſtopped up the paſſage between Iceland and Greenland, and that whilſt the mariners were endeavouring to make their voyage through this paſſage, they were driven upon the Cape Farewel, and Davis's Streights, or rather gulph, and ſo diſcovered that part of the country, which now is ſtiled New Greenland.

We learn from the Iceland Chronicle, that between Iceland, and the Old Greenland, there were ſeveral iſlands and rocks; as for inſtance, that which they called Scheer Gundebior, which favours this opinion; it being eaſy to imagine that the ice might with leſs difficulty be heaped between theſe iſlands; which being of ſuch a thickneſs as not to be melted by the beams of the ſun, has rendered the ice between Iceland and Greenland, quite impaſſable; ſo that it is impoſſible to give an account of the poſterity of the antient Norwegians who ſettled there: perhaps they bore their ſhare in the plague which raged ſo furiouſly in Norway in the year 1348, and almoſt depopulated that kingdom. It is not altogether improbable, but that Gotſke Lindenau, who in his firſt voyage ſteered his courſe to the north-eaſt, may have caſt anchor near Old Greenland, and that perhaps theſe two ſavages were deſcended from the ancient Norwegians; but though they differed from the other ſavages that were brought over from Davis's Streights both in manners and language; yet theirs had not the leaſt affinity with the Daniſh or Norway tongues. The Daniſh Chronicle tells us, that the three ſavages brought over by the Engliſh, talked ſo faſt, that it was impoſſible for any body to diſtinguiſh one word from another, unleſs it were the two words, Oka, Indecha, the meaning of which no body underſtood. Thus much is unqueſtionable, that what was called Old Greenland, was no more than a ſmall point of the northern part of Greenland, viz. where it lay neareſt to Iceland; and that the ancient Norwegians durſt not venture very far into the country, no more than thoſe who have ſince diſcovered the New Greenland.

The Danes, in their beforementioned voyage to Greenland, in the year 1686, did, by certain ſigns, inquire of the ſavages, whether there were any conſiderable number of inhabitants in the inland countries there, upon which the ſavages gave them to underſtand by ſigns, that there were as many people there as there were hairs upon their heads, that they were very tall, armed with bows and arrows, wherewith they killed every thing they met in their way. From whence it ſhould ſeem probable, after all, that neither the origin of theſe people, nor that of the Old Greenlanders, is thoroughly known to us at this time.

It frequently happens that ſhips beſet among the ice, in thoſe parts, periſh by being daſhed to pieces againſt the ſolid fields of ice, or cruſhed by the broken pieces crowded upon one another, and riſing ſo faſt about the ſhip, as to exceed the height of her ſides, and then there is no eſcaping. Several of theſe mountains, by ſtriking together, and coaleſcing, form thoſe iſlands of ice that are frequently ſeen in the lower latitudes,

latitudes, driving up and down the ſea, as the wind and tides direct them. The greater danger to be apprehended, is from the looſer ice; for the whalers often moor their ſhips to the ſolid fields of ice, that at certain ſeaſons ſeem to reſt upon the earth, and appear fixed to it, and there find the beſt fiſhing. In ſuch ſituations it often appears, that little or no looſe ice is to be ſeen; yet preſently upon a change of wind, or the blowing of a ſtorm, it ſhall pour in upon them ſo ſuddenly, that ſometimes they periſh in it. It is not poſſible to account for the aſtoniſhing quantity that will gather in this manner in leſs than an hour's time.

Though it ſeems to be agreed, that many of the largeſt fields of ice are frozen to the depth of ſea on which they are found, and that they are bedded on the ſolid earth; yet it is equally certain, that they are often rent aſunder by raging billows; and that in breaking, they produce the moſt terrifying noiſe in nature; nay, it is aſſerted, that the claſhing of the pieces of looſe ice againſt each other, or any extraordinary agitation of the waves, is attended with a roaring ſo loud, that a man who is near it can hardly hear the ſounding of his own voice.

Before we conclude, we ſhall add ſome farther particulars, extracted from more modern authors, relative to Spitſbergen, and the probability of a north-eaſt paſſage.——"The rocks are ſtriking objects; before a ſtorm they exhibit a fiery appearance, and the ſun looks pale upon them, the ſnow giving the air a bright reflection. Their ſummits are almoſt always involved in clouds, ſo that it is but juſt poſſible to ſee the tops of them. Some of theſe rocks are but one ſtone from bottom to top, appearing like an old decayed ruin. Others conſiſt of large maſſes, veined differently like marble, with red, white, and yellow, and probably, were they to be ſawed and poliſhed, would equal, if not excel, the fineſt Egyptian marble we now ſo much admire.

On the ſouthern and weſtern ſides of theſe rocks grow all the plants, herbs, and moſſes, peculiar to this country; on the northerly and eaſterly ſides the wind ſtrikes ſo cold, when it blows from thoſe quarters, that it periſhes every kind of vegetable. Theſe plants grow to perfection in a very ſhort time. Till the middle of May the whole country is locked up in ice; about the beginning of July the plants are in flower; and about the latter end of the ſame month, or beginning of Auguſt, they have perfected their ſeed. The earth owes it fertility, in a great meaſure, to the dung of birds, who build and breed their young here in the ſummer, and in the winter repair to more favourable climates.

The plants that are moſt common in Spitſbergen are ſcurvy-graſs, and crow's-foot; there are beſides ſmall houſe-leek, and a plant with aloe-like leaves; an herb like ſtone-crop; ſome ſmall ſnake-weed, mouſe ear-wood, ſtrawberry, periwinkle, and an herb peculiar to this country, which they call the rock-plant. The leaves of this plant are in ſhape like a man's tongue, above ſix feet long, of a dull yellow colour. The ſtalk is round and ſmooth, and of the ſame colour with the leaf; it riſes tapering, and ſmells like muſcles. It is an aquatic, and riſes in height in proportion to the depth of water in which it is found. There are other plants and herbs, but theſe are the chief. Of flowers, the white poppy ſeems the principal.

The rocks and precipices are full of fiſſures, and clefts, which afford convenient harbours for birds to lay their eggs, and breed their young in ſafety. Moſt of theſe birds are water-fowl, and ſeek their food in the ſea. Some indeed are birds of prey, and purſue and kill others for their ſuſtenance; but theſe are rare. The water-fowl eat ſtrong and fiſhy, and their fat is not to be endured. They are ſo numerous about the rocks, as ſometimes to darken the air when they riſe in flocks, and they ſcreem ſo horribly, that the rocks ring with their noiſe.

There are a few ſmall birds like our ſnipes, and a kind of ſnow-bird, but different from that found about Hudſon's bay.

The ice-bird is a very beautiful little bird, but very rare. He is in ſize and ſhape like a turtle-dove, but his plumage, when the ſun ſhines upon him, is of a brigh yellow, like the golden-ring in the pea-cock's tail, and almoſt dazzles the eye to look upon it.

The other inhabitants of this forlorn country are white bears, deer and foxes. How theſe creatures can ſubſiſt in the winter, when the whole earth is covered with ſnow, and the ſea locked up in ice, is hardly to be conceived. It has been ſaid, indeed, that when the ocean is all frozen over, and no ſuſtenance to be procured in this country; they travel ſoutherly to the warmer climates, where food proper for them abounds in the immenſe foreſts of the northern continent.

The bear is by far the beſt accommodated to the climate of which he is an inhabitant. He is equally at home on land and water, and hunts diligently for his prey in both. In ſummer he finds plenty of food from the refuſe of the whales, ſea-horſes, and ſeals, which is thrown into the ſea by the whalers, and cover the ſhore during the time of whaling; and they have beſides a wonderful ſagacity in ſmelling out the carcaſſes of the dead, let them be ever ſo deeply buried in the earth, or covered with ſtones. The dead therefore that annually are buried here, may contribute, in ſome degree, to the ſubſiſtance of a few of theſe creatures in winter; but the queſtion will ſtill recur, how the race of them ſubſiſted before the whale fiſhery had exiſtence, and before men found the way to this inhoſpitable ſhore. Diſquiſitions of this kind, as they are beyond the reach of human comprehenſion, ſerve only to raiſe our admiration of that Omnipotent Being who provides ſo wonderfully for his creatures.

Theſe creatures, as they differ in nothing but their colour and ſize from thoſe commonly ſhewn in England, need no deſcription. The foxes differ little in ſhape from thoſe we are acquainted with, but in colour there is no ſimilitude. Their heads are black, and their bodies white. As they are beaſts of prey, if they do not provide in ſummer for the long receſs of winter, it were, one would think, almoſt impoſſible for them to ſurvive; yet they are ſeen in plenty, though by their ſubtlety and ſwiftneſs, they are not eaſy to he catched.

The Dutch ſeamen report, that when they are hungry, they will feign themſelves dead, and when the ravenous birds come to feed upon them, they riſe and make them their prey.

It is moſt wonderful how the deer can ſurvive an eight months famine. Like ours they feed upon nothing that can be perceived but the vegetables which the earth ſpontaneouſly produces; and yet for eight months in the year, it brings forth neither plant, herb, ſhrub, or blade of any kind of graſs whatever. They are beſides but thinly clothed for ſo ſevere a climate, and what ſeems ſtill worſe, there is not a buſh to be ſeen to ſhelter them, within the diſtance that any man as yet has diſcovered. The means of their ſubſiſtance muſt therefore remain among the ſecrets of nature, never to be diſcloſed, as no human being can ever live here, ſo as to be able to trace theſe creatures to their winter's reſidence.

Amphibious creatures abound the moſt about the ſounds and bays of Spitſbergen, and they ſeem beſt adapted to endure the climate. Theſe are the ſeals, or ſea-dogs, and morſes, or ſea-horſes; of which the whalers avail themſelves, when diſappointed in compleating their lading with the fat of whales.

The ſeal has been already deſcribed; but the ſea-horſe, as it is a creature peculiar to high latitudes, is therefore more rare. It is not eaſy to ſay how he came by his name. He is not unlike the ſeal in ſhape. He has a large round head, larger than that of a bull, but ſhaped more like that of a pug dog without ears, than any other animal we are acquainted with. He tapers all the way down to the tail, like the fiſh we call a lump, and his ſize is equal to that of the largeſt ox. His tuſks cloſe over his under-jaw, like thoſe of a very old boar, and are in length from one foot to two or more, in proportion to the ſize and

age of the animal that breeds them. His ſkin is thicker than that of a bull, and covered with ſhort mouſe-coloured hair, which is ſleeker and thicker, juſt as he happens to be in or out of ſeaſon when he is caught. His paws, before and behind are like thoſe of a mole, and ſerve him for oars when he ſwims, and for legs to crawl when he goes upon the ice, or on ſhore. He is a fierce animal, but being unweildy when on land, or on the ice, is eaſily overcome.

Theſe animals are always found in herds, ſometimes of many hundreds together, and if one is attacked, the reſt make it a common cauſe, and ſtand by each other till the laſt gaſp. If they are attacked in the water, they will fight deſperately, and will even attempt the boats of their purſuers, if any of them are wounded and not mortally. Some of them have been known to make holes in the bottom of the boat with their tuſks, in defence of their young. Their eyes are large, and they have two holes in the upper part of the neck, out of which they eject the water, in like manner as it is ejected by whales.

The ſea about Spitſbergen is full of fiſh. The mackarel, of which, there are no great plenty, ſeem not only to be the moſt wholeſome, and the moſt palatable, but alſo the moſt beautiful. They ſeem to be a different ſpecies from thoſe caught upon our coaſt. The upper part of the back is of a vivid blue, the other part as low as the belly of a gem-like green on an azure ground. Underneath the belly, the colour is a tranſparent white, and the fins ſhine like poliſhed ſilver. All the colours glow when alive in the ſea with ſuch a richneſs, that fancy can hardly form to itſelf any thing in nature more beautiful. Almoſt all the other fiſh on this coaſt are of an oily nature, and of a very indifferent flavour.

The ſaw or ſword-fiſh, is remarkable not only for the oddity of his ſhape, but alſo for his enmity to the whale. This fiſh takes its name from a broad flat bone, in length from two to four feet, which projects from his noſe, and tapers to a point, on each ſide it has teeth like a comb, at the diſtance of a finger's breadth aſunder. He is alſo furniſhed with a double row of fins, and is of aſtoniſhing ſtrength in the water. His length is from ten to twelve feet. He ſeems to be formed for war, and war is his profeſſion. The conflict betwixt him and the whale is dreadful, yet he never gives over till his ſword is broken, or he comes off victorious.

No ſprings of freſh water are found in Spitſbergen; but in the valleys, between the mountains, are many rills cauſed by the rain and melting of the ſnow in ſummer; and from theſe rills the ſhips are ſupplied. Some are of opinion, that this water is unwholeſome, but the whaling people have drank of it for ages, and have found no ill effects from the uſe of it. Ice taken up in the middle of thoſe ſeas and thawed, yields alſo good freſh water.

There are many harbours about Spitſbergen, where ſhips employed in the whale fiſhery, take ſhelter in ſtormy weather: and there are ſome iſlands, ſuch as Charles's Iſland, the Clifted Rock, Red Hill, Hacluit's Headland, &c. that ſerves as landmarks, by which ſeamen direct their courſe. Theſe iſlands are full of the neſts of birds, but their eggs are as naucious as the fleſh of the fowls that lay them. The ſailors ſometimes eat them, but they are filthy food. Even the geeſe and ducks upon the neighbouring iſlands eat fiſhy and ſtrong.

The air hereabouts is never free from icecicles. If one looks through the ſun-beams tranſverſely in the ſhade, or where the rays are confined in a body, inſtead of dark motes as are generally ſeen, he will ſee numbers of particles that ſparkle like diamonds; and when the ſun ſhines hot, as it ſometimes does, ſo as to melt the tar in the ſeams of ſhips when they lie ſheltered from the wind, theſe ſhining atoms ſeem to melt away, and deſcend like dew.

It is ſeldom that it continues clear for many days together in this climate; when that happens, the whalers are generally ſucceſsful. There is no difference between night and day in the appearance of the atmoſphere about Spitſbergen, one being as light as the other; only when the ſun is to the northward you may look at it with the naked eye, as at the moon, without dazzling. The fogs here come on ſo ſuddenly, that from bright ſun-ſhine, you are preſently involved in ſuch obſcurity, that you can hardly ſee from one end of the ſhip to the other.

We have already noticed the opinions of different voyagers to Spitſbergen relative to a north-eaſt paſſage. Many attempts for this diſcovery were made after the unfortunate one of Sir Hugh Willoughby, among thoſe, few were more remarkable than that of Captain Wood in 1676, who ſet out with a full perſuaſion he ſhould be able to open a paſſage: his voyage was unfortunate, he ſtruck upon a ledge of rocks, and beſides which, in endeavouring to diſcover an opening, perpetually embayed himſelf.

When firſt he ſaw the ice, he imagined it was only that which joined to Greenland, and that no ſolid body of ice extended farther from land than twenty leagues; in this perſuaſion, he altered his courſe, and coaſted along in the direction in which the ice lay, expecting, at every cape or head-land of ice, after running a certain diſtance, to find an opening into the polar ocean: but after running two or three glaſſes to the northward in one bay, he found himſelf intangled in another; and thus it continued till his ſhip was wrecked.

By this experiment he found that of Barents confuted, namely. "That by ſteering the middle courſe between Spitſbergen and Nova Zembla, in open ſea might be attained, in which a ſhip might ſafely ſail as far as the pole." From his own experience, he therefore, on his return, pronounced it impoſſible to find out the deſired paſſage.

To this poſitive aſſertion, however, may be oppoſed the teſtimony of many creditable perſons, ſome of whom have themſelves ſailed beyond the eightieth degree of north latitude, and others, upon evidence, whoſe veracity there is no reaſonable cauſe to bring in queſtion.

Among the latter may be reckoned the following teſtimony, That about the year 1670, application being made to the States General for a charter to incorporate a company of merchants to trade to Japan and China, by a new paſſage to the north-eaſt, the then Eaſt-India company oppoſed it, and that ſo effectually that their High Mightineſſes refuſed to grant what the merchants requeſted.

But a proof inconteſtable, is the teſtimony of Capt. Hudſon, who ſailed in 1607, to the latitude of eighty-one degrees thirty minutes north, where he arrived on the 16th of July, the weather being then pretty warm.

To all this it may be added, that the Dutch, who were employed in 1670, in endeavouring to find a north-eaſt paſſage, advanced within a very few degrees of that open ſea, which is now commonly navigated by the Ruſſians, and which would have infallibly have brought them to the coaſts of China and Japan, had they perſevered in the courſe they were purſuing.

It does not appear however, from any authentic account, that any voyage, profeſſedly for the diſcovery of a north-eaſt paſſage, has been undertaken by either public or private adventurers in England, ſince Captain Wood, in the year 1676, till of late years; and it is more than probable, that if the Ruſſian diſcoveries on the north of Aſia had never taken place, no further attempts of finding a practicable paſſage from Europe in that direction, would ever more have been thought of.——

Having thus deſcribed theſe places, we ſhall take leave of ſuch uncomfortable regions, where we can ſelect nothing farther that may contribute to the information or entertainment of our readers.

TRAVELS

7 AP 53

Engraved for Moore's New & Complete Collection of Voyages & Travels.

Various BEASTS *of* DIFFERENT PARTS *of the* WORLD.

1 The Sucoterio.....2 Elephant.....3 A kind of Monkey.....4 The Luchs.....5 A Jackall.....6 Camel
7 A particular kind of Indian Oxen.....8 The Saragose Monkey & Young one.....9 The Macaſsar Fox.
10 Indian He-Goat.....11 An Animal called the Aunts-Bear.....12 A Javanese Animal named Doots-Hoost.
13. A kind of Monkey called the Beard. Man.

TRAVELS

THROUGH

EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA AND AMERICA.

ACCORDING to our promiſe, we ſhall now proceed to ſelect, for the Entertainment and Inſtruction of our Readers, a collection of the moſt remarkable TRAVELS which have been undertaken at various times to the different quarters of the globe.

VOYAGERS, however attentive to the purſuit of knowledge, have rarely been able to give us any very accurate accounts of great continents, their obſervations being moſtly confined to the countries ſtretching along the ſea coaſts. What they have learned of the interior parts they have been frequently obliged to take upon hear-ſay, and conſequently their relations when not aſſiſted by the accounts of TRAVELLERS, have been frequently uncertain and imperfect.

There are beſides many minutiæ which are more immediately within the ſphere of the TRAVELLER, and are well deſerving the attention of the curious Reader; ſuch are the deſcriptions of the curioſities of art and nature preſerved in various other countries, with many other particulars too tedious to recapitulate.

All theſe will be attended to, as far as they may contribute to uſeful knowledge, ſo that the TRAVELS will form a counterpart to the VOYAGES, and both together conſtitute one *uniform ſyſtem*, anſwering to the plan laid down in our Preface, to which we mean to adhere with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs.

TRAVELS THROUGH DENMARK, BY LORD MOLESWORTH AND OTHERS, FROM 1693, TO 1768.

DENMARK, properly ſo called, is bounded on all ſides with the ſea, except one ſmall neck of land, where it joins to Holſtein; the German ocean waſhes it on the weſt and north-weſt; and the entrance into the Baltic, called the Categate, on the north and north-eaſt, the Baltic on the eaſt, and the river Eyder on the ſouth; which having its ſource very near the eaſt ſea, takes its courſe weſtward, and falls into the ocean at Toningen.

Denmark therefore, comprehending its iſlands, lies in length between 54 degrees 45 minutes, and 58 degrees 15 minutes, north latitude, the breadth not being proportionable to its length in general.

Norway, which lies north from Denmark, and is ſeparated from it by the ſea that is uſually called the Categate, is a large and barren country, full of mountains and fir trees; it reaches from 59 to 71 degrees of north latitude, but is very narrow in reſpect to its length. It is bounded on the weſt and north by the ocean, on the eaſt by Sweden, and the territories belonging to it; on the ſouth by the ſea lying between it and Denmark. The ſea is ſo deep about Norway that there is no anchorage for ſhips, and therefore its coaſts are accounted the moſt dangerous of any in Europe to run with in the night, or in a ſtorm, on which if veſſels chance to be driven, there is no eſcaping, the ſhore being all along high rocks, at the very foot of which one may find two hundred fathoms water.

Oldenburg and Delmenhorſt, are two countries in Germany that lie together, detached from all the reſt of the king of Denmark's dominions; the two rivers Elb and Weſer, and the Duchy of Bremen, interpoſing between them and Holſtein. They are bounded on the north-eaſt by the Weſer, on the weſt by Eaſt Frieſland, and the country of Embden, on the ſouth by part of the biſhoprick of Munſter. They are a ſmall territory of about thirty-five Engliſh miles in diameter, the middle of which is in the latitude of 33 degrees and a half.

The reſt of the King of Denmark's territories (not mentioned in the enumeration of his titles are) the Iſlands of Feroe, and Iceland in the northern ocean, St. Thomas, one of the Caribbee Iſlands in the Weſt Indies, and a fort upon the coaſt of Guinea, called Chriſtianſburg, and another in the Eaſt Indies called Tranquebar. He has likewiſe a toll at Elſleet upon the river Weſer.

Thus Denmark conſiſts of many iſlands in the Baltic ſea, and of that part of the continent which is now called Jutland. This is the largeſt and moſt fertile country, but the iſlands are more conſiderable in regard of their ſituation, eſpecially Zeland, becauſe Copenhagen, the chief city of Denmark, is ſeated in it, and the famous paſſage of the Sound is bordered by its ſhore, where, on the narroweſt part of the town Elſenore ſtands.

Zealand is almoſt a circular figure, and contains about 180 Engliſh miles in circumference. Its fertility is but indifferent, there being no bread-corn growing in any part of it, except rye, which indeed is in good quantity, and of which moſt of their bread is made. There are few meadows in it, and yet there is no want of good hay; moſt of their graſs, which is ſhort and ſweet, grows by the ſides of the corn-fields, or in ſome ſcattered ſpots of marſh ground. It has no rivers, nor above half a ſcore of brooks that are able to turn a mill; to ſupply this, there are a great number of fine lakes ſufficiently ſtored with fiſh. The face of the land is pleaſant, diverſified with little hills, woods, and rivulets, in a very agreeable manner. Amongſt the ſea-ports, that of Copenhagen is a very fine one, and is a great addition to the city.

Denmark is one of thoſe ſtates which has ariſen from ſmall beginnings. Though, as a people, the Danes were early known in the world, and, under the name of Eaſterlings, in common with the Norwegians and other nations, infeſted with their piracy the German and Britiſh ocean. Our own hiſtory informs us what depredations they committed upon our Saxon anceſtors, as ſoon as the heptarchy was ſettled in England, till after numerous battles fought with various ſucceſs, they got firſt footing in the iſland, and partly by conqueſt, and partly by agreement, eſtabliſhed ſovereigns of the Daniſh line upon the throne of Britain.

At the period we are ſpeaking of, piracies carried on by great fleets were not looked upon as diſhonourable. Either the expectation of plunder, or the deſire of ſeeking new habitations, was excuſe ſufficient for one people to make deſcents upon another, and in theſe conteſts the conqueror was always in the right.

But as arts and commerce dawned upon the world, mankind began to be more civilized, and to entertain juſter notions of things. That reſtleſs ſpirit which had ſo long animated the northern nations, ſubſided by degrees, and thoſe Eaſterlings that had ſo long been the terror of their neighbours, ſettled into peaceable ſtates, loſing much of their ſavage ferocity, but ſtill generally keeping the flame of freedom alive among them.

It is true, that we muſt expect to meet with a vaſt difference between the characters of the ancient and modern Danes, as well as in the deſcription of their land at theſe different periods of time. The improvemets in agriculture which have taken place, have altered the face of the country; the progreſs of arts, has changed the manners of the people; and Denmark has now her proportionate weight in the ſcale of the European powers.

Copenhagen, (according to modern authors) the capital of Denmark, is a fine city, and the ſtrongeſt place in his Daniſh majeſty's dominions. It is ſituated in a low marſh, ſurrounded by the country of Roſkild; this makes it by nature ſtrong, and the numerous works added to it, in the modern ſtile of fortification, increaſe the ſtrength greatly. The moſt ſtriking object, is the harbour and the naval arſenal; it is capacious enough to hold 500 men of war, and yet only one ſhip can come in at a time; the entrance, ſmall as it is, is defended by ſeveral great guns, and there are ſeveral platforms near it, with three forts. There are no tides in the Baltic, but the depth of water in the harbour, renders it perfectly ſecure for the greateſt ſhips, ſo that it is juſtly reckoned one of the beſt havens in the world. The king's fleet lies regularly arranged between booms, and againſt them magazines, with the name of each ſhip, on the door of the ſtore rooms, belonging to her; and every thing is kept in the completeſt order. The admiralty is on the haven, which contains, beſides theſe magazines, numerous others; the arſenal is very well furniſhed with cannon and other military ſtores; and adjoining to theſe buildings, is a citidal, which commands the harbour.

The royal palace is a fine buliding, very ſpacious, and ſome of the apartments magnificent. The court is a brilliant and military one, for the number of officers are great; the very garriſon of Copenhagen alone amounts to 10,000 men, beſides the king's guards, which are very fine, ſhewy, and well diſciplined ſet of men. The ſtanding forces of the kingdom are about 40,000 men, 14,000 of which are cavalry, and the reſt infantry; a conſiderable number of theſe are militia, but then the militia of this country is as regularly, and as well diſciplined, as the regular troops; and for about two months in the year, they are embodied, and in actual diſcipline; a part of which time, they form the garriſon of Copenhagen, and are immediately under the eye of the king.

The troops of Denmark, have a very good character for bravery and obedience, the two great eſſentials in a ſoldier; but the number kept up is much greater than it ought to be, ſince Denmark furniſhes nine-tenths of them, Norway ſupplying only ſeamen; and their boiſterous coaſt form them ſo bold and hardy, that none are accounted better. None of the dominions, except partial diſtricts, are well peopled; and ſuch a numerous body of troops, many of whom are taken from their own peaſants, is doing a great miſchief to agriculture.

Many of the regiments are filled with foreigners, particularly Germans and Poles; and there are great numbers of foreign officers in all the corps; this is to keep the nation in the more ſtrict obedience.

The princes that have ſet upon the throne of Denmark have been, ſince the revolution, remarkable for their abilities, and for purſuing the real intereſts of the country.

At a certain period, the commons diſguſted with the tyrannical behaviour of the nobles, went to the palace, and made an offer of their lives, liberties, and properties to the king, without ever aſking the concurrence of the third eſtate: but the nobles were utterly againſt the meaſure; and though they agreed in it at laſt, yet every writer is ſufficiently clear, that it was by force they came into the agreement.

There are ſeveral new manufactories at Copenhagen, called royal ones, from being eſtabliſhed at the king's expence; the chief of theſe are the woollen ones; here are more than 400 looms for weaving moſt ſorts of cloths, from the fineſt, for the wear of the king himſelf, and his court, to coarſer ſorts for cloathing the army. There are a great number of hands employed in theſe, and ſome late meaſures have been taken to increaſe them, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that if they went on with as good a progreſs in future, as they have done hitherto, it is ſaid, they would not only cloath all the army, but completely ſupply the whole demand of Copenhagen, and alſo make all that was wanted to export to the Eaſt Indies.

The improvements in agriculture, which have been made with attention and care, are very great and conſpicuous in many parts of the king's dominions; and nothing can exceed the means which have been taken in this work to accompliſh the end. The former bad ſtate of this kingdom, was greatly owing to the miſery under which the peaſants groaned. This has been every where mollified: they have had numerous edicts in their favour, villainage is in many diſtricts aboliſhed, and the nobles and gentry prevented by ſevere laws, from trampling upon the lower claſſes, in the manner they too commonly did formerly.

The late king ſent ſeveral very able men to travel through England, in order to report to him on their return,

return, the peculiarities, laws, cuſtoms, and conduct, which in that kingdom ſeemed to be moſt conducive to the well being of huſbandry. Their journey was executed with great ability, and from their memoirs his majeſty and miniſters were enabled to judge what was, and what was not, practicable in Denmark. The grand articles were, to give more freedom to the claſs of cultivators, to ſecure their property, to aboliſh multipliable taxes, and to lett farms on long leaſes with covenants of improvements. Theſe were the great heads of the report, and the points upon which they moſt inſiſted, as thoſe which were the greateſt benefit in England. They offered numerous inferior ones, upon the particular conduct of certain ſoils, upon draining, manuring, ploughing, &c. Implements were ſent over as patterns, and ſome ingenious men to inſtruct them in the uſe of them; and the king, in order to preſerve the knowledge thus gained, fixed thoſe, with handſome ſalaries, on his crown lands, with their implements, and directed each to manage a given quantity of land according to the Engliſh huſbandry. The men who worked under them for three years, were then changed, and ſent to other eſtates, and freſh ones inſtructed, and the implements were on courſe multiplied with all of them; ſo that at this time there are a great number in conſtant uſe in different parts of the kingdom. The general effects of ſuch meaſures are not immediately felt, but the conſequences of the principal parts of the ſcheme have been rapid and great, particularly the letting lands on leaſes of improvement, which the king put in execution upon the crown lands immediately, and upon a large ſcale; and by his recommendations to the nobility, &c. and granting privileges to eſtates, in this management, the method ſpreads ſo much, that if the ſpirit which now animates the kingdom, laſts but for half a century, Denmark may probably be as well cultivated as ſome parts of England, and thoſe not the worſt. Another encouragement which his late majeſty gave to agriculture, was, ordering the beſt books on that ſubject in the French, Engliſh, and German languages, to be tranſlated into Daniſh, and many complete ſets of theſe he made preſents to ſuch of his ſubjects, as made themſelves at all known by any undertaking in agriculture beyond the common practice. He alſo publiſhed the offer of conſiderable premiums to be annually diſtributed among the tenants of the royal demeſnes, who excelled the moſt in works of this nature.

In the fine arts, the Danes are no proficients; they have not encouragement enough to make any progreſs. The kingdom is too poor to yield a market even to great portrait painters; nothing can ever carry the fine, which in fact are the luxurious arts, to any degree of height, but a period full of wealth; in which luxury abounds to an high degree, and wherein the artiſt may find plenty of employment from the great and rich, and be at the ſame time very well paid for it. The only art that makes any decent figure at Copenhagen, is muſic, which flouriſhes pretty much at their concerts.

Copenhagen principally flouriſhes from the reſidence of the court; this is much the moſt brilliant object in Denmark. There are many great officers of ſtate with conſiderable appointments; theſe, with the numerous inferior ones, and the guards, tend to render the town gay.

The Daniſh army is kept in very good order, and well diſciplined: the men are picked, and their cloathing is in general very neat. We have already mentioned, that they are not all embodied at a time, but they could draw together, at a ſhort notice, about 40,000 men, with a fine train of artillery and all ſtores proportioned. This renders the king a reſpectable monarch, in the military light, among the powers of the north; and has certainly been one reaſon for the long peace, in which two or three very wiſe kings have kept their dominions. Denmark has nothing to fear from any of its neighbours, except Ruſſia, with whom ſhe cannot compare in force.

The revenues of Denmark have been increaſing gradually for fifty years; but the two laſt kings, at the ſame time that they did many great things for the good of their ſubjects, and the ornament of their kingdom; and even aboliſhed ſome taxes, that were the moſt burthenſome, greatly improved the royal income.

The kings army, if ſubſidies be reckoned, and the great numbers to whom he finds nothing but arms, coſts him little, though there have been ſome years in which Denmark has been without any treaties of ſubſidy. His navy is maintained at a very eaſy rate, the number in conſtant pay in times of profound peace, is not conſiderable; the reſt are retained by a month's pay in the year, to be ready at a call, and which they find a moſt excellent way; ſo that the expence of the navy is little more than the building and rebuilding ſhips, and filling the ſtores and magazines.

The increaſe of the royal revenue of Denmark, has been almoſt ſolely owing to a general improvement in the riches and welfare of the nation, and not, in a ſingle inſtance, to the addition of taxes. The increaſe of the trade, the eſtabliſhment of manufactures, and the improvement of lands, have all added to the general income of the people, and increaſed the number of the people themſelves; and where taxes are at all general, as they are in Denmark, and indeed in moſt of the counties in Europe, all increaſe of income immediately makes taxes more productive; becauſe the ſame taxes produce more in proportion, as the wealth of the people increaſes, and as they, conſequently, can afford to make a more free uſe of the things and commodities that are taxed. So that it follows, that Denmark is not to be ſuppoſed poor, in proportion to the increaſe of the king's revenue. On the contrary the kingdom bids fair to flouriſh, as it appears to be continually improving.

"From all the opportunities I have had of ſeeing and converſing with the Danes (ſays a modern author) which I have done with all ranks, they appear to be a brave, courteous, and humane people. The ſuperior claſſes are of an high ſpirit, and have as much vivacity in them as any people in Europe, the French alone excepted. They are ſhewy and fond of magnificence, and live in a mean between the Engliſh and the Germans, more ſumptuous than the latter, but not with ſuch a general conſiſtency as the former; but I ſpeak here of their nobility only. In their dreſs, the French faſhions are generally followed, and the language of that nation is alſo univerſal among them. In their houſes, they are expenſive not only in the architecture, but alſo in the furniture, exceeding in this reſpect the Germans, but not equalling the Engliſh. At their tables they reſemble the Germans moſt for cookery, but do not ſit ſo long at their meals. In Germany, four courſes and a deſart will hold, upon a moderate computation, four hours and a half, which in England is diſpatched in one. But the Danes is between the two, ſeldom riſing however under the two hours. Some of the nobility are very expenſive in French cooks, but it is not general. In their wines, they are particularly curious; nor do I in any country remember taſting a greater variety, or better of the ſort. Their tables are admirably well ſerved with fiſh, particularly of freſh water: and have ſea fiſh in great abundance, though not of the beſt ſorts. Wild fowl they abound greatly in, and have a greater variety than we in England; their veniſon is excellent; but their butchers meat is not, the whole not to be compared to that of the Engliſh. All the rich nobility have hot houſes, and hot walls, fronted with glaſs, in their gardens; yet for want of a complete knowledge in the management of the plants, their fruit in general is bad. In other ſorts of proviſions they have upon a par with their neighbours; and their importations of various eatables of luxury have much increaſed of late years.

"If an account is taken in all theſe particulars of the next claſs of the people, the gentry, there will appear a greater difference between them and the ſame rank

rank in England, than between the Daniſh and the Engliſh nobility. They are not ſo comfortably in their circumſtances, ſcarcely any of them are the maſters of ſuch eſtates as to carry them almoſt to par with the nobles which is ſo common in our country. Conſidering that a great part of the nobility make a very handſome figure, the gentry do not proportionably equal them.

"The lower claſſes are not comparable to ours, in eaſe and happineſs; but they are by no means in that ſtate of abſolute ſlavery, they were in Mr. Moleſworth's time. Several edicts and regulations have been publiſhed by the crown for reſtraining the ancient villainage, and a great number of caſes ſpecified, in which they gain their freedom; and as to the lower inhabitants of the towns and cities, they have the ſame freedom as in other abſolute countries.

"As to the perſons and manners of the lower claſſes, they are generally as well made and as ſtout as the Germans; they make good ſoldiers, and with any gentle uſage, are very docile and tractable. Their manners have nothing of diſtinguiſhing brutality in them; they are in the villages, ignorant and clownish; but I have travelled through ſeveral countries where the poor people are much more contemptible. With proper inſtructions, I believe there are none in Europe; would make better huſbandmen and farmers; for the peaſants, whether free or not, are little farmers; and many of them manage their ſmall ſpots of ground in ſuch a manner, that there can be no doubt, but under more favourable circumſtances they would equal their neighbours in every thing belonging to the culture of the earth.

"The Daniſh army finds employment for many young men of ſmall fortune, who ſerve in order to gain a genteel maintenance, and the employments about the court, of the lower ſort, provide for others; ſome apply themſelves to trade voluntarily, in order to raiſe fortunes, and freely embark for the Eaſt and the Weſt Indies, and in the proſecution of theſe purſuits, they are remarkably diligent and indefatigable; and many of ſuch as ſeek their fortunes abroad, return home with very good ones, eſpecially ſince the late encouragement that has been given to commerce; for during theſe latter reigns, there has been a regular attention to every thing that could promote the intereſt of trade, and no acts of injuſtice or oppreſſion, againſt thoſe who have bettered their circumſtances by any kind of induſtry, have been known in the crown, or ſuffered in any of the great men.

"In their diverſions, the Danes follow the faſhions of the French and Engliſh: cards make a greater progreſs than formerly, and the wives of the nobility, and of ſuch other claſſes as can afford it, have at Copenhagen their aſſemblies almoſt as regularly as any at London. The men are great cheſs players; it is a game they are very fond of, and which is more commonly introduced at their viſits than in England: billiards and tennis are alſo common at Copenhagen. The theatre is French, though they have lately eſtabliſhed a Daniſh one, where pieces tranſlated from the Engliſh and French are indifferently performed: attempts have been made of an Italian opera, but without ſucceſs.

"Learning of all kinds is but at a low ebb, to ſay the truth, the encouragement, which has flowed amply from the crown, during the two laſt reigns, has been almoſt excluſively in favour of objects of utility. Trade, manufactures, and agriculture, have been much more attended to than the cultivation of literature and the ſciences; though an academy was founded, but it has not been very productive. The laws of Denmark are very famous for their brevity and excellence, but then their brevity leaves ſo much in the breaſt of the judge, that it is little more than a delegate of deſpotiſm. The throne of Denmark has, of late years, been filled with able princes, who have ſhewn, in every deportment of the ſtate, ſuch ſpirited conduct, with ſo much attention to the welfare of their ſubjects, that I have no doubt, but the laws have been well and impartially executed; and while ſuch a tight hand is held over all orders of the people in power, of whatſoever kind, I can eaſily conceive many bleſſings to flow from theſe ſhort laws; but what would they be under a negligent one?"

Having mentioned the revolution by which the king of Denmark became abſolute, we ſhall here give the reader an account of that important event.

After the concluſion of the peace between the two Northern crowns, Anno 1660, ſome conſiderable care and time was neceſſary to redreſs the diſorders occaſioned by ſo terrible a war. Denmark had been moſt violently ſhaken; and although the fury of the tempeſt was over, the agitation cauſed by it ſtill continued: The army was not yet diſbanded, nor could be for want of money to diſcharge its arrears; this cauſed frequent inſolencies in the ſoldiers, with a further oppreſſion of the burgers and poor country people, who had been in a manner already ruined by the miſeries attending the war. The nobility, though lords and maſters, were full of diſcontents, and the clergy not in the condition they wiſhed. To redreſs all ſuch grievances, and reduce affairs into ſome order, by procuring money for the payment and diſbanding of the army, the king thought fit to appoint a meeting of the three eſtates at Copenhagen, viz. the nobility, the commonality, and clergy; which accordingly followed about the middle of October: after ſome days ſeſſion, during which the nobility, according to their uſual practice, debated how the ſums of money requiſite might with greateſt eaſe and conveniency be levied upon the commons, without the leaſt intention of bearing any proportionable ſhare themſelves. Several diſputes aroſe, and many ſharp expreſſions paſſed between them and the commons; on one hand the nobility were for maintaining their antient prerogative of paying nothing by way of tax, but only by voluntary contributions; and ſhewed themſelves too ſtiff at a time when the country was exhauſted, and moſt of the remaining riches lodged in their hands; they ſeemed to make uſe of this occaſion, not only to vindicate, but even to enlarge their privileges above the other two eſtates, by laying impoſitions upon them at pleaſure, which weight they would not touch themſelves any farther, than as they thought fit. On the other hand, the clergy for their late adherence to the intereſt of their country, and the burgers for the vigorous defence of their city, thought they might juſtly pretend to new merit, and be conſidered at leaſt as good ſubjects in a ſtate, which they themſelves had ſo reſolutely defended. They remembered the great promiſes made them when dangerous enterpriſes were to be taken in hand, and how ſucceſsfully they had executed them, thereby ſaving from a foreign yoak, not only the city of Copenhagen, but the whole kingdom, the royal family, and even thoſe nobles that dealt ſo hard with them: they judged it therefore reaſonable, that the ſums of money neceſſary, ſhould be levied proportionably, and that the nobility, who enjoyed all the lands, ſhould at leaſt pay their ſhare of the taxes, ſince they had ſuffered leſs in the common calamity, as well as done leſs to prevent the progreſs of it.

This manner of arguing was very diſpleaſing to the nobles, and occaſioned many high words on both ſides: at length a principal ſenator, called Otto Craeg, ſtood up, and told the preſident of the city, That the commons neither underſtood nor conſidered the privileges of the nobility, who at all times had been exempted from taxes, or the true condition of themſelves, who were no other than ſlaves: ſo that their beſt way was to keep within their own bounds and acquieſe in ſuch meaſures as antient practice had warranted, and which they were reſolved to maintain. This word ſlaves, put all the burgers and clergy into diſorder, cauſing a loud murmur in the hall; which Nanſon, the preſident of the city of Copenhagen, and Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, perceiving, and finding a fit occaſion of putting in practice a deſign

before concerted (though but weakly) between him and the biſhop, in great anger roſe out of his ſeat, and ſwore an oath, "That the commons were no ſlaves, nor from thenceforth be called ſo by the nobility, which they ſhould ſoon prove to their coſt;" and upon which, breaking up the aſſembly in diſorder, and departing out of the hall, was followed by all the clergy and burgers, the nobles being left alone to conſult with themſelves at their leiſure, after a little while adjourned to a private houſe near the court.

In the mean time the commons, being provoked to the higheſt degree, and reſolving to put their threats in execution, marched proceſſionally by couples, a clergyman and a commoner, from the great hall or parliament houſe, to the brewer's hall, which was the moſt convenient place they could pitch upon to ſit apart from the nobles, the biſhop of Copenhagen, and the preſident of the city, leading them. It was there thought neceſſary to conſider ſpeedily of the moſt effectual means to ſuppreſs the intollerable pride of the nobility, and how to mend their own condition: after many debates, they concluded, that they ſhould immediately wait upon the king, and offer him their votes and aſſiſtance to be abſolute monarch of the realm, as alſo that the crown ſhould deſcend by inheritance to his family, which hitherto had gone by election. They promiſed themſelves the king would have ſo great obligations to them for this piece of ſervice, that he would grant and confirm ſuch privileges as ſhould place them above the degree of ſlaves. They knew he had hitherto been curbed by the nobility in a great meaſure, and now ſaw their own force, being able (ſince they had arms in their own hands, and the concurrence of the ſoldiers) to perform what they undertook. At the worſt, they ſuppoſed they ſhould only change many maſters for one, and could better bear hardſhips from a king than from inferior perſons: or if their caſe was not bettered, at leaſt they thought it ſome comfort to have more company in it; beſides the ſatisfaction of revenge on thoſe that hitherto not only uſed them ill, but inſulted over them ſo lately. They knew the king, and had ſeen him bear with admirable patience and conſtancy all his calamities, were perſuaded he was a valiant prince, who had often expoſed his perſon for the ſake of the public, and therefore thought they could never do enough to ſhew their gratitude, which is the uſual temper of the people upon any ſort of benefit received from their prince.

Scarcely was this propoſed but it was agreed to, and nothing but the unſeaſonableneſs of the time (it being then near night) deferred the immediate execution of it; but all the neceſſary meaſures were taken againſt the next morning.

The clergy had a farther drift in this change of government; for having been hitherto kept under by the nobility, they forecaſted to have no other ſuperior but the king, whoſe new authority they engaged to maintain by the influence they had on the conſciences of the people; expecting, with reaſon, the like favours and protection from the king, together with an increaſe of their power; ſince he was in a great meaſure obliged to them for his own; and the benefits were likely to be mutual for the future; the one having the force, the other the tie of religion in their poſſeſſion, which contracts ſubſiſts to this day, to the great advantage of both ſides.

The court was not ignorant all this while of what paſſed; they wanted no ſpies, no meſſengers to give notice of the diſcontent of the commoners. Hannibal Seeſtede, a ſenſible man, was prime miniſter; and the biſhop, or ſuperintendent Swan, with Nanſon the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, were his creatures: theſe had formerly in ſecret laid the deſign, which was now upon the point of diſcloſing, though their hopes were hardly laid ſo high, as to promiſe themſelves ſuch mighty ſucceſs. The whole night paſſed in brigues and meſſengers, the commons anger was to be kept up to the requiſite height, and the reſolution they had taken the night before not to be ſuffered to cool, but perſiſted in betimes the next morning. The queen, a woman of intrigue and high ſpirit, wrought ſtrongly in it by all manner of ways; whilſt the king, either through doubt of the event, or ſenſe of the diſhoneſty and crime of the actors, in procuring after ſuch a manner the abſolute dominion of a free country, could hardly be brought to comply with it. He declared that indeed he ſhould be pleaſed the ſovereignty were entailed on his family, provided it were done by univerſal conſent; but to become abſolute and arbitrary, was neither his deſire, nor did he think it for the benefit of the kingdom; that he was ſatisfied he ſhould not make ill uſe of ſuch an unlimited authority, but no body knew what ſucceſſors he might have; that it was therefore dangerous both for them to give, and him to receive ſuch a power as might be abuſed in future times to the utter ruin of the nation.

But theſe reflections, whether they were real, or only pretences, whether cauſed by the piety or weakneſs of the king, were ſoon over-ruled by the more ambitious and maſculine ſpirit of the queen, who deſired him to ſit ſtill, and ſee how ſhe and her emiſſaries would work for him; told him, that the plot was well laid, and had began to operate proſperouſly; that he muſt not obſtruct his own and his families good fortune; and in fine, ſo far prevailed on him, that he ſeemed with fear to conſent to it, and permit that which he very much deſired. Having however by this ſhew of unwillingneſs, left open to himſelf a door of reconciliation with his people, in caſe the buſineſs did not ſucceed.

All this while the nobles either had none, or but ſmall intimation of the proceedings of the commons, they had been uſed ſo long to ſlight and tyrannize over, that they were not now ſenſible of any impending danger from them, contemning their threats as well as their perſons, and imagining they would have repented the next day, and comply with all that ſhould be demanded of them; but the plot was deeper laid than they ſuppoſed; for not only the prime miniſter, but ſome other members of their own body, who had employments depending on the court, were engaged in it. This inadvertency, with the want of requiſite courage upon the occaſion, brought upon them the miſchief on a ſudden; ſo that except two or three who were more than ordinary doubtful of what might happen, and ſlipt out of the town that night, the reſt were altogether fearleſs of danger, till the very inſtant that the evil was paſt remedy.

Schack, the governor of the town had been gained by the court to favour the deſign, which he performed effectually, though not with ſo ſervile an intention as others; for when the king, upon the firſt news of the reſolution of the commons, did often openly promiſe that he would in gratitude, recompence and declare them all free, as ſoon as it lay in his power, by the gift they were about to make him, and the people were willing to truſt the king's goodneſs, and to depend on the performance of this promiſe, encouraged thereunto by the clergy, who alledged it a thing unbeſeeming and diſhonourable to require any other ſecurity from the king than his bare word; yet Schack urged vehemently that the commons ſhould inſiſt to have this promiſe under the king's hand, and make themſelves ſure of the reward for ſo conſiderable a preſent as they were going to make, whilſt they had ſo fair an opportunity in their hands. But all his inſtances were in vain; they were in the giving humour, and reſolved to do it generouſly, truſting the king for the performance of his word; a thing which they have ſince, often, though too late, repented of.

The next morning, the nobles met in the council houſe, and the other two electors in the brewers hall, the reſolution of the commons could not be kept ſo ſecret, but by this time ſome warm rumours of it had reached the nobility; but ſcarcely had they leiſure to conſider what was fit to be done on that occaſion, when they were informed that the commons were marching towards them; for the biſhop and the preſi-

dent had ſo well performed their parts, and urged the neceſſity of ſpeedily executing what had been reſolved on the day before; that all time was judged loſt which was not employed in putting it in practice; they immediately agreed to go to the council-houſe, and there propound to the nobility their deſign, deſiring their concurrence in ſuch a neceſſary work, for the welfare of the kingdom. They marched through the ſtreets with great gravity and ſilence, by couples, as before, whilſt the mob, by repeated ſhouts, applauded what they were going to do. And thus they came to the houſe where the nobles were aſſembled, who had ſcarce warning ſufficient to receive them.

The preſident Nanſon made a ſhort harangue, ſetting forth that they had conſidered the ſtate of the nation, and that they found the only remedy for the many diſorders which afflicted it, was to make the crown hereditary, and to give more power to the king than hitherto had been enjoyed; that this reſolution was already taken by the commons and clergy, in which if the nobility ſhould think fit to concur, they were ready to accompany them to the king, and make him a tender of an hereditary and ſovereign dominion; if not, that they were going themſelves, and the matter would be done without them; that a ſpeedy reſolution was neceſſary, for they had already ſent word to the court of their coming, and his majeſty expected them in the hall of his palace; therefore deſired to be informed in a few words what they reſolved to do.

The ſuddenneſs of ſuch a propoſition, and briſkneſs in the manner of its delivery, cauſed a general aſtoniſhment in the nobles; one might have ſeen thoſe who but the day before carried it ſo proudly, in an inſtant fall to an exceſs of complacency, and betray their fear by their ſpeeches and countenances, as they formerly had done their arogance. The miſchief no ſooner appeared to them, but they ſaw it was unavoidable; there was no leiſure allowed them to conſult; and to deny their compliance, or even to delay it, was dangerous. To give up at once their beloved power, and to ſubmit their necks to a heavy yoak, was an intolerable grievance: but they ſaw they were no longer maſters; the commons were armed, the army and clergy againſt them; and they found now too late, that what the day before they had conſidered only as the effort of an unconſtant giddy multitude, was guided by wiſer heads, and ſupported by encouragements from court; nay, poſſibly by ſome of their own body: they ſuſpected each other, and no man knew whether his next neighbour was not in the plot againſt the public liberty. It is eaſy to imagine what diſtracted thoughts afflicted them on a ſudden, they were altogether unprepared for ſuch a diſmal ſtroke: but ſome anſwer muſt be given, and that ſpeedily. Such a one as they had a mind to give, they durſt not; for they were aſſembled in a fortified town, remote from their ſeveral countries and intereſts (where they had governed like ſo many princes) in the power of thoſe who could, and certainly would be revenged in caſe they proved refractory. The beſt way therefore was to ſeem to approve of what they could not hinder. They anſwered, That the propoſitions made to them by the commons was not diſpleaſing, but the manner of it wanted the requiſite formalities; that previous deliberation was neceſſary to an affair of ſo great moment; that they could not but take it ill, a reſolution of ſuch conſequence ſhould be concluded on by the commons without the leaſt acquainting the nobility with it, who were the chief eſtate of the realm: that they alſo aſpired to the honour of bearing their part in beſtowing ſuch a material gift on the king and his poſterity, but deſired that the matter might be proceeded on with that gravity, and ſolemnity, which the nature of it required. That it was not fit ſuch a weighty tranſaction ſhould have the appearance of a tumult, and ſeemed forced rather than a free choice. The concluſion of all was, That they hoped the commons would a little defer the putting in execution their deſign; and in the mean time conſult with them, till the affair was done orderly, and with unanimous approbation, as well as to mutual advantage.

This was with great vehemency by the preſident denied. He replied, Theſe were ſhifts only to gain time, that the nobles might be in a condition to fruſtrate the intention of the commons; that the point was already agreed, and the reſolution taken; that they came not hither to conſider, but to act; if the nobles would join with them, they were ready; if not, they would do what was to be done alone; and doubted not but his majeſty would make his uſe of it.

During theſe diſputes the nobility had privately ſent ſome of their body to court to acquaint the king, that the commons were now at their houſe, and had made them ſudden propoſals out of form, but ſuch as they ſhould rather concur with, than be averſe to; that they were ready to join in offering an hereditary crown to his majeſty, and the heirs male of his family for ever; which they hoped his majeſty would accept in good part: but deſired to proceed in uſual methods, which ſuch weighty affairs merited, viz. by conferences and deliberations, that it might appear rather an effect of their juſt ſentiments of his majeſty's valour and conduct, than the ſudden motions of a tumultuous aſſembly.

The king, with a great deal of mildneſs, as if he had been wholly unconcerned and paſſive in the caſe, replied, That he was obliged to them for their deſigns in favour of him, and the royal family; that he hoped what they were about would tend to the benefit of the nation; but that a crown entailed only upon the heirs male, could not be ſo acceptable to him, as if it were given without that limitation; that the government of females had neither been a new thing at home, nor unproſperous in neighbouring countries: That they might conſider of it, and ſince it was their gift, he would not preſcribe, but it could not be acceptable to him unleſs it were more general.

In the mean time the commons grew impatient, the anſwer given them was not ſatisfactory, and the nobles had not yet reſolved on an entire compliance, nor were ready to accompany them, becauſe they had not yet an account of the ſucceſs of their members ſent to ſound the mind of the court.

The clergy and burgers therefore, led on by the biſhop and preſident, proceeded without them to the palace, and were met by the prime miniſter, and conducted by him to the hall of audience, whither, after ſome ſhort time, the king came to them. The biſhop made a long ſpeech, ſetting forth the praiſes of his majeſty, and the cauſe of their waiting on him: concluding with an offer, in the name of themſelves, the two moſt numerous, and if he pleaſed, moſt powerful eſtates, of an hereditary and abſolute dominion; together with the aſſiſtance of their hands and purſes, in caſe any body ſhould go about to obſtruct ſo neceſſary and laudable a deſign for the good of the country. The king told them in ſhort, That he thanked them; and in caſe a univerſal conſent eſtabliſhed this good deſire of theirs, he would accept the preſent they made him; but that the concurrence of the nobles was neceſſary; which he doubted not of in the leaſt, when they had time to make the offer with the neceſſary formalities; that he aſſured the commons of his royal protection, and ſpared not to be unmindful of their kindneſs by eaſing them of their grievances, and by encouraging ſubjects who had behaved themſelves ſo valiantly, and deſerved ſo well from him; concluding with his advice to them to continue their ſeſſion till ſuch time as matters were brought to perfection, and he could receive their gift with the ſolemnity that was fitting: and upon that diſmiſſed them.

But the nobles were all this while in a grievous diſtraction; they ſaw the commons were gone to the king without them: their meſſengers brought news that their propoſition of entailing the crown on the heirs male, was not pleaſing, becauſe a greater advantage was in proſpect; that this offer

was looked upon to proceed from perſons that would not have beſtowed any thing, if they could have helped it. That it was thought they pretended to merit in giving only a part, when it was not in their power to hinder the taking the whole. In this irreſolution they broke up, and ſince they were to meet again at noon upon another ſolemn occaſion, they reſolved how to proceed in an affair ſo delicate.

Monſieur Schele, a ſenator, and principal man of the country, was that afternoon to be buried in great pomp; his body had lain ſome months in ſtate, and according to the cuſtom; was to be accompanied to its interment by all the nobility then in town; this being a parliament time, was choſen for the ceremony, becauſe the nobles were all together, and a magnificent dinner was prepared, as is uſual on the like occaſions. In the height of their entertainment, an officer came into the room, and whiſpered to ſome of the principal men that the city gates were ſhut, and the keys carried to court: for the king having been informed by the governor, that two or three had privately ſlipped out of town the night before, and being reſolved that no more ſhould eſcape out of the net, till he had done his buſineſs, had ordered the governor that morning to lock the gates, and to let no perſon in or out without ſpecial order. The governor ſent one Bill, the town major, to put this in execution; who as ſoon as he had done it, went to the houſe where they were met, and ſat down at the table among the ſenators. This diſmal news of the officer's was preſently whiſpered round the company; who immediately applied themſelves to him, to know what the meaning was of ſuch an unuſual proceeding at the time of a general convention; they aſked him, What deſtiny was appointed them? whether they were there to be maſſacred, or what elſe was to be done with them? The town major calmly anſwered, That he believed there was no danger towards them, that ſuch violent meaſures would not be taken by ſo gracious a king; though he had indeed given the orders himſelf for the ſhutting the gates; and that nobody was to ſtir out of the town without leave; but that this need not diſturb or hinder them from finiſhing the work of the day, and purſuing their public, as well as their private buſineſs. There wanted no more than this confirmation from the officer to overthrow all the reſolution, and conſultations of the nobles; the dread of looſing their lives took away all thoughts of their liberty. They immediately diſpatched meſſengers both to the court, and the commons, to give notice of their diſpoſition to comply with what was formerly propoſed; aſſuring them likewiſe, that they were ready to agree to all that ſhould be aſked of them.

But the king, who had begun and played his game ſo well hitherto, determined to purſue it to the utmoſt, and would not ſuffer the doors to be opened, till the whole ceremony of inauguration was concluded, and the homage done in due form, and therefore ordered they ſhould ſtay, till in the face of the people and the army, they had ſworn fealty, and diveſted themſelves of all right, as well as power, to cauſe any diſturbance or alteration for the future.

Three days time was requiſite to prepare matters for that fatal hour, wherein they were to make a formal ſurrender of their liberty; the ſcaffolds were raiſed in a place before the caſtle, and adorned with tapeſtry; orders were given for the ſoldiers, and burgers to appear in arms under their reſpective officers: and when all things were ready, on the 27th of October, in the morning, the king, queen, and royal family, mounted on a theatre erected for that purpoſe, and being placed on chairs of ſtate under canopies of velvet, received publickly the homage of all the ſenators, nobility, clergy and commons; which was performed kneeling.

They were then obliged to take an oath, and ſome men of quality who were ſick, or pretended to be ſo, were brought in chairs. Among others one Garſdorf, a principal ſenator, who was the only one that ſpoke in behalf of their expiring liberties, ſaying, That he hoped, and truſted, that his majeſty deſigned nothing but the good of his people; and not to govern them after the Turkiſh manner: but wiſhed his majeſty's ſucceſſors might follow the example, which his majeſty would undoubtedly ſet them, and make uſe of that unlimitted power for the good, and not the harm of his ſubjects. Not one of the reſt ſpoke a word, or ſeemed to murmur in the leaſt at what was done.

Indeed it has been ſaid, That had the nobles ſhewed ever ſo little courage in aſſerting their priviledges, the king would not have purſued his point ſo far as to have deſired an arbitrary dominion: for he was in continual doubt, and dread of the event, and began to waver very much in his reſolutions; ſo that their liberties ſeem purely loſt for want of ſome to appear for them.

From the theatre, thoſe that had done homage went to the council houſe, where the nobles were called over by name, and ordered to ſubſcribe the above mentioned declaration, which they did.

Thus this affair was finiſhed, and the kingdom of Denmark in four days time changed from an eſtate little differing from ariſtocracy, to as abſolute a monarchy as any at preſent in the world.

The nobility however, ſtill retain a deſire of power, not eaſily extinguiſhed in the human breaſt: and to the machinations of ſome of theſe may be attributed the fate of a princeſs who was degraded from a throne to ſpend her days in obſcurity.

Among all the hardſhips which are impoſed on the poor peaſants of this country, is the obligation they lie under to furniſh the king, royal family, and all their attendants, their baggage and furniture, with horſes, and travelling waggons, whenever he makes any progreſs (which he often does either to Jutland or Holſtein) or takes any leſſer journey in Zeeland; even, although it be only to his country houſes of Fredrickſburg and Yagerſburg. In theſe caſes all the peaſants that lie near the road, or in that diſtrict, are ſummoned to attend with their horſes and waggons at certain ſtages, where they are to relieve each other: and this they often do, always at their own charges for man's and horſe-meat, for two or three days together, no regard being made to the ſeaſon of harveſt, (which is their uſual travelling time) or to any other convenience of theſe poor wretches. So that they have been ſeen with hundreds of waggons in a company, bewailing their ſad condition: and as ſoon as the king comes up, and his coaches, with thoſe of the other perſons of quality, are fitted with ſix or eight boors horſes each, and every lacquey ſeizes on his boor and waggon, for his own proper uſe; at which time, unleſs his pleaſure be in all things complied with, the poor trembling peaſant (who drives on and takes all patiently, without replying one word) is ſorely beaten and abuſed. Neither is it only when the king himſelf travels, that the boors are put to this trouble, but whenever he pleaſes to give his warrant to any perſon of quality, or officer, that has a journey to make, they are obliged to this ſervice and attendance.——This cuſtom however, is not ſo frequent as it uſed to be.

Apoplexies and the falling ſickneſs are the epidemical diſtempers here; one hardly paſs through the ſtreets of Copenhagen, without ſeeing one or two poor creatures groveling on the ground in a fit, and foaming at the mouth, with a circle of gazers and aſſiſtants about them. Apoplexies among the better ſort, often proceed either from exceſſive drinking, or from diſcontent; it being very uſual here to have them die of a ſlacht, as they call it, which is an apoplexy, proceeding from diſcontent and trouble of mind. But by way of amends for theſe diſtempers, there are few or none that are troubled with coughs, catarrhs, conſumptions, or ſuch like diſeaſes of the lungs; ſo that in the midſt of winter, in the churches, which are very much frequented, there is no noiſe to interrupt the attention due to the preacher. It has

been

been ſaid, that their warm ſtoves, with the plenty and pureneſs of their firing, (which is beech wood) contributes as much to their freedom from theſe kinds of maladies, as the groſſneſs and unwholeſomeneſs of our coals in London does to our being ſo univerſally troubled with them; notwithſtanding the ingenious Sir William Petty be of another opinion; for in all other reſpects of air and ſituation, we have the advantage of them.

The marriages here are uſually preceded by contracts, which will laſt ſometimes three, four, or more years, before they proceed to a public wedding by the miniſter; though often the young couple grow better acquainted before theſe formalities are diſpatched. The gentry give portions with their daughters, but the burgers and peaſants, if they be able, give cloaths, ſome houſhold ſtuff, and a great wedding dinner, but nothing elſe till they die.

Sumptuous burials and monuments are much in requeſt with the nobility; and it is uſual to keep the corps of a perſon of quality in a vault, or the chancel of ſome church, for ſeveral years together, till a fit opportunity to celebrate the funeral. The poorer ſort are buried in great thick cheſts; and in the towns there are about a dozen of common mourners belonging to each pariſh, who are obliged to carry and attend them to their graves.

Lord Moleſworth obſerved that the common people were given to cheating and ſuſpecting others.

"Inſomuch (ſays he) that if you offer them great profit for a thing which they have not been formerly uſed to ſell, they will refuſe to part with it, as ſuſpecting that you ſee an advantage in ſuch a purchaſe, which as yet is unknown to them, but which they hope to find out. I remember one inſtance: ſeeing great flocks of green geeſe in the fields near the town, I ſent to buy ſome, but they being never uſed to ſell, or eat geeſe in that country, till they are big and old, it was not poſſible to perſuade any body to part with one of them; though double the price of a big one was offered for each. They aſked what we deſired to buy them for? what we would do with them, &c. For they could not be perſuaded, any one would be ſo fooliſh to eat them whilſt young, or little; after a week, an old woman, to whom money had been offered for a dozen, came and brought four to ſell, ſaying, "That neither ſhe nor her geeſe, had thriven ſince ſhe had refuſed to ſell them at a good price; for the kite had the night before killed eight of her ſtock, and that now the remaining four were at my ſervice." Thus the ſuperſtition of this old woman procured us the firſt green geeſe that I believe were ever eaten in Denmark; but after that they had taken notice that we fatted and killed them for eating, they furniſhed us with them as often as deſired. I would not omit this ſtory (adds he) becauſe it gives a more lively idea of the common people, than any deſcription I could make. In their markets they will aſk the ſame price for ſtinking meat as for freſh; for lean as for fat, if it be of a kind. And the ſure way not to obtain, is to ſeem to value, and to aſk importunately, a thing which otherwiſe they themſelves would deſire ſhould be done. This laſt remark is not peculiar to the common people only.

"I do not ſee that they are good at imitating the inventions of other countries; and for inventing themſelves, I believe none here, ſince the famous Tycho Braha, ever pretended to it. Few or no books are written, but what ſome of the clergy compoſe of religion. Not ſo much as a ſong, or a tune, was made during three years that I ſtayed here. Their ſeaſons of jolity are very rare, and ſince the fatal opera, about four years ago, in which many hundred perſons were burnt in the old queen's houſe, they contented themſelves with running at the gooſe on Shrove Tueſdays, and taking their pleaſure upon ſleds in the winter, and well wrapped up in wool or fur; a diverſion much in requeſt in this court, and among all kinds of people.

"The language is very ungrateful, and not unlike the Iriſh in its whining complaining tone. The king great men, gentry, and many burgers, make uſe of High Dutch in their ordinary diſcourſe, and of French to ſtrangers. I have heard ſeveral in high employments boaſt that they could not ſpeak Daniſh; yet many of the moniſylables in this tongue are the ſame with the Engliſh; and without doubt we owe the original of them to the Danes, and have retained them ever ſince they were maſters of our country."

The town of Rypen ſtands on the river Nipſaw, which forms three channels, and divides the place into as many parts: it falls into the north ſea about three miles below the town, and forms one of the beſt harbours in Denmark. This advantage occaſions trade here in fiſheries, alſo ſome to Hamburgh, a little to Amſterdam; and they have a few ſmall ſhips which uſe the trade from Norway and the Baltic to England. There is a univerſity here, but it is not in a flouriſhing ſituation; it is a biſhop's ſee; and they have for their defence a fortified caſtle. The church is built of hewn ſtone; the ſteeple is ſo high that it ſerves as a land-mark to ſailors on this coaſt, which is generally eſteemed very dangerous.

Hodſedburg, is a little town, well ſituated on a pretty river, upon which was obſerved ſome ſmall craft, a ſign that the inhabitants carry on a trade; and there is good fiſh here. The country is tolerably well cultivated, except the marſhes, which are all in the ſtate of nature, having never been attempted to be drained. They cultivate many of the turnip grounds here with cabbage leaves. Near this town is Lemwijg, the country continuing pretty good. That town is oddly ſituated on a ſmall bay within 10 miles of the ſea, and is without any trade or ſhipping, but ſmall fiſhing-craft; the reaſon is, that it has no communication with the German ocean, the bay on which it ſtands being in the great lake, which extends quite acroſs Jutland, and falls into the Baltic. There is little worthy of obſervation in this place.

Nikiſbing is ſituated on an iſland on the lake, which they call the Gulph of Leimford. It is chiefly applied to paſturage. The town is pretty large, but ſeems very poor, and has but bad accommodations.

Aalbourgh is the ſee of a biſhop, and a place of ſome trade, and there are alſo a few fabrics of woollen goods, fixed at the king's expence; but they do not ſeem to be in any flouriſhing ſituation, chiefly from want of ſupport and attention to the conduct of them. As the introduction of any thing of this ſort is of but little conſequence, unleſs there is a ſtanding attention paid to their increaſe and welfare.

Wyburg is at thirty miles diſtance; the way lies through waſte land. Theſe waſtes are all well watered with ſtreams, and the ſoil is in general very good, and much of it deep and free from ſtones, though ſome tracts are full of them, and rocky, but none that might not be applied to many very uſeful purpoſes, were they in the hands of active and wealthy induſtrious people. This city is the ſee of a biſhop, and alſo the reſidence of a provincial court of juſtice, but it is nevertheleſs a very inconſiderable place.

Horſens is alſo a ſea-port. The king has great demeſnes in the country, and upon which has been planted ſome colonies of poor Germans. They had lands let them upon leaſe, which they cultivate better than their neighbours the Danes, but they do not ſeem to be good huſbandmen, as they fix only upon the dry lands, whereas the marſhes drained would prove much the richer of the two. Though this attention had been given to peopling theſe waſtes, yet very little care had ſince been taken to increaſe the numbers, or to give ſuch encouragement to them, as to enable them to execute any thing conſiderable in improvements.

Weile, though a ſmall place, is pretty well built. The ſtreets are ſtrait, and tolerably paved, and the houſes well built of brick. It has a commodious harbour, on a bay which falls into the Baltic, by means of which, it carries on a pretty good trade. But

the inhabitants of all these little post towns seem much to want encouragemnt in their trade; they would all flourish very tolerably, if they had a cultivated country, with some manufactories behind them. Many favourable circumstances must unite in a port to create trade, where the export consists of nothing but a scanty product of mere natural commodities: trade consists of and depends upon exportation reciprocal to the importation; but the general misfortune in the commerce of such little ports, is a failure of the exportation part; all of them, as far as the demand reaches, are free enough, at importing. This is a sure trade to the merchant, as most branches are, in which gold and silver are the commodities exported for the products and manufactures of other countries. Indeed the Danish ports have the general misfortune of being deficient in inland navigation, having nothing to depend upon but the mere circulation of the town, which is in general very confined. Trade depends much on manufactures, and not a little on a flourishing agriculture. Neither of these are common in Denmark; so that it is not to be wondered, that the general commerce of the kingdom is confined.

Kolding is a very pretty town, beautifully situated; it contains some trade, and a royal palace, but it has nothing in it that is worthy of a travellers notice, though the inhabitants make a great matter of it, as if it was the Versailles of the north. The king has some considerable demesnes around this town, and raises a revenue by a toll upon all cattle which pass the bridge, and which amounts to a considerable sum; for most that are driven from Jutland for the Dutch drovers, which are very numerous, pay here half a dollar a head. The country from Horsens to Weile is tolerably well cultivated.

The road from Kolding to Hadersthelbe, is through a country remarkable for its cultivation: most of their waste tracks has been of late improved, and many acres, that not many years since were all covered with forests, are now in a state of profit for their owners. This has been totally owing to an emancipation of the peasants. It was found that the earth would never be well cultivated by mere slaves, and acting consistently with this just idea, has had the desired effect.

The Danes in the midst of their attention to commerce and agriculture have laid many plans for increasing their East India trade, and among others, there was one, which had actually been so much approved as to be put partly in execution, and this was to purchase by treaty, the port and territory of Mosambique, on the Coast of Africa, from the Portuguese; a colony which is of little national advantage to that kingdom, since the declension of their affairs in the East Indies, but which would be of infinite importance to the Danes, in case they set heartily about an increase of their India commerce. In some negotiations with the court of Lisbon, matters had gone so far, as fixing the terms, which, though they were too high to conclude on, yet they brought on a farther treaty, relative to other settlements in the Indies, and which it was evident they were willing to part with, in case they could get high terms. Mosambique from its situation, might be a port and colony of as great importance even as the Cape of Good Hope; all Danish ships, going and coming to and from the Indies might water and take in their refreshments there; as behind it lie the richest countries in Africa, and it is open to the trade of the rest of that vast coast, to Arabia, Persia, &c. so that there could be no doubt but it would turn out a place of infinite importance in the hands of an active, and industrious nation. The treaty upon this affair with Portugal was broke off, without coming to any conclusion, but on what account is not known to the world.

The scheme however, was a good one. The best of all government that still belong to the Viceroy of the Indies, is that of Mosambique, already mentioned in the former part of this work. They have a strong fort there with four good bastions, which command the channel, and in which there are seventy pieces of brass cannon, and here is always kept a good garrison, and in tolerable order. The governor is honoured with the title of General of the River Senna, where he has his lieutenant, which employment was worth to him several hundred thousand crowns a year; there are but a few houses about the fort, the inhabitants keeping their effects on a neighbouring continent. The merchandise brought to this place by the ships of the company, are bought at a set price by the royal factory, which afterwards sends them to Chelimani, the mouth of the River Senna, running 300 miles along the coast, in gallies and small vessels, because of the flats from Chelimani; the goods are sent up the river against the stream, in almandies, or little boats, which are ten days going up, and about five coming down. It is very difficult going up for those that are not acquainted with the shallows and windings of the river.

Cafras and blacks as has been observed, resort to this port, from provinces and kingdoms three or four months journey distant, to buy and take up goods upon trust for so much gold, which they never fail to bring punctually the next year, unless death prevents them. This trade yields above cent per cent, so that the Portuguese may be said to have another India in Africa.

Senna is a little town, on the right hand of the river, inhabited by fifty Portuguese families, who make it populous enough by the great number of blacks they keep. They till the ground, and dig the mines, and by that means maintain their masters, instead of being kept by them.

Solfola, where the Portuguese have another establishment, is but about fifteen days journey from hence; and here a prodigious trade is carried on, of which the Portuguse are or might be masters. It consists chiefly of gold, of which there are greater quantities here than in any other country in the world, since the annual produce of this market is computed by the best judges, at 46,000 ounces. There are vast quantities of Spanish and Canary wines, oil, silks, linens, cottons, coral, and other European goods, sold here, which are carried by the inhabitants of the little kingdoms of Solfola, through all the great empire of Monomotapa, which the Portuguese stile the Empire of Gold, from the prodigious quantities of that precious metal, which is brought to them from thence. There are likewise some very rich commodities, brought hither by the negros, such as the most excellent ebony in the world, great quantities of ivory, abundance of fine mats, which are much esteemed in the Indies, and a great number of slaves; so that Goa, and all the rest of the Portuguese settlements, are furnished from hence.

Yet these possessions are said to produce so little to the king of Portugal, that it has been more than once debated, in the council of that prince, whether it would not be to the interest of the crown to abandon them altogether, withdrawing their artillery and effects; it is likewise asserted that it is not any political but purely a religious motive, that has hindered this resolution from being taken, the priests have suggested, that in that case a multitude of souls would be lost to the church. But we shall the less wonder at this, if we consider, that such as are best acquainted with the East India trade, assures us, that not a single merchant, and a single ship of a reasonable burden, may carry on as great commerce, as that which at present subsists between Lisbon and Goa.

There are yet a great many ships employed from Goa, Diu, and Daman, to the Coasts of Persia, Pegu, Manilla, and China, but they are mostly on account of Indian merchants, there scarce being a Portuguese trader at Goa able to furnish a cargo of 10,000 crowns, and it is very much doubted, whether in the whole of their trade they employ above 200,000 crowns; so that it is not at all strange, that one year with another, there are not above two ships sent directly from Goa to Lisbon; and those not

above a fourth part ſo rich as when they annually ſent twenty. Yet there has been a late regulation made at Goa, for the preſervation and promoting of trade, which thoſe who underſtood that ſubject beſt, agree, compleated its ruin. This is an excluſive company which has the ſole right to the commerce of Moſambique and Mocha, which company has taken upon itſelf the payment of the royal officers, who are alſo two thirds employed therein; which has given ſuch a blow to the natural commerce of Goa, that the beſt part of the Indian merchants that were left, are now retired from thence. To ſay the truth, it was the great ſhare the viceroys, governors, and other officers, always took in commerce, without contributing any thing thereto; except protecting the merchants from the violence committed by themſelves, on ſuch as did not admit them to a ſhare of their trade, that firſt deſtroyed the extenſive commerce they enjoyed. But though their power and their commerce are ſo much declined, their pride is as great as ever; inſomuch that they refuſe the natives of the country who are called Canarins, the wearing of ſtockings, though they employ them as phyſicians, lawyers, and merchants; by which, many of them are ſo rich, that they keep a dozen or fourteen ſlaves, and are in much better circumſtances than the Portugueſe themſelves.

The revenues of the church have ſuffered very little by this moſt ſurpriſing change in the ſtate: there is hardly a monaſtery that does not receive four or five thouſand crowns out of the treaſury, at the ſame time the ſoldiers ſtarve and mutiny for want of pay; which is ſo much the harder upon the government, becauſe the reverend fathers know very well how to take care of themſelves, inſomuch, that it is affirmed, the Jeſuits in Goa have a better revenue than the crown of Portugal. It is not eaſy to know what becomes of the money theſe churchmen raiſe; but it is very evident, that the wealth they poſſeſs, together with the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition at Goa, is ſuch a dead weight on the ſettlement, as muſt ſooner or later deſtroy it.

"The wiſeſt of the Portugueſe in Europe, (ſays our author) underſtand this very well, and would be glad to ſee ſome proper remedy applied, not from a prejudice againſt the church or churchmen, which is far enough from being the vice of that nation, but out of pure regard to the crown and to the nation; but one would think that the clergy themſelves, inſtead of graſping at more, ought to be willing to part with ſome proportion of what is already in their hands, in order to render the ſtate more able to protect them in the poſſeſſion of the remainder. Beſides there is nothing clearer, than that the erecting of religious houſes, is directly oppoſite to the very ſcheme of planting, and muſt always ruin the ſettlements where it prevails, and conſequently the religious houſes themſelves, which is even an argument that ought to prevail with the popiſh princes, to lay more reſtraint on the miſſionaries that are ſent abroad: unleſs they prefer the reputation of zeal, among thoſe who are no competent judges, not only to maxims of policy and good government, but to the principles of true religion. For if there be any piety in converting Pagans to the Chriſtian faith, it follows, that there is ſtill greater piety in doing this effectually, and in maintaining for ever the eſtabliſhments neceſſary to ſupport them, which reaſon and experience ſhews, the building monaſteries, and maintaining numbers of idle people in them, will not do; but on the contrary, will bring on, in time, the deſtruction of thoſe colonies, in which this humour is ſuffered to prevail.

"It is not many years ſince that ſeveral Indian princes were driven from before Goa, which they had blocked up with a numerous army, by the powerful ſuccours ſent by the king of Portugal, and by the excellent conduct of the late viceroy, who was the Count de Laurical, and who, if I miſtake not, was twice in the Indies, and behaved there with great reputation. Such expeditions, however, are to be conſidered as expedients only, which for a time may preſerve that ſettlement, but can never reſtore it, or bring the affairs of the nation, in thoſe parts, into ſo good order as to make them worth the attention of a prince, who has the honour of the crown, and the good of his people at heart.

"It is however certain, that the eſtabliſhments which the crown of Portugal ſtill has in the Eaſt Indies, might in the hands of an active, and induſtrious nation, turn to conſiderable account; for it has been long ago obſerved by Mr. Tavinier, that the port of Diu is as well ſituated for trade, and as capable of improvement, as any in that part of the world, or more ſo; and if put under proper regulations, that is, if made in ſome meaſure a free port, it muſt neceſſarily come in for a large ſhare of that commerce now carried on at Surat, and in all probability, retrieve much of the Arabian and Perſian commerce, that has been ſo long loſt to the Portugueſe: on the other hand, as they have ſtill ſome factories at Biſnager, and other places on that coaſt, it would be no difficult matter to re-eſtabliſh their commerce in the heart of India, at the ſame time, that the port of Macao would furniſh them with the means of ſupplying the China market, as cheap, or cheaper, than any other European nation; becauſe the colony of Moſambique is ſo ſituated, as to ſerve them for the ſame purpoſe that the Cape of Good Hope does the Dutch, or the iſland of St. Helena does the Engliſh.

"But all theſe advantages ſignify nothing in the hands of thoſe, who are ſo far from poſſeſſing the virtues requiſite for ſuch improvements, that, on the contrary, they are not only tainted with, but overrun by ſuch vices, as muſt unqueſtionably overturn the beſt eſtabliſhment in the world. We may therefore ſafely predict, that the continuance even of the ſlender power which the Portugueſe have ſtill left, cannot continue long, and that for theſe two plain reaſons; firſt, becauſe it has been long, and ſtill in a declining condition; ſo that its force being extremely decayed, and at the ſame time continually employed in reſiſting the efforts of its enemies, it is impoſſible, in the nature of things, that it ſhould ſubſiſt for any time: ſecondly, the manners of the people are entirely ruined, ſo that there is not the leaſt probability that any ſuch reformation will ever be effected, as might enable them to make ſuch uſe of the convenient ports, of which they are ſtill poſſeſſed, as is neceſſary to revive and reſtore their commerce in the Indies. We may venture therefore to pronounce, that in the compaſs of twenty or thirty years, their eſtabliſhments in theſe parts will be quite loſt, and that in all likelihood, Goa, Diu, and Daman, will be loſt firſt; which will neceſſarily draw after them the deſertion of Macao, which cannot long ſubſiſt by its own force, and lies at too great a diſtance to receive any effectual ſuccour or ſupport from Portugal directly."

By the ſtate of the matter it is apparent, that the Danes might make ſuch a purchaſe, as we have mentioned, turn out to a very good account.

Though learning is not arrived at any high pitch in Denmark, yet there is an univerſity at Copenhagen, and there are other ſeminaries in the kingdom, which are capable of improvement, and will probably receive it under ſome ſucceeding reign. As to the preſent, it ſeems to promiſe but little; and though we have ſpoken of the Danes as a riſing people, it is likely their progreſs will be but ſlow under the government of ſuch a prince as Chriſtian VII. who ſuffers himſelf to be guided in the moſt important concerns of ſtate by the members of a court faction, who ſeek their own aggrandiſement, rather than the honour of the ſovereign, or the welfare of their country.

In the mean time it behoves Denmark to keep a watchful eye upon a jealous neighbour that has, for a ſucceſſion of ages been conſidered as a natural enemy, and after having been tumbled from the ſummit of power, gives ſigns of once more growing into greatneſs.

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Engravid for Moore's New and Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels.

neſs. The Swedes, under the auſpices of a young monarch, whoſe counſels have baffled thoſe of the aged, may be enabled to thwart the intereſts of her rival in many reſpects, and hinder her from reaping many of thoſe advantages which ſhe may otherwiſe reaſonably hope for, from the wiſe regulations made within the ſpace of the laſt century.

On the whole, it may be obſerved, that though much has been accompliſhed, yet much more remains to be done, to give Denmark that eclat which it ſeems to expect. Among the reſt, a reviſal of their boaſted code of laws appears to be neceſſary, wherein ſome alterations might be made, equally for the benfit of the ſubjects, and the good of the ſtate. The eſtabliſhing a nearer connexion between agriculture and commerce, might be an object worth attending to; and a leſs degree of partiality ſhewn to the military orders might be of real ſervice to the country.—— Theſe ends being attained, we cannot help concluding with ſome ingenious countrymen of ours who have lately viſited thoſe parts, Denmark would cut a good figure among the ſtates of Europe.

TRAVELS THROUGH SWEDEN.

SWEDEN, including the dukedom of Finland, is bounded by the Baltic ſea on the ſouth, the unpaſſable mountains of Norway and Muſcovy on the eaſt, being extended from 59 to 69 degrees north latitude, and from 32 to 55 longitude; and conſequently twice as big as the kingdom of France; but the abatements that muſt be made for ſeveral ſeas, and many great lakes, ſome whereof are above 80 Engliſh miles long, and 20 broad, as alſo for rocks, woods, heaths, and moraſſes, that cover much of theſe countries, will reduce the habitable part to a very ſmall portion, comparatively to the extent of the whole.

The ſoil in places capable of cultivating, is tolerably fruitful, though ſeldom above half a foot deep, and therefore more eaſily plowed, as it frequently is by one maid and an ox, and is generally beſt where there is the leaſt of it, that is, in the little ſpaces between the rocks; and frequently the barren land enriched with the aſhes of trees growing on the places that are burnt, and the ſeed raked among the aſhes, produces a plentiful crop, without farther cultivation.

This practice is ſo ancient, that their writers derive the name of Sweden from a word in their language that expreſſes it; but the danger of deſtroying the woods, has of late occaſioned ſome laws to limit that cuſtom.

If the inhabitants were induſtrious, above what neceſſity forces them to, they might at leaſt have corn ſufficient of their own; but as things are managed, they have not; nor can they ſubſiſt without great importations of all ſorts of grain from the country of Leifland, and other parts of Germany, adjacent to the Baltic ſea; and notwithſtanding theſe ſupplies, the pooreſt ſort in many places remote from traffic, are forced to grind the bark of birch-trees to mix with their corn and make bread, of which they have not always plenty.

The cattle, as in other northern countries, are generally of a very ſmall ſize; neither can the breed be bettered by bringing in larger from abroad, which ſoon degenerate; becauſe in ſummer the graſs is much leſs nouriſhing than in the places from whence they came; and in the winter they are uſually half ſtarved, for want of fodder of all kinds; which often falls ſo very ſhort, that they are forced to unthatch their houſes to keep a part of their cattle alive. Their ſheep bear a very coarſe wool, only fit to make cloathing for the peaſants. The horſes, eſpecially the fineſt, though ſmall, are hardy, vigorous, ſtrong, ſure-footed, and nimble trotters, which is of great uſe to them, becauſe of the length of their winters, and their fitneſs for ſleds, which is their only carriage in that ſeaſon.

Of wild beaſts, which are very plentiful in theſe parts, bears, elks, deer, and hares, are hunted for their fleſh, as alſo together with wolves, foxes, wild cats, &c. for their furs and hides. They hunt here with leſs ceremony than elſewhere, taking all advantages to ſhoot their game, at which they are generally very dexterous. There are no rabbits in theſe countries, but what are brought in for curioſity, and kept tame. In winter, foxes and ſquirrels ſomewhat change colour, and become grayiſh, but hares turn quite white.

Both wild and tame fowl are very plentiful and good in their kind, except ſea fowl, which feed and taſte of fiſh; the moſt common are orras and keders, the former of the bigneſs of a hen, the other of a turky; as alſo partridges, and a kind of bird ſomething reſembling them, called Yerpers. There are taken in winter great numbers of ſmall birds, as thruſhes, black-birds, and ſydenſcwans, the laſt of the bigneſs of Veldefares, but better meat, ſuppoſed to come from Lapland, or yet farther north, and have their name from the beautifulneſs of their feathers, ſome of which are tipt at the point with ſcarlet.

The chief lakes in Sweden are the Vetter, the Wenner, and Maeler; the firſt in Oſtrogothia, remarkable for its foretelling of ſtorms by a continual thundering noiſe the day before in that quarter whence they ariſe; as alſo for the ſudden breaking of the ice upon it, which ſometimes ſurpriſe travellers, and in half an hour's time become navigable: for its great depth, in ſome places is above 300 fathoms, though no part of the Baltic exceed 50; it ſupplies the river Motala, which runs through Norcopingh, where it has a fall of about thirty feet, and ſome winters is ſo choaked up with ice, that for many hours no water paſſes. The ſecond is in Weſtrogothia, from which iſſues the river Elve; that, falling down a rock near ſixty feet, paſſes by Gottenburgh. The third empties itſelf at Stockholm, furniſhing one ſide of the town with freſh water, as the ſea does the other with ſalt.

Theſe, and abundance of other lakes, of which many like ponds, have no vents. and are called Innſeas; they are well ſtored with fiſh, ſalmon, pikes, pearch, tench, trouts, eels, and many other ſorts unknown elſewhere, of which the moſt plentiful is the ſtreimling, a fiſh leſs than a pilcher, taken in great quantities, and ſalted in barrels, and diſtributed over all the country. Beſides, the North-Bottom or bay, that ſeparates Sweden and Finland, abounds with ſeals, of which a conſiderable quantity of train-oil is made and exported; and in the lakes in Finland are great quantities of pikes, which being taken, are ſalted, dryed, and ſold at a very reaſonable rate.

Theſe lakes are of great uſe for the convenience of carriages, both in ſummer by boats, and by ſleds in winter, and among them, and on the ſea coaſts, are almoſt innumerable iſlands of different ſizes, of which

there

there are in Sweden above 6000 that are inhabited, the reſt are either bare rocks, or covered with wood; Gotland, Oland, and Alaud, are iſles of large extent, one being ſixty miles long, and the others little leſs.

Their woods and vaſt foreſts overſpread much of the country: and are for the moſt part of pines, firr, beach, birch, alder, juniper, and ſome oak, eſpecially in the province of Bleaking, the trees growing in moſt places ſo cloſe together, and lying to rot where they fall, make the woods ſcarce paſſable.

Theſe afford a plentiful and cheap firing, and being generally very ſtrait and tall, are eaſily converted into timber fit for all uſes. In the parts near the mines, the woods are much deſtroyed, but that want is ſo well ſupplied from diſtant places, by the convenience of rivers and winter carriages, that they have charcoal above ſix times as cheap as it is in England, though indeed it is not half ſo good.

The mountains abound in mines. There is one of ſilver, into which workmen are let down in baſkets to the firſt floor, which is 105 fathoms under ground, the roof there is as high as a church, ſupported by vaſt arches of ore; thence the decent is by ladders or baſkets, to the loweſt mine, above 40 fathoms where they now work. They have no records ſo ancient as the firſt diſcovery either of this or the copper mine, which muſt needs be the work of many ages; the ore ſeldom yields above four per cent, and requires great pains to refine it; they are alſo at the charge of a water-mill to drain the mine, and have the benefit of another that draws up the ore. It yearly produces about 20,000 crowns of fine ſilver, of which the king has the pre-emption, paying one fourth leſs than the real value. The copper mine is about 80 fathoms deep, of great extent, but ſubject to damage by the falling in of the roof; yet that is ſometimes recompenced by the abundance of ore that the ruined pillars yield.

Iron mines and forges are in great numbers, eſpecially towards the mountainous parts, where they have the convenience of water-falls to turn their mills. From theſe, beſides ſupplying the country, there is yearly exported iron to the value of near 300,000l. But of late years, the number of theſe forges has been ſo much increaſed, that each endeavouring to underſell others, the price has been much lowered; and ſince the prohibition of foreign manufactures (in exchange of which iron was plentifully taken off) it is grown ſo cheap, that it was found neceſſary to leſſen the number of forges; neither has that contrivance had the effect intended; but on the contrary, many more are likely to fall of themſelves, becauſe they cannot work but to loſs, in which many thouſands of poor people, whoſe livelihoods depend upon theſe forges and mines, will be reduced to a ſtarving condition.

The ſeaſons of the year, though regular in themſelves, do not altogether anſwer thoſe of other climates, as a French ambaſſador obſerved, who in a raillery ſaid, There were in Sweden only nine months winter, and all the reſt was ſummer; for as winter commonly begins very ſoon, ſo ſummer immediately ſucceeds it, and leaves little or no ſpace to be called Spring.

The productions therefore of the earth, are, more ſpeedy in their growth than in other parts; the reaſon of which ſeems to be, that the oil and ſulphur in the earth, (as it appears by the trees and minerals it produces) being bound up all the winter, are then of a ſudden actuated by the heat of a warm ſun, which almoſt continually ſhines, and thereby makes amends for its ſhort ſtay, and brings to maturity the fruits proper to the climate. Yet withal, its heat is ſo intenſe, that it often ſets the woods on fire, which ſometimes ſpreads itſelf many leagues, and ſcarce can be ſtopt till it comes to ſome lake, or very large plain.

In the ſummer ſeaſon the fields are covered with a variety of flowers, and the whole country overſpread with ſtrawberries, raſberries, currants, and the like, which grow upon every rock. In their gardens melons are brought to good perfection in dry years; but apricots, peaches, and other wall fruits, are almoſt as rare as oranges, they have cherries of ſeveral ſorts, and ſome tolerably good, which cannot be ſaid of their apples, pears, and plumbs, that are neither common nor well taſted, all kinds of roots are in plenty, and contribute much to the nouriſhment of the poor people.

The ſun at Midſummer is above the horizon of Stockholm eighteen hours and a half, and for ſome weeks make a continual day. In winter, the days are proportionably ſhorter, the ſun being up but five hours and a half, which defect is ſo well ſupplied as to lights, by the moon, the whiteneſs of the ſnow, and clearneſs of the ſky, that travelling by night is as uſual as travelling by day; and journies begun in the evening as frequently as in the morning. The want of the ſun's heat is repaired by ſtoves within doors, and warm furrs abroad; inſtead of which, the poorer ſort uſe ſheep ſkins, and other like defences; and are generally better provided with cloathing, to ſuiting their condition, and the climate they live in, than the common people of any part of Europe; though where any neglect or failure happens, it uſually proves fatal, and occaſions the loſs of noſes, or other members, and ſometimes of life; unleſs the uſual remedy to expel the froſt when it has ſeized any part, be early applied, which is to remain in the cold, and rub the part effected with ſnow, till the blood return to it again.

What has been ſaid in relation to Sweden, is in the main applicable to Finland, except only that hitherto no mines have been diſcovered there. Its chiefeſt commodities are pitch, and tar, all ſorts of wooden ware, dried fiſh, cattle, train oil, &c.

The Swedes, like moſt other nations, are fond of deriving their origin from the remoteſt ages; but there is nothing to be depended on in their ancient hiſtory till the arrival of Odin, who with his Aſiatives emigrated to the north about ſixty years before the Chriſtian Æra. This chief planted his arms and his religion among them. The latter was a heap of abſurdities, but well calculated enough to ſtir up a barbarous nation to warlike atchievements. According to his ſyſtem, the ſouls of the wicked after death were conſigned to *Hela*, a place of puniſhment, while thoſe of the good, and particularly of ſuch as fell in battle, were received into the halls of Odin, where the latter quaffed mead and ale out of the ſkulls of their enemies.

The natives of Sweden were early renowned for their courage, and ſome judgment may be formed of what their neighbours thought of them in this reſpect, where it is obſerved, That one of the ancient Punic writers giving as a ſort of ſcale of the bravery of the northern nations, ſays, "That the *Swedes* were excelled only by the immortal Gods in valour."

Divine honours were paid to Odin Woden after his death, and Wedneſday owes its name to this God, who was adored, together with Thor, Freya, and other idols by the Swedes, and likewiſe by our Saxon anceſtors.

That the Saxons who were called into England about the year 450, were originally a colony of Goths, is conjectured from the agreement of their language, laws and cuſtoms. But that the Swedes and Goths, joined with the Danes and Norwegians in their invaſion of England, about the year 800, we are aſſured from our own hiſtorians, that expreſſly mention them, with the character of barbarous and Pagan nations, as they then were; and the ſame may be concluded from the many Saxon coins, that are frequently found in Sweden, and in greater variety than in England, which ſeem to have been the Dane gilt, or tribute which the nation then paid.

The Normans alſo, who about that time ſettled in France, were in part natives of this country, ſo that England, together with the miſeries that accompanied

thoſe conqueſts, owes a great part of its extraction to theſe people.

It was about the year 830, that the Emperor Ludovicus Pius ſent Arſgarius, afterwards archbiſhop of Hamburgh, to attempt the converſion of the Swedes and Goths, who at firſt had little or no ſucceſs; but in his ſecond journey, ſome years after he was better received, and baptized the king Olaus, who was afterwards martyred by his heathen ſubjects, and offered in ſacrifice to their gods; nor did Chriſtianity become the general religion of Sweden till about 100 years after, when it was planted by Sigfrid, archbiſhop of York and other Engliſh divines, ſent for thither by another Olaus; in whoſe time the kingdom of Sweden, and that of Gothia were united, but became afterwards to be ſeparated again, and continued ſo near 200 years; when they were again joined, on condition that the two royal families ſhould ſucceed each other by turns, as they did for a ſpace of a hundred years, but not without great diſorders, and much blood ſhed, and ended in the extirpation of the Gothic family.

The throne of Sweden was filled by various princes of different lines, and often devolved upon the kings of Denmark; and when this was not the caſe, the Danes had always a faction in the kingdom, and theſe, under the reign of Stenſture the younger, headed by the Biſhop of Upſall, advanced Chriſtian II, to the regal dignity, but he behaved himſelf ſo tyranically, and ſhed ſo much innocent blood, eſpecially of the nobility, which he deſigned utterly to root out, that his reign became intolerable, and the whole nation conſpired againſt him under the command of Guſtavus the firſt, who deſcended from the antient kings of Sweden, whoſe father had been beheaded, and his mother had two ſiſters impriſoned by Chriſtian. He was at firſt received governor of the kingdom, and two years after, had the regal dignity conferred on him, and as the Danes and Norwegians had alſo expelled King Chriſtian, who had married Charles V's ſiſter, and repaired to the imperial court for ſuccour, which he could not obtain to any purpoſe, being, upon his landing in Norway, defeated and taken priſoner, in which ſtate he continued to his death: therefore Guſtavus was freed from all further trouble on that account; and at liberty to redreſs the diſorders of the kingdom.

Hitherto the kingdom of Sweden had for ſeveral hundred years been elective, but was at this time made hereditary to the male iſſue of Guſtavus, in a right line of ſucceſſion, with reſervation that in default of ſuch iſſue the right of election ſhould return to the eſtates. Guſtavus, by his three wives, had four ſons, and ſeveral daughters: his eldeſt ſon, Erick, was to ſucceed to the crown; John was made Duke of Finland; Magnus, Duke of Oſtrogothia; and Charles, Duke of Sudermania; whereby thoſe provinces were in a manner diſmembered from the crown. Having thus in a reign of thirty-ſix years brought the kingdom in ſuch a flouriſhing condition, as it had not ſeen in many ages, and entailed a crown upon his own family, in which it ſtill remains.

The next remarkable prince we find recorded after a ſucceſſion of years, was Guſtavus Adolphus. This monarch found himſelf engaged in a Daniſh war, which he finiſhed, and then turned his arms againſt Muſcovy: to the borders of which he ſent his brother, not with an intention to procure his eſtabliſhment in that throne, which he rather aimed at for himſelf; but to induce the fortified places adjacent to Finland and Liefland, to accept of Swediſh garriſons, in Prince Charles Philip's name, which ſucceeded in a great meaſure, till another was choſen Czar; with whom, after various ſucceſs on both ſides, a peace was concluded by the mediation of England and Holland, by which Sweden, beſides part of Leifland, preſently got the country of Ingermanland, and the province of Kexholm, with ſeveral fortified places, and wholly ſhut out the Muſcovites from the eaſt ſea.

The Poliſh war, that had ſome ſhort intervals of truces, was of a longer continuance, and no leſs beneficial to Sweden; which, in the courſe of it, took Riga, and all other places the Poles had in Leifland, except only one fort, and thence carried the war into Pruſſia, with the like ſucceſs, till at laſt, by the interpoſition of England and France, &c. a truce was concluded for ſix years.

This gave Guſtavus leiſure to engage in the German war, to which he was both provoked by the emperor, and encouraged by others. The year following he began that expedition, and on the 24th of June, arriving in the mouth of the Odor, he landed his little army that conſiſted of 16 troops of horſe, and 92 companies of foot, making about 8000 men, which beſides other additions, was augmented by ſix regiments of Engliſh and Scotch, under Duke Hamilton, but more by the king's incredible ſucceſs.

Upon his firſt approach, Stetin and all Pomerania fell into his hands. The year following having joined the elector of Saxony, he gave the emperor's army, under General Tilly, a total overthrow near Liepſig; whence he traverſed Franconia, the Palatinate, Bavaria, &c. till the next year at the battle of Lutzen (where his army was again victorious) he was treacherouſly killed, (as it is believed) by Francis Albert, duke of Saxon Lawemburgh, not only to the great joy of the imperialiſts, but of France and other his friends, who envied and feared the farther increaſe of his greatneſs. By his death, the crown fell to his daughter, Chriſtina, a princeſs of five years old, in whoſe favour her father had gained the ſtates of the kingdom to alter the hereditary union, as it is ſtiled, which reſtrained the ſucceſſion to the male line. In her minority, the chancellor, Axel Oxenſtiern, had the direction of the Swediſh affairs in Germany, where the war was proſecuted with variety of ſucceſs, but much to the advantage of Sweden, which was poſſeſſed of above 100 fortified places, and had an army exceeding 100,000 men, when Prince Charles Guſtavus was Generaliſſimo, a little before the concluſion of the treaty of Munſter, by which Sweden obtained for its ſatisfaction, the dukedom of Pomerania, Bremen and Verden, with the city of Wiſmar, and a right of ſeſſion; to vote in the diets of the empire, and circle of Lower Saxony, as alſo the ſum of five millions of crowns.

The queen had for ſeveral years entertained a reſolution to quit the crown, which at laſt ſhe effected, and after having procured Prince Charles Guſtavus to be declared hereditary prince, (whom the ſtates would gladly have had the queen married, but neither he nor ſhe were inclined to it) with much ſolemnity ſhe diveſted herſelf of the crown, and releaſed her ſubjects from their allegiance.

She was a princeſs renowned through Europe for her fine ſenſe and underſtanding.

All the world knows to what diſtreſſes the raſh conduct of Charles XII. reduced the Swediſh nation, which have lately been put an end to by their preſent monarch, (to whom, in imitation of the Danes) the bulk of the people have ſurrendered their liberties, with a view of delivering themſelves from the intolerable oppreſſion of an overbearing nobility.

Chriſtianity was not received into Sweden till about the ninth century; and not into Finland till near 300 years after; and if not firſt preached, was at leaſt firſt eſtabliſhed, as we have noticed by S. Sigfrid, who was afterwards martyred with three of his nephews, by the Goths.

The like fate attended St. Eſkill, and other Engliſh, by the Swedes; and about the year 1150, St. Henry, an Engliſh biſhop, accompanied St. Erick, king of Sweden, in his expedition into Finland, which the king conquered, and the biſhop converted into Chriſtianity; he alſo was martyred by the infidels, and lies buried at Abo, the metropolis of that country.

The reformation there, as well as in Denmark and

began ſoon after the neighbouring parts of Germany had embraced Luther's tenets, and was eſtabliſhed according to his platform. The tyranny of King Chriſtian II. who then wore theſe three northern crowns, gave an opportunity to Guſtavus, the founder of the preſent royal family, both to alter religion and advance himſelf to the regal dignity, which till that time was elective, but was then made hereditary to his family, in which it has ſince continued, as the Lutheran religion has alſo done in the country, never but once diſturbed from abroad, and ſince that diſturbance never diſtracted at home with nonconformity; all the orders of men agreeing in a conſtant attendance on divine ſervice, and a zeal for their own way, without any nice inquiries into diſputable points, either in their own tenets, or thoſe of other churches, whereby it becomes the buſineſs of their preachers, rather to perſuade the practice of piety, than to oppoſe the doctrine of others, or obſtinately defend their own.

The church is governed by an archbiſhop and ten biſhops, whoſe ſtudies are confined to their own employments, being never called to council, but only at the aſſembly of the ſtates, nor troubled with the adminiſtration of any ſecular affair. Their revenues are very moderate; the archbiſhop of Upſal not importing four hundred pounds a year, the biſhoprick after that proportion. Under them are ſeven or eight ſuperintendents, who have all the power of biſhops, and only want the name; and over each ten churches is a provoſt, or rural dean, with ſome authority over the inferior clergy, of whom the ſum total may beſt be computed by the number of churches, which in Sweden and Finland, is ſhort of 2000, to which the addition of chaplains and curates, will increaſe the body of the clergy to near 4000 perſons; they are all the ſons of peaſants or mean burgers, and can therefore content themſelves with the ſmall income of their places, which beſides more inconſiderable dues, ariſes from glebe lands, and one third of the tythes, of which the other two thirds are annexed to the crown, to be employed in pious uſes: however, the clergy have generally where-withal to exerciſe hoſpitality, and are the conſtant refuge of poor travellers, eſpecially ſtrangers, who uſe to go from prieſt to prieſt, as in other places from conſtable to conſtable.

The clergy of each dioceſs, upon the death of their biſhop, propoſe three perſons to the king, who either chuſe one of them, or ſome other, to ſucceed in that office, which is alſo practiſed in the choice of ſuperintendents. In the choice of an archbiſhop all the chaplains in the kingdom vote, but the determination is in the king's breaſt. His majeſty hath alſo the patronage of moſt churches, ſome few only being in the diſpoſal of the nobility. Many of their churches are adorned with variety of ſculptures, paintings, gilding, &c. All of them are kept neat and clean, and in good repair, furniſhed as well in country as city, with rich altar cloths, copes, and other veſtments.

Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, lies in fifty-nine degrees twenty-eight minutes north latitude, and about forty-one longitude, as deſcribed by our modern travellers, is romantically ſituated, being built on ſeven or eight iſlands and rocks in the great lake Mecer, which gives it ſome reſemblance of Venice; and this ſituation, like that of Venice, is ſuch a ſecurity to it, that no other fortification have been thought neceſſary. It is very well built; the ſtreets in general are broad, ſtrait, and regular; and the public buildings are many of them great ornaments to the place. Among theſe, the king's palace demands the firſt attention; this is an old building, and therefore irregular in parts, but it forms a ſquare, and is raiſed of ſtone. It is within a citidel, but the fortifications could not do much in defence of the town, and it is beſides commanded by an adjoining hill. Conſidering that the place ſerves for many public uſes, beſides the king's reſidence; it is not only mean but ſmall; all the rooms of the firſt and ſecond floor, are uſed for private meetings of the ſenate, and the courts of judicature; ſo that the apartments of the royal family are three pair of ſtairs high, and ſome of them four. The ſenate-houſe, where the public meetings, is a very regular and fine edifice, making the beſt figure of any in the town.

The houſes of the nobility are not very magnificent, but ſome of them are handſome, others large and commodious. The arſenal is a large building, but by no means well ſtored: the royal ſtables, and the great hoſpital, alſo make ſome figure; the bridge of boats, which is 100 yards long, and which they ſhew with ſome degree of vanity, is a paltry ſubſtitute. Among the churches, the principal are St. Nicholas, St. Mary's, St. Catharine's, St. Clare's, St. John's, and St. Olive's. The king's chapel is more decorated than any of them.

The chief trade of the kingdom is carried on in the city; the harbour will admit of 400 great ſhips, and above 500 ſmall ones at the ſame time, which might all ride in the utmoſt ſafety; and they have a quay for the delivery and taking in of goods, near a mile long; and this is reckoned the pleaſanteſt and moſt chearful part of Stockholm. It has a face of buſineſs and activity upon the public quay, which in a town, is far more lively than the perpetual rattle of coaches. But notwithſtanding it is a place of great trade, and the harbour perfectly ſecure, yet there are difficulties in getting in and out, which is a cramp upon their commerce.

There are numerous iſlands in the lake between Stockholm and the ſea, and theſe cauſe ſuch a winding courſe, that ſeveral different winds are neceſſary to carry them in and out; and which is much the worſe for their having no tides, which would greatly aſſiſt the navigation.

Oregrond is a ſea-port on the gulph of Bothnia, tolerably well ſituated for trade, eſpecially that of timber. From a hill near the town, is a moſt beautiful view of the gulph, with a great part of Finland on the other ſide; the iſlands of Aland ſpot the ſea in a moſt pictureſque manner.

At 100 miles diſtant is Hedemora. The country is very wild and various, hills and dales, mountains and rocks, bogs, rivers and lakes, all mixed thickly with a ſmall quantity of cultivated and profitable land. All the peaſants here are farmers, and moſt of them own the lands they cultivate. Their houſes are very well built of wood, and covered with ſhingles, the materials being to be had in the utmoſt plenty; they are much better, and more comfortable dwellings, than the cottages of mud, covered with thatch, which are ſo common in England. Their furniture is of their own manufacturing, conſiſting of very little more than what they make of their pines. All of them handle the ſaw and the axe with much agility, nor do they make bad or clumſy work, for their chairs, tables, beds, &c. are very decently cut and put together. They ſeem to be a very happy and contented people; each has his farm divided into regular incloſures around his houſe, which the women almoſt totally cultivate, while the men are employed in cutting timber in the foreſts; for they have a conſiderable river, down which they float vaſt quantities.

They always fix their houſes in the midſt of a vale of dry ſoil, upon a rock, if they can chooſe, ſo that all the works of tillage are performed with great eaſe. They cultivate but very little wheat, though their land appears to be good enough for any product; oats, and a little barley, with a good many beans, are their chief crops; but theſe ſeem to bear no proportion to their fields of Swediſh turnips, and alſo another ſort, which we are informed, does very well in the ſevereſt climates, and is more generally cultivated in the northern parts of the kingdom. Upon theſe turnips, they principally depend for their own diet, as well as that of their cattle; and their horſes in winter have no other food: their breed is ſmall, but very ſtrong, uncommonly hardy, and very ſure footed, going down even the moſt rocky mountain's ſides.

The

The famous Province of Dalecarlia is thus described by an Engliſh gentleman, who paſſed through it ſo lately as the year 1768.

"The whole country looks as if there was not any private property in it: but I found that theſe foreſts and wilds had owners, as well as more cultivated provinces. There are ſome gentlemen's ſeats in Dalecarlia, as I was informed, though I ſaw none; and their ſtewards and agents employ the peaſants in cutting timber, in drawing pitch and tar, and in making charcoal, on their accounts, paying them, in general, by meaſure and tale; their rates of labour are not high, few of them earning more than fourpence or five-pence a day, Engliſh, though they are induſtrious and uſed to hard labour; but this pay is ſufficient for maintaining them very well, with the help of their farms, as their wives dung them, and very old men do the principal buſineſs of them. All the purchaſes they have to make with money are ſome parts of their cloathing, which is extremely coarſe and cheap, and alſo utenſils and implements, all which are bought of travelling pedlars; for I do not apprehend there are three ſhops for buying them in this immenſe province. As their money is ſufficient therefore to their wants, theſe being all the uſes of it, except ſome very ſlight taxes, they have very few inſtances among them of unhappineſs on account of the want of money; nor do I any where remember ſeeing a people, that had more appearance of perfect content and happineſs among them. They are bleſſed with an almoſt uninterrupted flow of health, which is owing to the hardineſs of their lives, attended with wholeſome diet; a bolder, braver, hardier race of men, I apprehend, do not exiſt, than the Dalecarlians; they are a moſt ſincere, honeſt, ſimple, but plainly ſenſible people; they are as hoſpitable as can well be conceived, inſomuch, had I been eager and attentive to take advantage of this good diſpoſition, I ſhould have travelled through their province, ſpending nothing but good words: indeed, money is ſo ſcarce here, that paying them what they demanded, without the leaſt heſitation, and forcing money upon ſome of them, ſtill my expences in travelling were low beyond conception. I have ſeveral days travelled forty miles, and paid for myſelf, man, and five horſes, with two or three meals, and a night's lodging, only the value of three ſhillings Engliſh. Indeed I took up with the food of the peaſants, ſat at their board, and was particular in nothing but ſetting up my own bed. This was a mode of travelling extremely deſirable in ſo wild a country, where the peaſants are the only people in it, that demand the leaſt attention.

"I reached Lyma on the 21ſt, the diſtance of near forty miles. The country as I advanced, grew amazingly romantic; the view, as far as the eye can command, from the tops of the mountains, is one vaſt range of mountain beyond mountain, till you ſee the ridge that parts Sweden from Norway, riſing far above the common clouds. The whole proſpect is a thick woodland; and in many places very conſiderable lakes, of ſome miles long and broad, break upon the eye; nothing can be more awful, or more ſublime than theſe wonderful ſcenes: the ſituation of the village of Lyma is greatly uncommon; it lies within the bend of the river, which is in fact a continual water-fall, pouring over one ridge of rocks the moment it has paſſed another; and making ſuch a continual roar as almoſt to ſtun the whole village; immediately behind it riſes a ridge of mountains, whoſe tops are, in cloudy weather, far above the clouds; but fortunately for me, the weather has been uniformly clear; ſo that theſe dreadful heights, with the torrent pouring down at their feet, appeared magnificent in the higheſt degree.

"In the morning of the 23d, I travelled to Serna, which is thirty-two miles; where I met with nothing worthy of obſervation. It is a little village, the peaſants of which have nothing more than gardens. The whole country is, however, amazingly magnificent, as the eye commands ſuch ranges of thick wood as to be almoſt unbounded.

"From Serna, I turned full eaſt to Herdala, the diſtance near ſixty miles, which took me up near two days; through a country in which there is a very broad and conſiderable track of flat land, with a river in the middle of it. It is, as I gueſs, twenty miles acroſs, and of a far greater length. I ſuppoſe Sweden does not contain a richer track of land, yet very little of it is cultivated; much of it is bog, ſome marſh, but moſt of it is a dry, deep, rich, ſound loam. At Herdala, my ſervant overtook me from Stockholm, having traced me by the information of the peaſants.

"From thence I ſet off on the 26th for Linſdal, a village at the diſtance of eighty miles in the province of Helſingia; which proved a journey of three days, through a more romantic, wild, and mountainous country, than any I had yet ſeen."

The trade of Sweden, was left in a moſt miſerable condition at the concluſion of the war with Muſcovy. Immediately after the death of Charles XII. ſuch a langour proceeded, that had not much attention been given to improvement, and a change in the conſtitution enſued, it would have taken at leaſt a century to have recovered, and perhaps much more. Many of the wounds then received, are not yet healed; there are tracks of country, in many of the provinces, which once were well peopled, that are at this day deſarts; and the ravages of the Ruſſians deſtroyed ſome valuable copper mines, which are not yet recovered. Whithin theſe twenty years much has been done to ſpread improvements, ſo that the country wears a fine face; but all this is not to be called a creation of new induſtry, much of it is only a renovation of that which we long ago enjoyed.

The modern improvers, who have puſhed moſt of the advantageous laws which have been made of late years in favour of commerce, &c. had one principal aim, which was certainly very meritorious; it was to force the Swedes, either to manufacture for themſelves, or to go without the commodities formerly imported from abroad; many laws were made with this view; and which at laſt ended in an almoſt general prohibition to foreign fabrics. This was very well meant, but it was driving too faſt, and has had ſome conſequences of a complexion by no means agreeable. It is true ſeveral manufactures were eſtabliſhed in different parts of the kingdom, to enable the people to perform for themſelves, and ſome of them ſucceeded well; but it is a buſineſs of much longer time to make a people a manufacturing nation. The attempt to do it at once, was not only unſucceſsful; but was attended with ſeveral evils to the whole kingdom. Sweden imported, it is true, large quantities of manufactures, but then ſhe paid for all of them, or at leaſt for much the greateſt part, with the products of her own ſoil; ſuch as copper, iron, timber, ſhips, flax, hemp, pitch, tar, furs, ſkins, &c. ſo that the noblemen who dreſſed themſelves in French or Engliſh cloaths; his wife, who wore French and Italian ſilks; and all who expended their revenue in any foreign import, did, at the ſame time, encourage the lower claſſes of the people, and indeed aſſiſt the whole ſtate, by exporting the above products, in proportion to the goods ſo imported and worn. The legiſlature falſely imagined, that foreigners could not do without thoſe products they bought of Sweden, and paid for with their manufactures; they ſuppoſed they would buy in the ſame proportion, and pay for them with money; but this was at beſt a deluſion, for other nations knew their intereſts as well as the Swedes, and immediately transferred a vaſt portion of their trade to Norway and Ruſſia; the conſequence of which has been, that the copper and iron works, in every province in the kingdom, are diſcontinued for want of the old demand; and a great number of hands, once employed in the timber trade, have ever ſince ſtood ſtill.

Trade however, is now rather inclined to flouriſh in Sweden, the people are very attentive to it, and ſome of the laws that have been made to encourage it, have had good effect. The ſhipping belonging to the kingdom, is much increaſed in the laſt thirty years; they

they export more of their commodities in their own bottoms than formerly; which has in every reſpect, proved a very advantageous thing to them. All their ſhipping, and every article of naval ſtores, are their own product; ſo that an increaſe of it, is gaining one of the moſt advantageous markets in the world. Indeed a very conſiderable article of trade with them, is building ſhips for ſale; in which article, the French and Dutch are the beſt purchaſers. The former, it is well known, once bought a fleet of nine ſail of men of war of the line of them, at one time; and the Dutch are regular purchaſers of ſome merchant ſhips; but the chief increaſe of their ſhip building has been for themſelves, in conſequence of an increaſe of their foreign trade, which it is ſuppoſed, is now, on compariſon with what it was thirty years ago, as five to three, tonage reckoned.

The eſtabliſhment of the Eaſt India commerce has been of much conſequence to them, in this article of ſhip building, and indeed to all the other branches of commerce in the kingdom; for Eaſt India goods were before bought with caſh, without bringing in any advantages by ſhip building, or the employment of ſeamen; but the government has obliged the company to export to the Indies a given quantity of Swediſh manufactures; all which exportation is clear profit, beſides the circumſtances mentioned above. This eſtabliſhment of an Eaſt India company in Sweden, employed the ſpeculation of the trading part of Europe, who pronounced it a viſionary ſcheme, and one which could not poſſibly anſwer; but experience has now told them, that nothing was leſs juſt than this condemnation, for the whole kingdom of Sweden is ſupplied by it, and there is a pretty conſiderable quantity of India goods exported to Poland, alſo ſome to Germany, and a few to Ruſſia; all which are very great and conſiderable advantages, compared with the time when they themſelves bought their whole home conſumption of the Engliſh and Dutch.

Another ſcheme of trade which has been partly executed, though not entirely, is to import all their Weſt India commodities in their own bottoms; this was not an eaſy matter to execute, for it is contrary to the laws of all the nations, that have colonies in that part of the world; but certain it is, that in ſpite of all obſtacles of this ſort, they do purchaſe large quantities of ſugar, rum, &c. in the Weſt India iſlands; and another channel, through which they do this buſineſs, is through the Bahema iſlands, where they buy from the account of Boſton merchants, goods which come from the Engliſh iſlands. This plan is not brought fully to bear, but if they get it to be quite ſucceſsful, it will make a conſiderable deduction from the navigation of England, and add to that of Sweden.

Building of ſhips for foreigners has lately received a very laudible bounty of ten ſhillings a ton, which is one of the beſt conſidered meaſures that could have been executed; and if this bounty was to be raiſed ſo high, as to enable the Swediſh ſhip carpenters to under ſell the Engliſh and Dutch ones by many per cent. in their own yards, it would be a moſt political meaſure, and perhaps give the kingdom a more advantageous market for moſt of her ſtaple commodities, than all their other methods put together.

Among the manufactures which they have been eager to eſtabliſh, the principal is the woollen. They have in coarſe cloaths made ſome progreſs, and begin to work ſome that are fine; an improvement, which has been much owing to their gaining a better breed of ſheep from England, and which have been diſperſed with much aſſiduity over moſt parts of the kingdom. By means of Poliſh wool, mixed with the worſt of their own, the Swedes make tolerable coarſe cloths, and other fabricks; and the beſt they import from Poland, mixed with the beſt of their own, makes a finer cloth, that ſells well at home, and precludes the import of any but the fineſt of all, worn by the nobility and gentry of conſiderable fortunes. Their manufactures of the coarſe ſorts are ſo enlarged by degrees, that they have for ſome years, exported ſmall quantities of it to Poland; which ſhews how far they have been able to carry their point.

Beſides theſe woollen fabrics, which are in a way of proving conſiderable enough to ſtop totally all importations in time, they have alſo eſtabliſhed ſome of linen, but theſe are not yet ſo far advanced as the former; they make large quantities of a coarſe ſort, which ſells well among the common people; but all the higher claſſes of inhabitans uſe that which comes from England, Holland, or Germany.

The manufactories of hard ware, are much the greateſt among the Swedes. They work and caſt their copper and iron into many forms, and make of them a great variety of implements, utenſils, and materials for manufacturing: ſuch as bars and plates, of copper and iron, various ſorts of wire, great guns, and numerous other articles in the foundry way. They export vaſt quantities of iron annually, for which, England, Holland and France are their beſt cuſtomers; but the Engliſh pay them a balance of trade, amounting to ſeveral hundred thouſand pounds annually, of which, iron and timber are the principal articles they take; whereas the French pay them in nothing but wines, brandies, and manufactures. Of all the articles of their trade, iron and timber are the moſt conſiderable.

As to the improvements which have been made in their huſbandry, taken at large, the grand article has been the preventing the importation of corn from abroad; high duties at firſt, and then a prohibition, have in this inſtance, been attended with every effect they could wiſh. By quick degrees, they introduced the culture of wheat in many provinces, which before had never thought of ſuch an article of cultivation; and by taking proper meaſures for encouraging the peaſants, the point has been ſo thoroughly carried, that Sweden at preſent, raiſes as much corn as ſhe conſumes, and in ſome years more; ſo that a ſmall exportation has taken place more than once.

In the debates that have ariſen at different times among the members of the legiſlature, on this point of the advancement of huſbandry, they have had, what may be called two parties among them; one who were for eſtabliſhing many rules for the particular inſtruction of peaſants; premiums for their good conduct, for procuring good farmers from other parts of Europe, to ſet examples, alſo the beſt implements and breeds of cattle, with ſome good workmen for draining of bogs, and bringing waſtes into culture, at the expence of the legiſlature, by way of ſhewing in what manner ſuch works ought to be done. On the contrary, the other party ſtrenuouſly urged, That the execution of all theſe minute ideas would prove very expenſive, and particularly from being obliged to truſt them to many people, and almoſt without controul. That beſides this ſtrong objection, the effects reſulting could not be ſo great or general, but would be confined to ſmall ſpots, from which it might be a century before they would travel over half the kingdom; for this reaſon, they propoſed to omit all ſuch attempts, and confine themſelves to general laws, which ſhould afflict the whole kingdom; ſuch, for inſtance, as the prohibition of the importation of all foreign commodities that could be raiſed at home, and particularly corn; that when this law had taken full effect, then to give the improvement of another, offering bounties upon the exportation of various ſorts of corn, and other commodities, to inſure a quick ſale at a good price, which would be of all other meaſures the moſt likely to induce the farmers to enlarge the culture of them. Other general laws ſhould alſo be brought in aid, to exempt the improvers of waſte lands from all taxes, tithes and public charges for life. Alſo to introduce leaſes, in the tenures of lands, of long duration, with ſeveral other ſchemes of management that had reference to the kingdom at large.

The legiſlature very wiſely followed neither of theſe propoſals in excluſion of the other, but gradu-

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ally took from both what appeared prudent and likely to be efficacious. They prohibited the importation of corn, upon the plan of one party; and they attended to the minutiæ of agriculture, purſuant to the ideas of the other. Some laws were likewiſe made concerning leaſes, and improvers were exempted from taxes; but whether they will give a bounty on exportation, is yet a queſtion. It is the general opinion, that the plan is not dropped, and that the meaſure will be executed, whenever the quantity of corn at home ſufficiently reduces the price.

With regard to the military power of the Swedes, the change in the conſtitution upon the death of Charles XII. ſunk it entirely to the militia, except a few guards for the king's perſon; the former is entirely upon the old ſyſtem; they are maintained by the farmers; but the number which was once 60,000 men, is not at preſent more than 42,000; however, they are very well diſciplined, and ſufficient for the defence of the kingdom againſt any force that is likely to march againſt it.

Sweden has nothing to fear but from Ruſſia, and whilſt ſhe leaves the conquered provinces peaceably in the hands of the Muſcovites, which undoubtedly ſhe will do, there is not any danger of their diſturbing her poſſeſſion of the remainder. The fleet of Sweden was once pretty conſiderable, amounting to forty good ſhips of war; but it is much declined. They could not ſend out to ſea 20 ſail of the line in good order, ſo that their power is not equal to that of Denmark by ſea, nor that of Ruſſia.

The cuſtom of a jury of 12 men is ſo ancient in Sweden, that their writers pretend it had its original among them, and was thence derived to other nations, but at preſent it is diſuſed every where, except only in the lower courts in the country, and there the jury men are for life, and have ſalaries; they have this peculiarity to themſelves, that amongſt them there muſt be an unanimous concurrence to determine a cauſe, which in other courts is done by a majority of voices.

Titles to eſtates are rendered more ſecure, and leſs ſubject to conteſts, by the regiſters that are kept of all ſales, and alienations, as well as of other engagements of them; the purchaſer running the hazard of having an after-bargain take place of his, if he omit the recording of his tranſaction in the proper court.

In criminal matters, where the fact is not very evident, or where the judges are very favourable, the defendant is admitted to purge himſelf by oath, to which is oftentimes added the oath of ſix or twelve other men, who are all vouchers of his integrity.

Treaſon, murder, double adultry, burning of houſes, witchcraft, and the like heinous crimes, are puniſhed with death, which is executed by hanging of men, and beheading of women, to which burning alive or dead, quartering and hanging in chains, is ſometimes added, according to the nature of the crime.

Learning is of no great antiquity in Sweden; it is not 400 years ſince the introduction of it; and few monuments extant of a more ancient date, excepting inſcriptions, rudely cut upon rocks, and unhewn ſtones, which are every where found; but as they have no date, ſo they ſeldom expreſs more than the names of perſons, of whom no other memory remains; that which makes them moſt remarkable is, that they are writ in the ancient Gothic and Runic characters.

The moſt curious piece of learning among them, is a tranſlation of the Evangeliſts into the Gothic tongue, done about twelve or thirteen years ago, by Ulphila, a biſhop of the Goths in Thracia, of which they have the ſole ancient manuſcript copy that is known in the world. Since the reformation, Guſtavus Adolphus was the firſt great patron learning had in this country, by whom the univerſities that had been much impaired, were endowed with tolerable ſalaries for profeſſors in moſt ſciences. Theſe his daughter Chriſtina ſomething augmented, and by the fame of her own learning, and the favourable reception ſhe gave to ſcholars, drew ſeveral learned men from abroad, that have left good proofs of their abilities, and raiſed an emulation in the natives, whoſe beſt performance is in the hiſtory, antiquities, and ancient laws of the country.

The univerſity of Upſal conſiſts of a chancellor, who is always a great miniſter of ſtate; a vice chancellor, always the archbiſhop; a rector, choſen out of the profeſſors, of whom there are about 20 that have each 150l. a year ſalary. The ordinary number of ſtudents is about ſeven or eight hundred, fifty of whom are maintained by the king, and ſome few others were formerly by perſons of quality; the reſt, that cannot ſubſiſt of themſelves, ſpend the vacation in gathering the charity of the dioceſs they belong to, which is commonly given them in corn, butter, dried fiſh, or fleſh, &c. upon which they ſubſiſt at the univerſity the reſt of the year. They live not collegiately, but in private houſes, nor wear gowns, nor obſerve other diſcipline, than what their own neceſſity or diſpoſition leads them to.

The other univerſity of Abo, in Finland, is conſtituted in the ſame manner, but leſs numerous in profeſſors and ſtudents. There was a third at Lunden in Schonen, which having been interrupted by late wars, is thought fit to be diſcontinued, becauſe its neighbourhood to Denmark nouriſhed in the ſtudents an affection for that crown, to which that province formerly appertained; yet it is again reſtored.

In each dioceſs there is one free-ſchool, where boys are fitted for the univerſity; and other trivial ſchools to which children are ſent to learn to read, write, and ſing their prayers; a cuſtom ſo univerſal, that very few want this degree of education; and ſuch as are not deſigned for a life of ſtudy, ſeldom go any farther.

Public proviſions for the poor, are very few; there are not above five or ſix hoſpitals in the kingdom, and a little alms-houſe in each pariſh, maintained by the charity of the inhabitants, to which they are for the moſt part very well diſpoſed, according to their abilities.

Mr. Wraxall in his tour through Europe, gives us the following deſcription of the preſent ſtate of Upſal.

"The Swedes (ſays he) had inſpired me with ſuch exalted ideas of this univerſity, that I was only fearful leſt a ſingle day might be far inadequate to ſuch an undertaking, and to have ſpent a longer time in ſo agreeable an occupation. I am however, at preſent, moſt completely undeceived, and can aſſure you that Upſal has hardly one inducement to draw a man of taſte to viſit it, unleſs from being the reſidence of Linnæus. This Lycæum of the north, has not one piece of painting within its walls, and only two of ſculpture, which are buſts of Guſtavus Adolphus, and Charles XI. A gentleman who reſides here, and who is ſon of the late archbiſhop of Upſal, did us the honour of being our Ciceronic, and to conduct us over the place. I enquired of him how many colleges there were, and which was the moſt celebrated. "Sir, (ſays he) we have three; but I cannot ſay any of them deſerves your notice. The principal objects of attention are the library, the cathedral, and the botanical garden. I know not of any thing elſe."

The firſt of theſe is a real good building, and there is a cabinet in it, at which, for want of a better employment, I ſpent an hour or two, while the librarian ſhewed me a number of little trinkets, rather than rarities, which are preſerved with great care. Among theſe, is the identical bag which Judas kept one of the thirty pieces of ſilver, money of which he received for his perfidy, in delivering up his maſter; and a pair of red ſlippers, in which the Virgin Mary paid a viſit to her couſin Elizabeth. I muſt do the man the juſtice to ſay, that he bluſhed as he ſhewed them to

me; and I could not help telling him, that I thought the univerſity would not do amiſs to ſend theſe precious relics to St. Januarius, or my Lady of Loretto, who, if they are not already provided with others, might probably be highly obliged by ſo valuable an acquiſition.

"As to the cathedral, it is built of brick, and as the two towers at the weſt end, lately wanted repair, they have with great taſte added a doric architrave to theſe gothic walls, and placed two great domes of copper on the top. It muſt notwithſtanding, be for ever venerable, while the remains of Guſtavus Vaſta, and Chancellor Oxenſtiern repoſe in it. The laſt of theſe great men, whoſe virtue and wiſdom Sweden yet reveres, reſts in an obſcure chapel, beneath a common ſtone. He has no monument erected, or epitaph inſcribed to his memory; while a St. Eric, who was a king and a devotee in ſome barbarous age, is preſerved in a ſhrine of ſilver gilt, and placed on the right hand of the high altar.

"There are at this time, as I am aſſured, near 1500 ſtudents in the univerſity of Upſal. They are not however, young men of family and condition as with us, but for the moſt part miſerable poor, and lodge five or ſix together in wretched hovels amidſt dirt and penury. The profeſſors in different branches of literature are about twenty-two, the largeſt of whoſe ſalaries does not exceed one hundred and thirty or forty pounds per annum, and are in general not half that ſum.

"On our firſt arrival, the gentleman who accompanied me, and who was intimately acquainted with Linnæus, ſent his compliments to ſay, that he would do himſelf the honour to wait on him if agreeable immediately, and would introduce at the ſame time an Engliſh gentleman, who had been induced to viſit Upſal from the fame of ſo great a man. He ſent us word in return, that he would pay us a viſit in the afternoon, at three o'clock, when he had done dinner. He came punctually at the hour marked, and after ſtaying ſome time, conducted us to the botanical garden, where he ſhewed us all his collection of plants, ſhrubs and flowers, which are very numerous, and have been preſented to him from every part of the globe. At the door, he took his leave, and quitted us.

This celebrated botaniſt is now in the ſixty-ninth year of his age. He is of a middle ſize, inclining to ſhort, which is ſtill increaſed by his ſtooping prodigiouſly when he walks. He was dreſſed in a plain blue ſuit of cloaths, and booted, which is common with the Swedes. At his button-hole hung the white croſs of the order of the Pole Star, which was conferred on him by the late king Adolphus, who admired and honoured him. He enjoys a very eaſy independance from his ſalary, and pupils in the univerſity; beſides which, he is ſaid to be poſſeſſed of a conſiderable fortune acquired by his profeſſion. He has a country houſe about five miles out of town, and keeps his chariot. He has one ſon and four daughters alive; but I do not find they poſſeſs any of their father's genius. At preſent he very rarely attends the botanical parties which are made twice a week round Upſal, and are conducted by his ſon, who is botanical profeſſor. Linnæus has been in England, France, and Germany, but ſpeaks no languages except the Latin and Swediſh; in the former of which, he converſes with perfect facility. His knowledge, I am aſſured, is by no means univerſal, but confined almoſt abſolutely to natural hiſtory, in which it is unbounded. His faculties are as yet unimpaired, except his memory, which begins to ſuffer ſome diminution."

Dilſbo ſtands on a river near the Baltic, and has a harbour that admits ſhips of 200 tons burthen, but yet there is hardly any trade at it: now and then a veſſel comes for a load of timber, but it is ſeldom. From thence to Hudwickſwald, is through a flat country, pretty well cultivated, and the inhabitants much more induſtrious. Here are two or three large houſes, ſurrounded by conſiderable farms; and gentleman's ſeats; and the owners ſeem to carry on a huſbandry equal to any in Sweden. Their crops are generally good; and the products riſe, upon a medium of all ſorts, to three or four quarters per acre: their dwarf beans are a favourite crop here, they do not grow more than a foot high. Artificial graſſes are very rarely ſeen in this kingdom, and there is certainly a reaſon for it; the great plenty of wild ground and marſhes, on which the peaſants depend for the ſubſiſtence of their cattle.

Hudwickſwald is extremely well ſituated for the Baltic trade; the harbour is ſpacious, ſafe, and admits ſhips of any burthen: there are a few merchants in the town that are rich. They have a tolerable quay; moſt of the ſtreets are regular and clean, and ſome of them neatly built.

Tuna is about thirty-ſix miles from Hudwickſwald. The country is various; parts of it marſhy, and parts dry: a good deal of the latter is cultivated. Many of the peaſants here pay their rent with part of the products of their land, and their landlord's ſtewards come in ſloops from Stockholm at a certain time of the year, to receive theſe products; this is reckoned here very advantageous to the landlords, for they have the corn, &c. at a much leſs calculated value than what they ſell it for at Stockholm, all expences reckoned; but at the ſame time, the peaſants like it better than being forced to find the money, which is very ſcarce here. They cultivate large quantities of corn, and many turnips and carrots, and have the art of fattening oxen with theſe roots in winter, by boiling and marſhing them, and then mixing ſome meal of barley or oats with them; with this food their oxen and their hogs fatten very quickly, and they reckon, if the crop of roots is good, it proves in their way of uſing it, one of the beſt a farmer can cultivate.

Una is one of the moſt conſiderable towns in Weſt Bothnia. It is ſituate on a very fine large river, which falls into the Gulf: there is a good harbour for ſhips, and the place has a pretty briſk trade in timber, iron, pitch, tar, &c. and having two or three merchants of large property, to whom ſeveral ſhips belong, they carry on a trade here with Holland and England, loading out with the products of the countries around the Gulf, and bringing home a great variety of commodities, which they ſell in all the ports around the Baltic, in Sweden, Ruſſia, Livonia, Poland, Pruſſia and Germany. It is of very great advantage to a town to be inhabited by a few ſuch extenſive traders, for the profits centre in it; they employ their townſmen in their ſhipping, and export much more products than would be done if it were not for them. Theſe merchants alſo much enrich the place by their ſhip building; for they have never leſs than three or four upon the ſtocks at a time; theſe ſhips they ſell wherever they can get a market, cargo and all, which they often do to good advantage.

"From hence paſſing through a wild country, we came to Torneo. Here they have ſome appearance of cultivation around their cottages; but it is only for their own ſubſiſtence; there is enough however, to ſhew, that high as the latitude of this country is, (it is about ſixty-ſix degrees) it would produce plentifully for a numerous people; but it is very thinly inhabited.

"Through all the provinces of Sweden (ſays our author) that I have travelled, I am convinced that the principal cauſe of the country being ſo thinly inhabited, is the ſmall number of farmers; there being only peaſants, with land enough round their cottages, for the ſubſiſtence of the people within them. Many of theſe little ſpots belong to them; and none of the children of one will ever brook living in a worſe manner than their fathers did; which ſeems to be a prevalent idea amongſt them: ſo that a family in this ſituation are ſure to leave but one repreſentative, unleſs ſome gentleman builds cottages, and gives away his lands around them, which it may eaſily be imagined is not very common. This prevents marriages among the ſons; for, as they cannot have

their

their own cottages and lands, they live at home unmarried, with the brother who inherits: thus little or no increaſe happens, unleſs by mere accidents. But if all theſe peaſants lived in hired cottages, without any land, and the country was cultivated by great farmers, who could afford to pay them money for their labour, the farmers would grow ten times the produce which is now grown, and export all that was not conſumed; which would be a conſtant motive to them to increaſe their buſineſs, and of courſe to fix their ſons in other farms. In the caſes of ſome patriotic perſons, who have made improvements in huſbandry, and built houſes, we found before, that the people increaſed as faſt as could be wiſhed.

"Torneo ſtands better than any other town on the Gulf, for the trade of Lapland, which is not inconſiderable in furs, ſome of which are very valuable. It lies near three conſiderable rivers, which flow through all Swediſh Lapland, and opens a ſmall commerce with Norway and Muſcovite Lapland; ſo that at Torneo I found more ſhipping than I had ſeen at any place I had lately been at on this ſea. Ships come from Stockholm hither, laden with all ſorts of neceſſaries for theſe northern provinces, and carry their products back in return. Hence the town is tolerably well built, the ſtreets broad and ſtraight, and very well paved, and ſome of the merchants, of which there are a great number, very rich. They build ſhips and fit them out on trading voyages, and make every effort to employ their money ſo as it may bring in good intereſt; but with all their endeavours, they are not able to increaſe the trade of the place, further than what the ſame men would carry on at any other: which is owing to a want of population and wealth in the country behind them; ſo that they are much limited in the commodities they export, and alſo in the quantity of thoſe they import."

Cryrannum, a little town on the coaſt, which is ſubſiſted chiefly by fiſhing. The inhabitants in the moſt northerly parts of the two Bothnia's, have a different appearance from the Swedes in the ſouthern provinces of the kingdom: they are leſs informed, of a ſhorter ſtature, and more irregular in their dreſs, many of them ſewing together the ſkins of foxes, and other wild creatures whoſe furs are not of value, and make their cloathing in a much rougher and more ordinary manner; nor are they ſo intelligent or comprehenſive; but they are a very ſimple and harmleſs people, appear to be very humane; moſt of them are exceedingly reſpectful and civil. Their ordinary ſalutation is not bowing, like the Swedes in other parts, theſe countrymen take hold of your right hand, and lay it over their left, making ſtrange faces at the ſame time.

The next town of the leaſt conſequence, is Salo, which carries on a very ſmall trade, about eighty miles diſtant from hence.

Nicarlby is a place of no great conſideration. It was once a town that carried on a great trade; but when the Ruſſians over-run the province, they burnt it to the ground, and quite ruined ſeveral of the greateſt merchants in it; ſince which it has never recovered its trade, the commerce at preſent carried on here not being at all conſiderable. It is not however, badly built, and the ſtreets are regular. The church is ſmall, but very neat. They have a trifling manufacture of very coarſe woollen goods, for the ſupply of the neighbouring country; but it does not ſeem to be in a flouriſhing ſituation.

Vero, is another little town on the Gulf, with an exceeding good port, and a tolerably built quay, which is the only good ſtreet in the town. There is a little trade upon the coaſt, and to Stockholm, which conſiſts chiefly in timber. There are not above ſeven or eight hundred ſouls in the place, and it appears to be but a poor one.

Waſſay, is a place of greater note, it has more trade, and ſeveral merchants, tolerably wealthy, inhabit it, who have ſhips of their own, in which they export large quantities of timber; but they want a home demand, to load their veſſels back again, for the country behind the town is one continued foreſt, without any cultivated ſpots or villages, and reaches from hence quite to the white ſea, through ſeveral Ruſſian provinces, at the diſtance of near 700 miles, and ſcarcely any inhabitants to be found all the way.

Of the revolution at Stockholm, which ſurpriſed all the world, we have the following account.

"The oppreſſion (ſays our author) of the concluding years of the reign of Charles XII. was ſuch, that on his death in 1718, the ſtates obliged his ſiſter Ulrica Eleonora, previous to her aſcending the throne, to renounce all hereditary right or abſolute power, and to hold the crown merely by elective conſent. She reſigned even this limited ſovereignity two years after, into the hands of her huſband the Prince of Heſſe, who died in the year 1751. He had the reſolution of a brave and active king, and it is generally apprehended, would have repoſſeſſed himſelf of that power which his queen had been deprived of, if his want of children had not made him indifferent to an acquiſition, which he could not tranſmit to his deſcendants.

"Adolphus, the late ſovereign, was a weak man, and under him the democratical authority attained its utmoſt height. The royal revenue was very inadequate to his dignity, and his weight in the ſcale of government inconſiderable and deſpiſed.

"In this ſituation, Guſtavus III. ſucceeded to the crown. He poſſeſſed the ſame advantage over his two immediate predeceſſors, which his preſent Majeſty George III. of England, did over his, on his acceſſion; that he was born in the country over which he reigned, and ſpoke the language perfectly. The Swedes, who ſince the year 1720, had ſeen only foreigners on the throne, were charmed to have once more a king from among themſelves; their joy was demonſtrated by their behaviour, and medals were ſtruck upon the occaſion.

"On the 19th of Auguſt, 1772, this extraordinary event was produced, which again reſtored to the crown thoſe prerogatives ſhe had loſt for more than half a century. The king's ſecrecy, addreſs, and diſſimulation in ſo dangerous and critical a juncture, far ſurpaſſed what might have been expected from his age. It is ſaid only five perſons in the kingdom were entruſted with the deſign, which was carried into execution with as much vigour, as it had been planned with ſagacity and judgment. The ſoldiery and the people, were ſucceſſively gained by the eloquence with which the young king addreſſed them, who plainly evinced the vaſt importance of this quality in popular commotions, and public affairs. Very few perſons were impriſoned, and that only for a ſhort time; nor have any of them experienced, in the ſmalleſt degree, any diminution of the royal favour on account of their oppoſition. The ſenate took a new oath of allegiance to the prince, and tranquillity was reſtored throughout the kingdom.

"It is however, difficult to ſay, what limits are exactly fixed to the government, or how far they may be enlarged and infringed, particularly under a prince who has already ſucceeded in his firſt enterprize, and certainly poſſeſſed in an eminent degree, many of theſe qualifications and talents, which have a prodigious effect on the multitude. He is affable in his manners and converſation to condeſcenſion, and often makes unexpected viſits to perſons of inferior ranks where he behaves with an eaſe and politeneſs which muſt infallibly render him beloved. He inſpects every department of ſtate in his own perſon, and the meaneſt ſubjects may preſent his grievances without fear of repulſe. His ſoldiery adore him, and the peculiar attention he pays to their diſcipline, the continual reviews he makes of his regiments in different parts of his dominions, his diſdain of fatigue, and undoubted perſonal courage, may probably render Sweden ſome years hence, more important in the ſcale of Europe, than ſhe has been ſince Charles's death.

Very

Very large reviews are intended in Scania, and in Finland; great military ſtores are continually laid up, and every thing has the appearance of forecaſt and deſign. Unable to reward thoſe officers who adhered particularly to him at the revolution, with penſions or pecuniary emoluments, he has found means to attach them by ribbons and ſtars, which he diſtributed without parſimony, and which are equally effectual, without draining an exhauſted treaſury. He has likewiſe founded a new order of knighthood, known by the name of Vaſa, deſigned for men of merit in every ſtation, and which is conferred, without the leaſt attention to birth or diſtinction, on every man who deſerves well of his country. He is active on all occaſions, more commonly on horſeback than in a carriage, and has rarely any the parade of royalty. In his perſon he is rather low, and inclined to thinneſs. His face is not handſome, and what is ſingular, one ſide of it does not reſemble the other, his features being a little diſtorted: an accident which probably happened in the birth.

"The Swedes univerſally lament that he has no children by the queen; and it is on this account that his next brother Prince Charles is now married, in hopes of an heir to the throne. The king is ſaid not to be of an amourous complexion, or attached to women."

Notwithſtanding the cold climate in which Sweden is ſituate, as ſome improvements have been brought to bear, ſo likewiſe many others might yet be made in agriculture, as well as in commerce. There are certainly vaſt tracts of waſte land capable of improvement. But the greateſt miſchief is that in many places the land, which was drained of its inhabitants to ſupply Charles XII. with ſoldiers, ſtill remain deſolate, to the great diſadvantage of the ſtate.

The copper money of that prince conſtitutes the chief currency. His fictitious dollars now paſs for ſomewhat more than half a farthing each. Silver is ſcarce, and gold hardly to be ſeen in common circulation. Paper money is the only ſubſtitute for this defect; and they have bank notes paſſing in many parts of Sweden, not exceeding one ſhilling and ſix-pence value.

All theſe however, are defects, which it may not be impoſſible for a wiſe government to remedy. The Swedes are a people not devoid of emulation; nor is this emulation confined only to military atchievments. Tho' there is not a country where the finer arts can be expected to flouriſh, as in the more genial climate of Italy, yet ſuch as are neceſſary to the well-being of a ſtate, would thrive with proper cultivation. It remains to be ſeen whether Guſtavus III. and his ſucceſſors will render this nation of heroes happy within themſelves, and reſpectable in the eyes of Europe.

TRAVELS THROUGH NORWAY.

With a Deſcription of the Country, by ERICK PONTOPPIDON, Biſhop of BERGEN.

NORWAY is now an appendage to the crown of Denmark; but being conſidered as a ſeparate domain, and its natural hiſtory furniſhing many objects worthy the attention of the curious reader, we have judged it neceſſary to give a particular deſcription of the country, as ſelected from the beſt authorities.

The Norwegians, like the Swedes, were famous of old for their valour; and from theſe rugged regions proceeded the Nordmans, (i. e. North-Men) or North Men, who over-ran ſo great a part of Europe. They have had their heroic chiefs and princes, equally famed for piety and arms, of whom they boaſt to this day, though now become ſubjects to a foreign dominion.

Norway ſtretches along a ſea coaſt, to the weſtward of which are innumerable little iſlands and rocks, ſome indeed are no leſs than nine leagues over, but the greater part are ſo ſmall as to be only inhabited by fiſhermen or pilots; ſo that Norway is defended by a rampart which conſiſts perhaps of more than a million of ſtone columns that have their baſes at the bottom of the ſea, and their capitals a few fathoms only above the ſurface. Amongſt theſe rocks there are good harbours, but they are of difficult and dangerous acceſs; particularly to large ſhips without oars; but to prevent accidents as much as poſſible, the government has cauſed many hundreds of large iron rings to be fixed to theſe rocks, as moorings for ſhips, where there is not room for anchoring.

Beſides the ebb of flood in the ſea of Norway, there is a current or eddy called Maleſtrom, or Moſkoeſtrom. This ſtream derives its name from Maſkoe, an iſland lying between the mountain Heſleggen, in Lofoden, and the iſland Ver, which are about one league diſtant, and the ſtream makes its way between the iſland and coaſt on each ſide. Between Lofoden and Moſkoe it is near 400 fathoms deep; but between Ver and Moſkoe it is ſo ſhallow, that not even a ſmall ſhip can paſs it.

When it is flood, the ſtream runs up the country between Moſkoe and Lofoden, with prodigious rapidity; and when the tide ebbs, returns to the ſea with more noiſe and violence than that of the loudeſt cataracts. It is heard at the diſtance of many leagues, and forms a vortex or whirlpool of great extent and depth, ſo violent, that if a ſhip comes near it, it is inſtantly, and irreſiſtably drawn into the whirl, and diſappears, being in a moment carried to the bottom, where it is daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks; and juſt at the turn of ebb and flood, when the water becomes ſtill for about a quarter of an hour, it riſes again in ſcattered fragments, ſcarcely to be known for the parts of a ſhip. When agitated by a ſtorm, it has reached veſſels at the diſtance of more than five miles, where the crews have thought themſelves in perfect ſecurity.

Even animals, when they have come too near the vortex, have expreſſed the utmoſt terror on finding the ſtream irreſiſtable. Whales are frequently carried a way, and the moment they feel the force of the water, they ſtruggle againſt it with all their might, howling and bellowing in a frightful manner. The like happens often to bears, who attempt to ſwim to the iſland to prey upon the ſheep.

The large ſtems of firs and pines, riſe again ſo ſhivered and ſplintered, that the pieces look as if covered with briſtles. The whole phœnomena are the effects of the violence of the daily ebb and flood, occaſioned by the contraction of the ſtream in its courſe between the rocks.

In the ſummer nights the horriſon, when unclouded,

is ſo clear and luminous, that perſons can ſee to do all kinds of work at midnight, as in the day time; and in the extremity of this country towards the Iſlands of Fnimark, the ſun is continually in view in the midſt of ſummer, and is obſerved to circulate day and night round the north pole. On the other hand, in the depth of winter the ſun is inviſible for ſome weeks; all the light perceived at noon, being a faint glimmering, that continues about an hour and an half; which, as the ſun never appears above the horriſon, chiefly proceeds from the reflexion of the rays on the higheſt mountains, whoſe ſummits are ſeen more clearly than any other objects. But excluſive of the moon-ſhine, which by the reflexion from the mountains, is exceedingly bright in the valley, the people receive conſiderable reflexion from the Aurora Borealis, or Northern Lights, which often affords them as much light as is neceſſary for the diſpatch of their common buſineſs.

The winter on the eaſt of Norway generally commences about the middle of October, and continues till the middle of April. The waters are congealed to a thick ice, and the mountains and vallies are covered with ſnow; this however is of ſuch importance to the welfare of the country, that in a mild winter, the peaſants who live among the mountains, are conſiderable ſufferers: for without ſevere froſt and ſnow, they can neither convey the timber they have felled to the rivers, nor carry their corn, butter, furs, and other commodities, in their ſledges, to the market-towns; for ſuch is the power of the froſt in theſe northern regions, that the largeſt rivers, with their roaring cataracts, are arreſted in their courſe, and the very ſpittle is no ſooner out of the mouth than it is inſtantly congealed, and rolls along the ground like hail. Their extenſive foreſts afford them plenty of timber for building and for fuel. The furs and ſkins of wild beaſts, and the wool of the ſheep, furniſh them with coverings for their beds, and warm lining for their cloaths. They are ſupplied with vaſt quantities of down and feathers, by innumerable flights of wild fowl. The mountains ſerve for fences againſt the north and eaſt winds, and they are well ſheltered by their caverns. While the winter thus rages on the eaſt ſide of Norway, the lakes and bays on the weſt ſide are kept open by the warm exhalations of the ocean, though lying in a direct line with the eaſtern parts; and the froſts are ſeldom known to laſt above a fortnight or three weeks.

In general, the air is pure and healthy, but in particular in the middle of the country about the mountains, where the inhabitants are almoſt ſtrangers to ſickneſs. There are no phyſicians but in the principal towns, where they have a public ſalary; but even there they have but a ſmall ſhare of employment.

All the eaſtern coaſt of this country is ſo ſubject to frequent rains, that the women, when they go abroad, wear a woollen, or ſilken black veil over their heads, and the men defend themſelves by a kind of rain hats, ſomething in the ſhape of umbrellas.

There are in Norway a prodigious number of mountains, ſome of which are ſcattered about, and ſurrounded by a level country, while others extend in a long chain from north to ſouth. This chain is ſaid at leaſt to equal the Alps in height, and abounds with frightful caverns of amazing extent.

"The inhabitants of ſuch a mountainous country (ſays our author) may be ſaid to labour under many more inconveniences than others: thus arable ground is here but little better in compariſon with the waſtes and deſarts, ſo that the people are obliged to procure more than half their ſubſiſtence from the ſea: the villages are ſmall, and the houſes ſcattered among the vallies; but in ſome places the peaſants houſes ſtand ſo high, and on the edge of ſteep precipices, that ladders are fixed to climb up to them; ſo that when a clergyman is ſent for, who is unpractiſed in the road, he riſques his life in aſcending them, eſpecially in winter, when the ways are ſlippery. In ſuch places the bodies of the dead muſt be let down with ropes, or be brought on men's backs before they are laid in a coffin; and at ſome diſtance from Bergen, the mail muſt likewiſe in winter be drawn over the ſteepeſt mountains.

"One of the principal inconveniences, eſpecially to travellers, ariſes from the roads: they cannot without terror, paſs ſeveral places, even in the king's road, over the ſides of ſteep and craggy mountains, on ways that are either ſhored up, or ſuſpended by iron bolts, fixed in the mountains, and though not above the breadth of a foot-path, have no rails on the ſide.

"If two travellers were to meet there in the night, and not ſee each other ſoon enough to ſtop where the road will ſuffer them to paſs, it appears to me, as it does to others whom I have conſulted, that they muſt ſtop ſhort, without being able to paſs each other, or to find a turning for their horſes, or even to alight. The only reſource I can imagine in this difficulty is, that one muſt endeavour to cling to ſome cliff of this ſteep mountain, or if help be at hand, to be drawn up by a rope, and then throw his horſe headlong down a tremendous precipice, in order to make room for the other traveller to paſs.

"Another evil reſulting from the mountains, is the ſhelter they afford in their caverns and clefts to the wild beaſts, which renders it difficult to extirpate them. It is not eaſy to deſcribe the havock made by the lynxes, foxes, bears, and eſpecially wolves, among the cattle, and other uſeful animals.

"It often happens that the cows, ſheep, and goats belonging to the peaſants fall down the precipices, and are deſtroyed. Sometimes they make a falſe ſtep into a projection called Mountain-hammer, where they can neither aſcend nor deſcend; on this occaſion, a peaſant chearfully ventures his life for a ſheep or a goat, and deſcending from the top of a mountain by a rope of ſome hundred fathoms in length, he ſlings his body on a croſs ſtick, till he can get his foot on the place where the goat is, when he faſtens it to the rope to be drawn up along with himſelf: but the moſt amazing circumſtance is, that he runs this riſque with the help of only a ſingle perſon, who holds the end of the rope, or faſtens it to a ſtone if there be one at hand. There are inſtances of the aſſiſtant himſelf having been dragged down, and ſacrificing his life from fidelity to his friend, on which both have periſhed. On theſe melancholy accidents, when a man or beaſt falls ſome hundred fathoms down the precipices, it is obſerved, that the air preſſes with ſuch force againſt their bodies thus falling, that they are not only deprived of life long before they reach the ground, but their bellies burſt, and their entrails guſh out, which is plainly the caſe whenever they fall into deep water.

"A great chain of theſe mountains ſerves as a barrier between Norway and Sweden, and are excellent natural fortreſſes for the defence of thoſe ſtates: beſides, theſe mountains exhibit the moſt delightful proſpects; nature has here been moſt profuſely favourable in adding greater beauties to the ſituation of cottages and farm-houſes, than can be enjoyed by royal palaces in other countries, though aſſiſted with all the varieties of groves, terraces, canals, and caſcades. A predeceſſor of mine is ſaid to have given the name of the northern Italy to the diſtrict of Waas, which lies ſome leagues to the eaſt of Bergen; and certainly there cannot be a more enchanting proſpect. All the buildings in it are the church, the parſonage, and a few farm houſes, ſcattered on different eminences. The beauty of the place is much heightened by two uniform mountains, gradually riſing to a vaſt height, between which runs a valley near half a league in breadth, and a river, which in ſome places participates itſelf down the rocks in foaming cataracts, and at others ſpreads itſelf into ſmall lakes. On both ſides it is bordered with the fineſt meadows, intermingled with little thickets, and by the eaſy declivities of the verdent mountains, covered with fruitful fields, and farm-houſes, ſtanding above each other

in a ſucceſſion of natural terraces. Between theſe a ſtately foreſt preſents itſelf to the view, and beyond that, the ſummits of the mountains covered with perpetual ſnow; and ſtill beyond thoſe ten or twelve ſtreams iſſuing from the ſnow mountains, form an agreeable contraſt in their meanders along the blooming ſides of the hill, till they loſe themſelves in the rivers beneath.

"From the many ſprings iſſuing from the mountains, and the vaſt maſſes of ſnow accumulated on their ſummits, whence, in ſummer they gently diſſolve, are formed many conſiderable rivers, the largeſt of which, is the Gleamen, or Glommen; but none of them are navigable far up the country, the paſſage being every where interrupted by rocks and cataracts. The bridges over them are no where, that I remember, walled, but merely formed of timber caſes filled with ſtones, which ſerves for piers, on which the timbers are laid. The largeſt bridge of this kind, is a thouſand paces in length, and has forty-three ſtone caſes. In many places, where the narrowneſs and rapidity of the current will not admit of ſinking ſtone caſes, thick maſts are laid on each ſide on the ſhore, with the thickeſt end faſtened to the rocks; one maſt being thus laid in the water, another is placed upon it, reaching a fathom beyond it, and then a third or fourth, in the like manner to the middle of the ſtream, where it is joined by other connected maſts from the oppoſite ſide. Thus in paſſing over the bridge, eſpecially in the middle, it ſeems to ſwing, which to thoſe who are not uſed to theſe bridges appear ſo dangerous, that they alight from their horſes, till they imagine themſelves ſafe.

"Whithin the bowels of ſome of the mountains, are the moſt beautiful kinds of marble: the mountains alſo contain that ſurpriſing ſubſtance called the magnet, or load-ſtone, in ſuch quantities, that ſome tons of it have been exported. They likewiſe yield the amianthus, or aſbeſtos, of which incombuſtible linen or paper have been made."

This country formerly produced gold, but the expence of working the mines, and ſeparating the gold from the ore being greater than the profit, they have been neglected. There are however, ſilver mines of great value, which afford employment to ſeveral thouſand perſons. The copper mines are likewiſe extremely rich, and employ vaſt numbers. Iron is alſo one of the moſt profitable products of Norway: there are likewiſe ſome lead mines, but none of either tin or quick-ſilver.

The ſoil produces wheat, rye, barley, white, grey and green peas; vetches, uſed as provinder for horſes; hops, flax, and hemp, many kinds of roots and greens for the kitchen, with a conſiderable number of hardy flowers. Several ſorts of plumbs attain to a tolerable ripeneſs, which can very ſeldom be ſaid of peaches, apricots or grapes. However, apples and pears of ſeveral kinds are found all over the country; but the greateſt part of theſe are ſummer fruits, which ripen early; for the winter fruit ſeldom comes to any perfection, unleſs the ſummer proves hotter, and the winter ſets in later than uſual. But tho' with reſpect to fruit trees, Norway muſt be acknowledged inferior to moſt countries in Europe, yet this deficiency is liberally compenſated in the bleſſings of inexhauſtible foreſts; ſo that in moſt provinces, immenſe ſums are received from foreigners for maſts, beams, planks, boards, &c. not to mention the home conſumption for houſes entirely built of wood, ſhips and bridges: and the amazing number of founderies, require an immenſe quantity of charcoal, in the fuſion of metals, beſides the demand for fuel and other domeſtic uſes; to which muſt be added, that in many places the woods are felled only to clear the ground and be burnt, the aſhes ſerving for manure.

The Norwegian horſes, are better for riding than drawing, their walk is eaſy, they are full of ſpirit, and are very ſure footed. When they mount or deſcend a ſteep cliff on ſtones like ſteps, they firſt tread gently with one foot, to try if the ſtone they touch be faſt, and in this they muſt be left to themſelves, or the beſt rider will run the riſque of his neck, but when they are to go down a very ſteep and ſlippery place, they, in a ſurpriſing manner draw their hind legs together under them, and ſlide down.

They ſhew a great deal of courage in fighting with wolves or bears, which they are often obliged to do; for when the horſe perceives one of them near him, and has a mare or gelding with him, he places them behind him, attacks his antagoniſt by ſtriking at him with his fore-legs, and uſually comes off conqueror; if he turns about to kick with his hind legs, he is ruined; for the bear who has double his ſtrength, inſtantly leaps on his back, while the poor horſe gallops on, untill he drops down through loſs of blood. The Norway cows are generally of a yellow colour, (as are alſo their horſes) they are ſmall, but their fleſh is fine grained, juicy, and well taſted. The ſheep here are ſmall, and reſemble thoſe of Denmark. The goats in many places run wild in winter and ſummer in the fields, till they are ten or twelve years old; and when the peaſant who owns them propoſes to catch them, he muſt do it by ſome ſnare, or ſhoot them. They are ſo bold, that if a wolf approaches them, they ſtay to receive him, and if they have dogs with them, they will reſiſt a whole herd. They frequently attack the ſnakes, and when they are bit by them, not only kill their antagoniſts but eat them, after which, they are never known to die of the bite, though they are ill for ſeveral days. The owner warms their own milk, and waſhes the ſore with it.

There is a flat and naked field, near Roſtad, on which no vegetables will grow, the ſoil is almoſt white, with grey ſtripes, and has ſomewhat of ſo peculiarly poiſonous a nature, that though all other animals may ſafely paſs over it, a goat or kid no ſooner ſets his feet upon it, than it drops down, ſtretches out its legs, its tongue hangs out of its mouth, and it expires, if it has not inſtant help. There are few hogs in Norway, and not many of the common deer, but the hares, which in the cold ſeaſon change from brown to grey or ſnow white, are very cheap in winter. Here are alſo in ſome parts of this country, elks, but they are not numerous. The rein-deer, however run wild in herds, and are ſhot for food by the inhabitants. Theſe animals conſtitute the greateſt, and almoſt the only riches of the Laplanders, who live upon the milk, the cheeſe they make of it, and on the fleſh. They make their cloathing, tents, and bed covering of their ſkins, and of their tendons they make their ſewing thread. There are vaſt numbers of them in Finland, both wild and tame, and many a man has there from ſix or eight hundred to a thouſand, of theſe uſeful creatures, which never come under cover. They follow him wherever he is pleaſed to ramble, and when they are put to a ſledge, tranſport his goods from one place to another. They provide for themſelves, and live chiefly on moſs, and on the buds and leaves of trees. They ſupport themſelves on very little nouriſhment, and are neat, clean, and entertaining creatures. It is remarkable, that when the rein-deer ſheds his horns, and others riſe in their ſtead, they appear at firſt covered with a ſkin; and till they are of a fingers length, are ſo ſoft, that they may be cut with a knife like a ſaſauge, and are delicate eating, even raw; therefore the huntſmen, when far out in the country, and pinched for want of food, eat them, and find that they ſatisfy both their hunger and thirſt. When the horns grow bigger, there breeds within the ſkin a worm that eats away the root. The rein-deer has over his eye-lids a kind of ſkin, through which he peeps, when otherwiſe, in the hard ſnows, he would be obliged to ſhut his eyes entirely.

The ravenous beaſts are the bears and wolves already mentioned, the lynx, vaſt numbers of white, red, and black foxes; and the glutton, a creature, which few other countries know, but by report. This animal receives its name from its voracious appetite; it in ſize and ſhape has ſome reſemblance of a long bodied dog, with thick legs, ſharp claws and teeth;

teeth; the colour is black, variagated with brown and yellow ſtreaks. He has the boldneſs to attack every beaſt he can poſſibly conquer, and if he finds a carcaſe ſix times as big as himſelf, he does not leave off eating, as long as there is a mouthful left. When thus gorged, he preſſes and ſqueezes himſelf between two trees, and thus empties himſelf of what he has not time to digeſt. As his ſkin ſhines like damaſk, and is covered with ſoft hair, it is very precious; it is therefore well worth the huntſman's while to kill him without wounding the ſkin, which is done with ſhooting him with a bow and blunt arrows.

The martin is alſo hunted on account of its ſkin, as is likewiſe the ſquirrel and the ermine, both of which are therefore ſhot with blunt arrows. It is doubted whether the ermine be different from the Daniſh weaſel; its valuable ſkin is of a beautiful white, and it has a black ſpot on the tail. The ermines run after mice like cats, and drag away what they catch, particularly eggs, which are their niceſt delicacy. Here are alſo caſtors, badgers, otters, and hedg-hogs.

Among the mice, ſome are thought poiſonous, and others are remarkable for being white, and having red eyes. But the moſt pernicious vermine is a little animal, called the lœmus, or lemming, which is near the ſize of a rat; the tail is ſhort and turned up at the end, and the legs are alſo ſo ſhort that they ſcarce keep the belly from the ground. They have very ſhort hair, and are of different colours, particularly black, with yellow and brown ſtreaks, and ſome in ſpots. The biſhop aſſures us that, about once or twice in every twenty years, they aſſemble from their ſecret abodes, in prodigious numbers, like the meſſengers of heaven to puniſh the neigbbouring inhabitants. They proceed from Kolen's rock, which divides the Nordland manor from Sweden, and is held to be their peculiar and native place; marching in vaſt multitudes through Nordland and Finmark to the weſtern ocean; and other bodies through Swediſh Lapmark, to the Sinus, Bothnicus, devouring all the graſs and vegetables in their way. They do this in a direct line, and going ſtraight forwards proceed into the rivers of the ſea: thus, if they meet with a boat on any freſh water river, they run in at one end or ſide, and out again at the other, in order to keep their courſe. They carry their young with them on their backs, or in their mouths; and if they meet with peaſants who come to oppoſe them, they will ſtand undaunted, and bark at them like dogs. This evil is, however, of no long duration; for on entering the ſea, they ſwim as long as they are able, and then are drowned: if they are ſtopped in their courſe, ſo that they cannot reach the ſea, they are killed by the froſts of winter; and if they eſcape, moſt of them die as ſoon as they eat the new graſs.

As to the reptiles, there are neither land-ſnakes nor toads beyond the temperate zone; and even thoſe ſnakes on the extremities of the temperate climate, are leſs poiſonous than in more ſouthern countries. Lizards are here of various colours, as brown, green, and ſtriped. Thoſe that are green are found in the fields, and the others in the cracks and holes of rocks.

Among the fowls are moſt of thoſe ſeen in the reſt of Europe, and ſome of them peculiar to this country; of thoſe that are in a manner peculiar to this country is the francolin, an excellent land bird, which ſerves the Norwegians inſtead of the pheaſant, its fleſh being white, firm, and of a delicious taſte. The black-cap is almoſt as ſmall as the wren; the body is black and yellow, it is white under the belly, and the top of the head is black. Theſe birds keep near the houſes, and are ſuch lovers of meat, that the farmers can hardly keep them from it, and therefore catch them like mice in a trap.

Norway is alſo ſupplied as plentifully with fiſh as any country in the world.

The biſhop in his hiſtory beſides the animals before mentioned, tells us of ſome others of dubious exiſtence, ſuch are the mer-man and mer-maid. He alſo deſcribes a creature called the ſea-ſnake, whoſe dimenſions are ſuch as ſhock credibility. But the monſter whoſe ſize is the moſt enormous that we believe was ever heard or read of, is the kraken, a fiſh, in ſhape like the ſtella murina, whoſe circumference, he ſays, is above an Engliſh mile and a half, and which he ſays, is often miſtaken by mariners for an iſland; but ſetting aſide many other improbable circumſtances, this animal muſt encroach too much upon the general proportion of nature to have place in a globe where all is calculated for a ſymmetry of parts; we ſhall therefore; with all ſubmiſſion to the reverend author, conclude that he was deceived in his judgment, and that all accounts he has received of the kraken, are a heap of abſurdities.

"The inhabitants of the mountains, in Norway (ſays our author) do the work of horſes, for nine ſucceſſive hours, ſinging all the time; and throw themſelves every half hour on the ſnow, though in a profuſe ſweat, ſucking it to ſlake their thirſt, without the leaſt apprehenſion of a cold or fever.

"All the peaſants are in general, handy and ingenious, having no tradeſmen among them, nor buying any thing made up in the towns; as the farmers ſay nobody can ever make a good man without being his own taylor, ſhoe-maker, weaver, ſmith, carpenter, &c. though without derogating from their ingenuity, it is moſt probable, that neceſſity, is in a great meaſure, the parent of it; as the produce of their ſoil would be unequal to the employment of ſuch a number of tradeſmen. They ſeem however, to excel in carving with their toll knife, (a broad ſhort one) ſome of the greateſt artificial curioſities in the royal muſeum, conſiſting of their carving in wood."

Though the biſhop celebrates his countrymen for their ability and politeneſs, the peaſants are very ferocious, ſome of whom has been known to buckle themſelves together by their belts, and fight with their ſhort knives, till one of them have been mortally wounded; ſo that, till the middle of the laſt century, our author ſays it was cuſtomary, when the family has been invited to a wedding, for the wife to take her huſband's ſhroud with her.

Except at weddings and other entertainments, the farmers do not uſe rye in their bread, oats being their general corn; and when grain is ſcarce they mix a little oatmeal with a greater quantity of the bark of the fir powder, which makes a bread that is leſs nutrive and bitteriſh; but which however, they accuſtom themſelves to in plentiful ſeaſons, to be prepared againſt a time of ſcarcity. Indeed, in 1743, and 1744, they improved their bread by ſubſtituting elm bark, which was better taſted.

In parts where there were great fiſheries, they attempted to mix cod-roes with oatmeal; but this gave ſome the bloody flux. It ſeems odd that they chuſe to let their fiſh ſour before they ſalt it. They make a ſtock of ſtrong ale againſt Chriſtmas, and chriſtenings, &c. but at other times regale on mungat, a very bad ſmall beer, milk and water, or water and ſour wey. They are great lovers of tobacco, expending annually ſeveral thouſand dollars in it, which makes our author, as a patriot, wiſh for its perfect production there; ſnuff they properly enough call næſemeel.

Their houſes are commonly built of whole trunks of pine and fir trees, chopped ſo as to make them lie cloſe, and joined by mortiſes. They are covered firſt with birch-bark, and over that three or four inches thick with turf, wherein ſervice trees and good graſs grows, whence many a farmer mows a pretty load of hay from the top of his houſe. They are often let to three, four, or five families; and have a ſtaubaret for all their proviſions at a diſtance, for fear of fire. Even the rich farmers have ſeldom any windows, but a ſky-light, called liur, at the top of the houſe, over which, they place the midriff of ſome animal, in a frame, to keep out the rain. The membrane is ſtrong and tranſparent as a bladder; it is called

called Siaa, and lifted on or off with a pole, which pole, every perſon coming on important buſineſs, and eſpecially on courtſhip, muſt touch before they utter a word. The ſmoak paſſes through the liur; and kings, till the 11th century, lived in ſuch houſes.

The maſter of the houſe always ſits at the upper end of the table on the hoy-ſædet, (high-ſeat) where he has a little cupboard to lock up his valuable things. They burn the roots of thoſe fir-trees that have been cut down ſeveral years for tar. As a great part of their livelihood is obtained from the water, many ſpend half their time on that element, and die in it; and though their bodies are ſeldom found, they have a funeral ceremony and ſermon called Gravfæſtelſe. A miniſter at Karſund affirmed, that during his reſidence there, which had been fifty years, there had not died above ten grown men on ſhore; and at Chriſtianſand, they ſay that moſt of the women have had five or ſix huſbands.

The lakes and rivers furniſh the inhabitants with plenty of freſh-water fiſh, and the mountains ſupply them with game. For their winter ſtock they kill cows, ſheep, and goats, part of which they pickle and ſmoke, and ſome of it they cut in thin ſlices, ſprinkle it with ſalt, and then dry it in the wind, and eat it like hung-beef. They are fond of brandy, and of chewing and ſmoaking tobacco.

The Norwegians who live in towns have nothing ſingular in their dreſs, but the peaſants do not trouble themſelves about faſhion: thoſe called Stile Farmers, have their breeches and ſtockings in one piece: they have a wide, looſe jacket, made of coarſe woollen cloth, as are likewiſe their waiſt-coats; but thoſe who would appear fine, have the ſeams covered with a different colour. The peaſants of one pariſh are remarkable for wearing black cloaths, edged with red; another for wearing all black; the dreſs of a third pariſh is white edged with black; others wear black and yellow, and thus the inhabitants of almoſt every pariſh vary in the colour of their cloaths. They wear a flapped hat, or a little brown, grey, or black cap, made quite round, and the ſeams adorned with black ribbons. They have ſhoes of a peculiar conſtruction, without heels, conſiſting of two pieces, the upper-leather ſits cloſe to the foot, to which the ſole is joined by a great many plaits and folds. When they travel, and likewiſe in the winter, they wear a ſort of half-boots, which reach up to the calf of the leg, and are laced on one ſide; and when they go on the rocks in the ſnow, they put on ſnow ſhoes; but as theſe are troubleſome when they go a great way to travel, they put on ſkates as broad as the foot, but ſix or eight feet long, and pointed before; they are covered with ſeal-ſkin, ſo that the ſmooth grain of the hair turns backward to the heel. With theſe ſnow-ſkates they ſlide about on the ſnow, as well as they can upon the ice, and faſter than any horſe can go.

The peaſants never wear a neck-cloth, nor any thing of that kind, except when he is dreſſed; for his neck and breaſt are always open, and he lets the ſnow beat into his boſom. On the contrary, he covers his veins, binding a woollen fillet round his wriſt. About their body they wear a broad leather belt, ornamented with convex braſs plates; to this hangs a braſs chain, which holds their large knife, gimblet, and other tackle.

The women at church, and in genteel aſſemblies, dreſs themſelves in jackets, laced cloſe, and have leather girdles, with ſilver ornaments about them. They alſo wear a ſilver chain three or four times round the neck, with a gilt medal hanging at the end of it. Their handkerchiefs and caps, are almoſt covered with ſmall ſilver, braſs, and tin plates, buttons, and large rings, ſuch as they wear on their fingers, to which they hang again a parcel of ſmall ones, which make a jingling noiſe when they move. A maiden bride has her hair plaited, and hung as full as poſſible with ſuch kind of trinkets, as alſo her cloaths.

The peaſants are buſied in cutting wood, felling and floating timber, burning of charcoal, and extracting of tar. Great numbers are employed in the mines, and at the furnaces and ſtamping mills, and alſo in navigation and fiſhing, beſides hunting and ſhooting; for every body is at liberty to purſue the game, eſpecially in the mountains, and on the heaths and commons, where every peaſant may make uſe of what arms he pleaſes. Some of the inhabitants procure a good maintenance by catching of birds; but it is impoſſible to give a juſt idea of the fatigue and danger with which they ſearch for birds in the high and ſteep rocks, many of which are 200 fathoms perpendicular. Theſe people who are called Bird-men, have two methods of catching them; they either climb up theſe perpendicular rocks, or are let down from the top by a ſtrong, thick rope; when they climb up, they have a large pole of 11 or 12 ells in length, with an iron hook at the end; they who are underneath in a boat, or ſtand on a cliff, faſten this hook to the waiſtband of the man's breeches who climbs, by which means they help him up to the higheſt projection he can reach, and fix his feet upon; they then help up another to the ſame place, and when they are both up, give them their bird-poles, and a long rope, which they tie at each end round their waiſts. This done, one climbs up as high as he can, and where it is difficult, the other, by putting his pole under his breach, puſhes him up till he gets a good ſtanding place: the uppermoſt of the two then helps the other up to him with the rope; and thus they proceed till they get to the part where the birds build, and there they ſearch for them. As they have many dangerous places yet to climb, one always ſeeks a convenient place to ſtand ſure, and be able to hold himſelf faſt, while the other is climbing about. If the latter ſhould happen to ſlip, he is held up by the other who ſtands firm, and when he has got ſafe by thoſe dangerous places, he fixes himſelf in the ſame manner, that he may aſſiſt the other to come ſafe to him; and then they clamber about after birds where they pleaſe; but accidents ſometimes happen; for if one does not ſtand firm, or is not ſtrong enough to ſupport the other when he ſlips, they both fall and are killed, and thus ſome periſh every year.

When they thus reach the places that are ſeldom viſited, they find the birds ſo tame that they can take them with their hands; for they are loth to leave their young; but where they are wild, they either throw a net over them in the rock, or entangle thoſe that are flying, with a net fixed at the end of their poles. Thus they catch vaſt numbers of fowls, and the boat keeping underneath them, they throw the dead birds into it, and ſoon fill the veſſel.

When the weather is tolerably good, and there is a deal of game, the bird-men will continue eight days together on the rocks; for there are here and there holes in which they can ſecurely take their repoſe: they draw up proviſions with lines, and boats are kept coming and going to take away the game.

On the other hand, many rocks being ſo ſteep and dangerous, that they cannot poſſibly climb up them, they are then let down from above; when they have a ſtrong rope eighty or one hundred fathoms long. One end of it the bird-man faſtens round his waiſt, and drawing it between his legs, ſo that he can ſit on it, he is let down with his bird-pole in his hand, by ſix men at the top, who let the rope ſink by degrees; but lay a piece of timber on the edge of the rock for it to ſlide on, to prevent its being torn to pieces by the ſharp edges of the ſtones. Another line is faſtened round the man's waiſt, which he pulls to give ſigns when he would have them pull him up, let him lower, or keep him where he is. He is in danger of the ſtones looſening by the rope, and falling upon him, he therefore wears a thick furred cap, well lined, which ſecures him from the blows he may receive from ſmall ſtones; but if large ones fall, he is in the greateſt hazard of loſing his life.

Thus do theſe poor men often expoſe themſelves to the moſt imminent danger, merely to get a ſubſiſtence for their families. There are ſome indeed who

ſay

ſay there is no great hazard in it, after they are accuſtomed to it; but at firſt the rope turns round with them, till their heads are giddy, and they can do nothing to ſave themſelves. Thoſe who have learnt the art make a play of it; they put their feet againſt the rock, throw themſelves ſeveral fathoms out, and puſh into what place they pleaſe. They even keep themſelves out on a line in the air, and catch with their poles numbers of birds, flying out of, and into their holes. The greateſt art is required in throwing themſelves out, ſo as to ſwing under the projection of a rock where the birds gather together; here they fix their feet, looſen themſelves from the rope, which they faſten to a ſtone, to prevent its ſwinging out of their reach, and then the man climbs about and catches the birds, either with his hands or his pole; and when he has killed as many as he thinks proper, he ties them together, faſtens them to a ſmall line, and by a pull gives a ſignal for thoſe above to draw them up. In this manner he works all day, and when he wants to go up, he gives a ſignal to be drawn up, or elſe works himſelf up with his belt full of birds.

When there are not people enough to hold the rope, the birdman fixes a poſt in the ground, faſtens his rope to it, and ſlides down without any help to work as before. In ſome places there are ſteep cliffs of a prodigious ſize, lying under the land, and yet more than 100 fathoms above the water, which are very difficult to be got at. They help one another down theſe cliffs in the manner abovementioned, and taking a ſtrong rope with them, faſten it here and there in the cliff, where they can, and leave it all the ſummer: upon this they will run up and down, and take the birds at pleaſure.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe how frightful and dangerous this bird-catching appears to the beholders, from the vaſt height and exceſſive ſteepneſs of the rocks, many of which hang over the ſea: it ſeems impoſſible for men to enter the holes under theſe projections, or to walk 200 yards high on crags of rocks where they can but juſt fix their toes. When they have brought home their birds, they eat ſome of them freſh, and ſome are hung to dry for the winter ſeaſon. Theſe birds afford the inhabitants a very good maintenance, partly from their fleſh and eggs, and partly from their feathres and down, which are gathered and ſent to foreign parts.

We ſhall here ſubjoin the account given of the country, by a French gentleman who embarked at Copenhagen on board a northern fleet, bound on a voyage of diſcovery, which landed him ſafe upon the coaſt of Norway.

"The peaſants of Norway (ſays he) who are ſlaves to the nobility, are moſt of them fiſhermen, and remarkable for their ſimplicity and hoſpitality. The women, who are very handſome, though red haired, are fond of ſtrangers; they look after the cattle, of which there is a great plenty; they are likewiſe excellent houſewives, and in general make their own family cloth.

"As we were on our way towards Chriſtiana, we met one of the neighbouring gentlemen, followed by two ſervants, and a pack of dogs, going upon an elk chace. The gentleman knowing the man that was with me, invited us to partake of his diverſion. After riding with him about a mile, we met his huntſman, together with more of his ſervants, and ten or twelve peaſants, who led us three miles farther to a wood full of buſhes, at the entrance of which we diſmounted, and gave our horſes to one of his domeſtics.

"Preparations had been made for the chace the day before by the gentleman's vaſſals; in conſequence of which we had ſcarce gone 40 yards before we perceived an elk, who had not advanced far when he dropped down dead, being ſeized, as they told me, with the falling-ſickneſs, from whence they derive the name of Elk, which ſignifies a miſerable creature; and it ſeems they often fall in this manner at the beginning of the chace. Had not this accident happened, I believe we ſhould have found it hard to have run him down; for we were above two hours in purſuit of the next, which I do not believe we ſhould have ever catched, had he not alſo dropped down dead; however, he killed two of the beſt dogs with his fore feet, and the gentleman being extremely ſorry for their loſs, would hunt no more; but ſent for a cart to carry the game, and inſiſted on our going with him to his caſtle, where he treated us in a plentiful and agreeable manner.

"The elk is as big as a large horſe, and his body like that of a ſtag, but longer and larger; his legs are alſo long, his feet broad and cloven, his antlers large, hairy, and broad like a fallow deer's, but he is not ſo well furniſhed with horns as a ſtag.

"At my departure my hoſt made me a preſent of the two left ſhanks of the elks, aſſuring me that they were an excellent cure for the falling-ſickneſs; to which I replied by my interpreter, that I wondered, ſince the leg of the elk had ſuch virtue in it, why the animal did not cure himſelf. The gentleman reflecting on what I ſaid, laughed aloud, and told me I was in the right, for he had given it to ſeveral perſons afflicted with the ſame diſeaſe, but it had never produced a cure; upon which he had long ſuſpected that the pretended virtue of the leg or foot of this animal was a vulgar miſtake. He then gave me many inſtances of the ill effects produced on human bodies by eating the fleſh of elks."

"The gentleman having obliged us to ſpend the night at his caſtle, we took our leave of him the next morning, after breakfaſt, and returned to Chriſtiana, where we ſtaid four or five days, and then ſailed for Berghen; but being becalmed in our paſſage for five days, we employed ourſelves in catching fiſh, and took ſo large a quantity, that we lived chiefly on that food for a long time afterwards.

"Berghen, the capital of the province of the ſame name in Norway, has one of the fineſt ports in Europe. It is a large trading town, full of merchants, and was formerly an archbiſhoprick; but it has not been acknowledged as ſuch ſince the reformation, which prevails here as well as in the king of Denmark's other dominions. The archbiſhop's palace was given to the Hans towns for the reſidence of their ancient merchants, ſo long as they continue ſingle; but if they marry, they are obliged to remove. The merchants are called monks, though they do not wear a cowl, or obſerve the rules of any order; and the warehouſes bear the name of the Cloiſters. The chief branch of trade carried on at Berghen is in herring, cod, and ſtock-fiſh; for which there is a great demand in Muſcovy, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, and other parts of Europe.

"When we had diſcharged the cargo we had to deliver at Berghen, we ſet ſail for Drontheim, half our lading conſiſting chiefly of bread and beer, being conſigned to the ſurveyor of the copper and ſilver mines, for the uſe of the miners, and other workmen; but being again becalmed for ſeveral days, we caught a vaſt quantity of klip-fiſh, a great part of which we ſalted and barrelled. They are a ſpecies of cod, and obtain the name of klip-fiſh, from their never leaving the rocks, klippe, in the German tongue, ſignifying a rock.

"When we arrived at Drontheim, we applied to the ſurveyor to unlade our ſhips as faſt as poſſible, that we might proceed on our voyage; but he told us he could not begin, till the officer, who was to receive the proviſions, came back from the mines, and offered to ſend a meſſenger on horſeback for him, whom I obtained permiſſion to accompany. Early the next morning, the ſurveyor's man and I begun our journey; but the roads were ſo rugged, that we could not reach only eighteen miles from Drontheim; for the night came on, and we had a long wood to paſs through, in which were lynxes, boars, and wolves, in great numbers, that rendered it dangerous to travel in the dark.

"We came to our journey's end the next night, and lodged at the forges, where, according to the

cuſtom of the country, we were entertained by the people who have the care of the mines, with tobacco, beer, and brandy; and our hoſt was ſo very hoſpitable, that there was no poſſibility of going to bed ſober. I here became acquainted with one of the officers of the mines, who ſpoke French, and on my expreſſing a deſire to go down into them, he promiſed to gratify my curioſity.

"Having breakfaſted with the perſon who ſpoke French, and the maſter miner, they went with me fifty or ſixty paces from the forges, which are upon a high mountain, to the mouth of one of the mines, over which was erected a machine not unlike a crane, turned by two great wheels, each guided by a man, by which means the ore is drawn up; and the maſter miner and I, being fixed in a wooden bucket, to which our hands were bound with iron gantlets, were let down fifty fathom deep. Never was there ſeen a more horrid proſpect, nor a truer picture of the infernal regions; the flames of fire that blazed every where around, the rugged caverns, and the ſight of creatures that had a nearer reſemblance to the fiends than to men, all conſpired to fill the ſoul with terror. The miners were dreſſed in black leather coats of mail, and muffiers of the ſame faſtened round their heads, juſt under their eyes, reaching down to their breaſts, they had alſo leathern aprons. Theſe miners have different employments; for while ſome divide the ore from the maſs, others ſearch for new veins of metal, and others try to diſcover caverns filled with water, which often unexpectedly burſt forth, and drown thoſe in the mines: however, if theſe are found the miſchief is ſometimes prevented. The maſter miner, who deſcended with me, imagined I was near being ſeized with a cold fit, which is common in theſe places, rang a bell, which being the ſignal for thoſe above to draw us up, we ſoon aſcended with the ſame eaſe with which we had gone down. Never was freſh air more welcome to me, than after having breathed the unwholeſome damps of this cavern.

"We now went to the houſe of the officer who ſpoke French, who entertained us in a very hoſpitable manner. After dinner, he ordered horſes to be got ready to take us to the ſilver mines. Having introduced me to the ſurveyor, we were each of us preſented with a large glaſs of brandy, and then treated with beer and tobacco: when we were thus refreſhed, the ſurveyor conducted us to the forges, which were about a mile from his houſe, and we ſoon after reached the mouth of a mine, down which we went in the ſame manner we had done at the copper mine.

"The miners never work in winter, and in the ſpring and autumn, they only labour three hours before, and three hours after dinner; but in the ſummer they work four hours in the morning, and five in the afternoon. The reſt of the time they ſpend in mirth and feaſting; they delight much in dancing and have violins, hautboys, and other muſical inſtruments, to enliven their ſpirits. This merry life they are well able to ſupport, being paid a crown a day all the year round. I had an opportunity of ſeeing them engaged in their paſtimes, the ſimplicity of which, gave me much pleaſure. Theſe mines turn to a good account, and are not the leaſt part of his Daniſh majeſty's revenue.

"Having ſeen every thing worth notice at the mines, we went home with the ſurveyor, who treated us with brandy, beer, and tobacco: we afterwards partook of a plentiful ſupper, and when we had refreſhed ourſelves, went to bed. In the morning the maſter miner and I having thanked our hoſt for his kind entertainment, went back to the copper mines, where having taken leave of the officer who ſpoke French, we ſet out for Drontheim."

With this relation we ſhall cloſe our deſcription of Norway, and proceed to give that of Lapland, a country where the manners of the inhabitants forms a ſtriking contraſt to that of the civilized nations of Europe.

TRAVELS THROUGH LAPLAND.

LAPLAND might appear, from its remote ſituation, to be placed at the northern extremity of the globe; but the diſcovery of Spitſbergen has convinced voyagers and travellers that they could proceed yet farther in their approaches towards the north pole. The author whom we quoted above, was bound for both theſe places. He thus continues his relation.

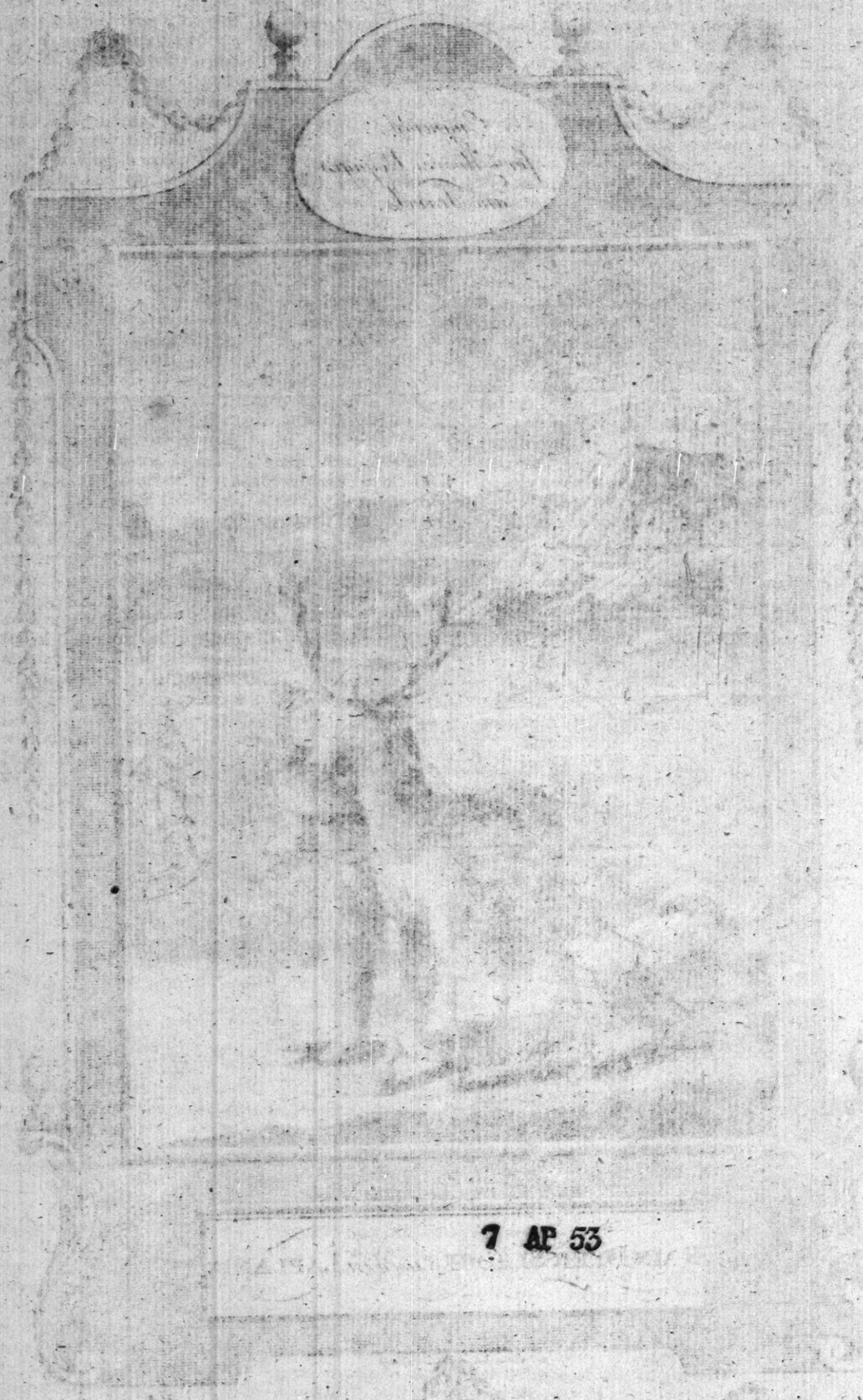
"As night came on before we had gone eight miles on our way, we were obliged to take up our quarters in the next village, at the houſe of a peaſant, who thinking himſelf greatly honoured by having ſuch gueſts, did all in his power to oblige us. He firſt treated us with beer and tobacco, and a kind of brandy diſtilled from malt; and having lately killed a hare and a couple of pheaſants, he dreſſed them for our ſupper. When we had done ſupper we again ſwallowed large quantities of brandy and beer, and were inveloped in clouds of tobacco. At length the maſter miner was made dead drunk, at which the peaſant expreſſed the utmoſt ſatisfaction, and took large draughts to put himſelf in the ſame condition; nor was I much better; it is the cuſtom of the country among all ranks of people, and not to be avoided, they have no notion of there being any pleaſure in ſociety that does not end in drunkenneſs. When we had drank our fill, we betook ourſelves to reſt on clean ſtraw which had been ſpread on the floor for that purpoſe. As I was firſt awake in the morning, I by ſigns, made the peaſant's ſon underſtand that I wanted the horſes to be got ready, being determined to reach Drontheim that night, if poſſible. When I ſaw they were ſaddled, I rouſed my companion and his hoſt, and having again eaten and drank more than in prudence we ought, we took our leave of the hoſpitable peaſant, and before night arrived at Drontheim.

"The ſhip having cleared out, and taken in her ſtock of proviſions and other neceſſaries; in two days after my return, we ſet ſail with a fair wind to purſue our voyage to the northward. After a few days we were becalmed under the arctic circle, and ſome of our crew being ſo ſuperſtitious as to imagine that the inhabitants of the neighbouring coaſt, like thoſe of Finland, could rule the elements, and diſpoſe of the winds at their pleaſure: our captain ſent his boat on ſhore with the mate, to purchaſe a wind of them; and though I believed nothing of the matter, I had the curioſity to accompany thoſe employed in this ridiculous commiſſion.

"We landed at the firſt village we ſaw, and as the mate could ſpeak enough of the language of the country to make himſelf underſtood, he ſoon found out the chief necromancer, and aſked if he could

Engraved
for Moore's Voyages
and Travels.

RAIN-DEER-SLEDGES *used in* LAPLAND.



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furniſh us with a wind that could laſt till we arrived at Maurmanſkeimore? but the necromancer gravely replied, that he could not; for that his power extended no farther than the promontory of Rouxella. The mate conſidering, that if we reached ſo far, we might eaſily make the north cape, deſired him to go on board with us, and bargain with the captain. The wizard conſenting, took three of his comrades with him, and leaping into a ſmall fiſhing boat, went on board our ſhip, where the captain and he ſoon agreed, and he paid ten kronors, which is about thirty-ſix ſhillings, and a pound of tobacco. When the bargain was concluded and the money paid, the conjuror tied a woollen rag, about half a yard long, and a nail broad, to the foremaſt. This rag, in which three knots were tied, was all the captain had for his money; and the necromancer and his companions immediately returned on ſhore. Not long after he was gone, the captain agreeable to the inſtructions he had received, untied the firſt knot in the rag, and ſoon afterwards a briſk gale ſprung up from the ſouth weſt, which drove us thirty leagues beyond Malſtrom, a whirlpool in the Norwegian Sea, that has proved fatal to many veſſels. For this reaſon thoſe pilots that are acquainted with thoſe coaſts, keep eight or ten leagues out to ſea, to avoid that and ſeveral other eddies, as well as the rocks that lie off Oſtraford.

"The wind now beginning to veer a little to the northward, the captain untied the ſecond knot, on which the wind ſettled as before, till we reached Rouxella. When we had paſſed that promontory, the needle of our compaſs turned back half an inch, from which ſome imagined, that there was a loadſtone in the mountain. However, if we had not had an experienced pilot, we certainly ſhould have loſt our courſe. He ſhut up the compaſs, and diſplayed a flag on the top of the fore-maſt head, as a ſignal for ſome other ſhips that were in company to follow our way. We were two days and nights in this ſituation, having nothing to depend upon but the pilot's experience; but on the third day, when we were at a conſiderable diſtance from the mountains of Rouxella, the needle again pointed to the north, from whence we concluded that we drew near the north cape. The wind failing us about this time, our captain untied the third knot, and there ſprung up a ſmart breeze at north-eaſt, which ſoon increaſed to a moſt dreadful tempeſt. We we were now obliged to take in all our ſails, and drive before the wind under our bare poles, expecting every minute to go to the bottom; and dreading leſt this ſhould be a judgement inflicted on us for our infernal commerce. At length we ſtruck upon a rock, when leaſt we expected any; as ſoon as we felt the ſhock, we gave ourſelves up for loſt, and every man betook himſelf to his devotions; but by great good providence there came a high rolling ſea, which carried us clear over the rock, though not without ſome damage to the veſſel.

"On the 4th, the ſtorm ceaſed, when we were under great concern at having loſt ſight of our other veſſels, which we had great reaſon to fear were loſt; but having a fair gale, we continued our courſe, being reſolved to make the firſt port in order to refit.

"With reſpect to the ſale of winds for which theſe northern people are ſo famous, it may be proper to obſerve, that like all other kinds of witchcraft and necromancy, it has its foundation in fraud and impoſture. Thoſe who deal in it ſtudy the weather with the utmoſt care; and from conſtant obſervation, are able to foreſee the variation of the winds for ſeveral days to come, and they take care to ſtart ſo many difficulties in making their bargains, that they are ſure never to come to a concluſion, till they perceive the ſign of the approach of the wind that is wanted; and when our ſuppoſed conjurer affirmed that his power reached no farther than Rouxella, it ought to be underſtood that he knew well, by experience, that cape to be the limit of his obſervations, and that he ſhould riſque his credit, if he preſumed to exceed his bounds. This account we have received from ſome intelligent perſons who lived ſome time in Iceland; where they are famous for this kind of traffic, and diſpoſe of winds with leſs limitation than elſewhere, becauſe living upon an iſland, they are more able to judge of the variation of the winds in all the ſeas round about them. This kind of knowledge is confined to a very few people, who pretend to diſpoſe of the wind as their own proper merchandiſe, whereby they keep their neighbours in ſubjection, and put foreigners under tribute; nor are theſe ſtrange ridiculous notions to be wondered at in a country where religion is at a very low ebb, and learning has made but a ſmall advance towards the improvement of the mind.

"The coaſts of the ſea all over the north, are ſo full of rocks, that the ports and creeks are almoſt inacceſſible, and we were obliged to ſail two days longer before we could make a proper port; however, we at length reached the coaſt of Wardhuys, the chief town of Daniſh Lapland, where there is a garriſon of two companies of ſoldiers belonging to the king of Denmark, and a collector of the duties impoſed on foreigners, trading to or from Archangel.

"The collector judging us to be Danes by our colours, and our ſaluting the caſtle, ſuffered us to ſail on to Varanger, without ſearching us. The country all about ſeemed very wild, and no perſon on board had the leaſt knowledge of it; the captain, impatient to find a place where we might refit, and deſirous of obtaining ſome information relative to trade, ordered out the long-boat, and taking with him eight men well armed, rowed towards the town, where he arrived in about half an hour. He found the port very convenient, and the place populous, but ſo little frequented, that the inhabitants ſeemed amazed at ſeeing him, but readily offered to aſſiſt in refitting the ſhip, though they gave him ſmall encouragement reſpecting trade.

"On the next day we entered the port, and unladed our cargo, which conſiſted of bales of cloth and rolls of tobacco, with which we deſigned to have traded. Theſe goods were locked up in a warehouſe near the ſhore, and a watch ſet to guard them. To ſome of the principal inhabitants we preſented ſmall quantities of tobacco, which being more welcome to them than gold, it ſecured their friendſhip, and in return they entertained us with fiſh that ſerves them inſtead of bread; the fleſh of rein-deer, which I did not think very palatable, together with ſome bear's fleſh, and that of other wild beaſts, of which we had no knowledge; they alſo treated us with freſh fiſh, boiled without ſalt, and ſerved up either with the oil of other fiſh, or a ſour liquor that is highly eſteemed by them. Their dainties not ſuiting our taſte, we ſent for proviſions from the ſhip, the chief of which was ſalt-beef and biſcuits, over which, and a can of liquor, we made ourſelves very merry; but when we offered ſome of our food to the Laplanders, we found that it was as diſagreeable to them as theirs was to us. The ſour liquor which I have mentioned, is made by throwing into water a quantity of juniper berries, and a grain like lentiles, which is very common in Lapland. They accepted and drank freely of our beer and brandy, though they preferred their common liquor to either."

The religion eſtabliſhed in Lapland is Lutheraniſm, but moſt of the natives are inclined to their ancient heatheniſm; and ſo ſuperſtitious, that if in the morning they meet a beaſt in their way whoſe appearance is eſteemed ominous, they return home and neglect all buſineſs for that day; and when they go a fiſhing, if they take but one fiſh at the firſt draught, they think it an ill omen, and leave work for that time.

Both the men and women are low in ſtature, but ſtrong and active: their faces are broad, and their noſes flat. Their eyes are ſmall like a hog's, and their eye-lids make them look as if they were blear-eyed. Their complexion in general is ſwarthy, and they are of a rude, uncivilized, and laſcivious diſpoſition; eſpecially

especially the women, who readily proſtitute themſelves to all comers, provided they can do it without their huſband's knowledge.

The men's coats, which reach but a little below their hips, are made of the ſkin of rein-deer, with the hair turned outwards, as are likewiſe their hats, ſtockings and breeches. Their hats, or rather their bonnets, are edged with a ſtrip of either grey or white fox-ſkin. The women wear on their heads a coif, not unlike thoſe worn in Norway, made of coarſe canvas, and their hair is twiſted up in two rolls, which hang down, one on each ſhoulder. Some of them wear a kind of ruff, of the breadth of eight fingers, which they tie behind. Their cloaths and ſtockings are either coarſe cloth, or rein-deer's ſkin, with the hair turned outward; and their ſhoes are of fiſh-ſkin, with the ſcales on, and ſomewhat reſembling the wooden ſhoes worn by the peaſants in France.

Their houſes reſemble thoſe of the peaſants about Chriſtiana. They have no light but what enters by a hole at thetop of the hut, and do not make uſe of beds any more than the other Laplanders. The whole family, maſters, miſtreſſes, children, and men and maid-ſervants, lie down promiſcuouſly in the middle of the apartment, upon bear-ſkins, which when they riſe in the morning, are taken up and laid by, till they are wanted again at night. Every family has a large black cat, which is highly eſteemed, which the maſter of the family will talk to as if it was a reaſonable creature, and which follows the people in all parties of fiſhing or hunting like a dog.

"When we had unladed the ſhip (ſays the author) we hauled her on ſhore, and found the inhabitants ready to give us all aſſiſtance in their power; for the veſſel being under a neceſſity of having timber to refit her, they helped us to fetch what we wanted from a neighbouring mountain. As we found that the ſhip would be ſome time in refitting, the ſupercargo propoſed to two of the ſhip's company and myſelf, to make a journey into the country, to try whether any trade could be carried on with the peaſants there.

"Having ſupplied ourſelves with ſalt-beef, pork, and biſcuit for proviſions, and with cloth and tobacco to trade, we ſet out on our journey on the 12th of May, attended by three of the inhabitants of Varanger, whom we followed through the woods, mountains and valleys, without meeting with any living creature, till about four o'clock in the afternoon, when we obſerved two white bears of prodigious ſize approach, as we thought, to devour us, but our guides laughed at our fears, and aſſured us if we kept our arms ready for defence, we ſhould not be attacked, and we found what they ſaid to be true; for whether the bears were frightened at the fire which ſtruck from our flints, or from what cauſe it happened I cannot ſay, but we had no ſooner prepared our fuzees, than they fled with the utmoſt precipitation.

"As we were deſcending a mountain, about an hour before night, we perceived at a diſtance a herd of beaſts not unlike ſtags, which our guides told us were rein-deer. Soon after this, we came to a village, which conſiſted of about a dozen ſtraggling houſes, at one of which we were very glad to repoſe ourſelves, having travelled a long way with our baggage at our backs. We preſented our hoſt with a piece of roll tobacco, which he received with extraordinary joy, aſſuring us that he had not had ſo valuable a preſent in nine months before; and in return he brought out his brandy bottle, ſome dried fiſh, and ſome rein-deer's fleſh dreſſed without ſalting, which we gave to our guides, and ſupped, ourſelves, upon the proviſions we had brought with us; after which we ſlept upon bear-ſkins, according to the cuſtom of the country. In the morning we aſked our hoſt if he had any thing to barter with us for cloth and tobacco? To which he anſwered, that he had ſome wolf, fox, and white ſquirrel ſkins, and that his neighbours had ſome of the ſame commodities, and would gladly exchange with us. We then bid him bring out his ſkins, and if he had any cloaths made of rein-deer ſkins, we would deal with him for four ſuits, which we wanted to keep us warm; accordingly he brought forth his merchandiſe, which we bartered, and paid him partly in tobacco, and partly in cloth. When we had purchaſed all that he had to ſell, we trucked with his neighbours as long as they had any thing worth buying, and then deſired our hoſt to aſſiſt us with ſome rein-deer, to carry us forward on our journey, to which he readily conſented, and taking down a horn that hung in his cottage, he went to the door and blew it, on which fourteen or fifteen of thoſe animals came running towards the hut, from among which he choſe out ſix, which he immediately yoked to ſix ſledges. We put our merchandiſe and proviſions in one of the ſledges, and aſſigned another to one of the guides, who underſtood the languages of our different Laplanders, and diſmiſſed the other two guides, having firſt paid them in tobacco for their trouble.

"We then put on our Lapland cloaths, and each of us lying down in his ſledge, was covered with a bear-ſkin. At the back of each ſledge were two girts made of rein-deer ſkin leather, in which we thruſt our arms up to the ſhoulders, to keep ourſelves ſteady, and we had each a ſtick, with a ſtrong ferrel to it, to ſupport the ſledge, in caſe it ſhould be in danger of overturning againſt the ſtumps of trees or ſtones, lying in the way.

"When we were ready to ſet out, our hoſt muttered ſome words in the ears of our cattle, which I afterwards learnt from our guide, were directions whither they ſhould carry us; for ſo credulous are theſe poor wretches as to think the beaſts underſtand them. However, cuſtom has made this muttering ſo familiar to them, that when our hoſt had gone to all the ſix, they ſet off at a prodigious rate, going over hills and dales without keeping any beaten path, till ſeven o'clock in the evening, when they brought us to a village between two hills, on the borders of a great lake. They ſtopt at the fourth houſe in the place, and beating the ground with their feet, the maſter of the houſe and ſome of his ſervants came out at the noiſe, and having unharneſſed our cattle, and taken us out of the ſledges, they gave each of us a brimmer of brandy, poured from a juniper can, of which wood all their veſſels are made: this it ſeems was to revive our ſpirits, our guides having informed them that we were frightened at our been drawn ſo ſwiftly, not having been uſed to that kind of travelling.

"When we got out of our ſledges, our hoſt conducted us into his hut, which, like the reſt of the cottages in the place, was very little, low, and covered with the bark of trees, the light entering in at a hole in the top. The people ſeemed here more barbarous than thoſe we had laſt converſed with: however, we gave our hoſt a piece of our roll tobacco, about two inches long, and a piece not quite ſo long to each of the inhabitants of the place, to engage their friendſhip. Their language was very different from that of the people of Varanger, from which we were now very diſtant, having travelled above thirty leagues this day.

"After ſupper we lay down on bear-ſkins, as uſual, having firſt exchanged with our hoſt, our Lapland habits, for thoſe that were longer and more commodious, and bartered ſome tobacco for the ſkins of an hundred grey ſquirrels, a fur much eſteemed in Denmark and other parts of Europe. The next day the people provided us with ſix other ſledges, and having treated us with brandy, and wiſhed us a good journey at parting, our hoſt performed the ſame ceremony of muttering in the ears of the ſix rein-deer, and they then ſet off, and drew us with the ſame ſwiftneſs as before. Our cattle did not ſtop till three o'clock in the afternoon, at which time we arrived at a village of eight cottages, pleaſantly ſituated by the ſide of a wood on the top of a hill. Here we ſaw no inhabitants, the reaſon of which, as our guide told us, was that it belonged to the Kilops, one of the wildeſt

Lapland nations, the people of which, fly from ſtrangers, and ſubſiſt entirely by hunting.

"We now baited our deer with moſs, which grows here in great plenty, and refreſhed ourſelves with ſalt-beef and biſcuits, and a dram of brandy, with which the people of the laſt village had furniſhed us, while our interpreter dined upon veniſon and fiſh. After ſtaying about an hour, our guide endeavoured to make the deer go forward, but had great difficulty to do it, though no Laplander whatever knew better how to manage them. This village being the uſual ſtage of the deer, they are very unwilling to quit it; our guide, in order to induce them to move, uſed many ridiculous and ſuperſtitious ceremonies: he went alone into the wood, and coming out again, muttered ſome words in the ears of theſe animals, which, whether they underſtood or not, had but little effect on them, till he had played the farce over four or five times, when they began to proceed, though not ſo ſwiftly as before. We now deſcended the mountain, and at a ſmall diſtance diſcovered four kilops returning from hunting in ſledges drawn by rein deer, but they returned aſide to avoid meeting us. In leſs than half an hour we entered a long wood, in which we heard terrible howlings, but ſaw no beaſts of prey. Having paſſed the wood, we had another hill to deſcend, at the bottom of which was a little village, whither our cattle conveyed us, and ſtopping before the door of a cottage, gave their uſual ſignal with their feet, at which the maſter made his appearance, whoſe friendſhip we ſolicited with a piece of tobacco, and he made us welcome: being tired with our journey, we had no ſooner ſupped, than we lay down to reſt on bear-ſkins.

"The next morning, our guide informed us that we had travelled forty leagues the preceding day; but I imagine he muſt be miſtaken, or elſe the leagues are not ſo long as they are generally reckoned; for forty Lapland leagues are equal to 160 of thoſe of France. Our guide likewiſe informed us that we were now in Muſcovite Lapland; and having deſired him to enquire if the inhabitants had any thing to barter for cloth and tobacco, they produced white, black, and grey fox-ſkins, grey ſquirrels and ſables, for which we ſoon bargained, and paid them chiefly in tobacco. When we had finiſhed our buſineſs, we ſat down to drink with them, and though they were not quite ſo brutal as ſome of the Laplanders, their converſation was extremely rude and indecent.

"Our hoſt here furniſhed us with as many ſledges as we had occaſion for; and we departed about one o'clock in the afternoon, and went with great ſpeed through different and unbeaten waſtes, till about ſix in the evening, when deſcending a hill, we obſerved two huts under a rock, a little out of the way. Our guide informed us that they belonged to two Kilops, who no ſooner ſaw us, than they fled with their wives and families. After a moſt fatiguing journey, we arrived about 11 o'clock at night, at a large village at the bottom of a hill, by a river ſide, and went to a cottage in the middle of the place, whither our cattle thought proper to conduct us to. The maſter of the houſe received us with great civility, made a fire in the middle of the hut to warm us, and treated us with brandy, dried fiſh, and ſalt veniſon, with ſalt butter and milk: this was the beſt fare we had met with ſince our ſetting out, and we ſhould have ſupped moſt ſumptuouſly had we had any bread left, but our ſtore was unhappily conſumed. We were ſurpriſed at this ſudden change, not having before met with any ſalt proviſions, which however our guide would not taſte, but ate ſome freſh veniſon that he had brought with him.

"In the morning we found they had nothing to trade with, and that they could not ſupply us with ſledges; upon which we croſſed the river, and ſoon reached another village, and hired rein-deer and ſledges to carry us to Kola, where we arrived about noon.

"Kola is a little city, ſituate on the ſide of a river, near ten leagues from the north ſea, having a large foreſt and deſarts to the eaſt, Maurmanſk more to the weſt, and very high mountains to the ſouth. It conſiſts of one indifferent ſtreet, the houſes of which are built of wood, and very low, but are handſomely rooſed with fiſh bones; and on the top there is a hole left to let in the light, as in other parts of Lapland. The inhabitants of this place, and indeed of Muſcovy in general, are ſo jealous of their wives, that they lock them up to prevent their being ſeen by ſtrangers.

"The perſons with whom we lodged at Kola, took all our cloth off our hands, and gave us in exchange two lynxes ſkins finely ſpotted, three dozen of white fox ſkins, ſome ermines, and half a dozen of wyetfras, an animal not unlike a badger, but with longer and rougher hair, of a dark red colour, and a tail like a fox. Our hoſt likewiſe ſupplied us with ſledges to the ſide of the river we had ſo lately paſſed, and proviſions ſufficient to laſt us to Varanger.

"The next morning, when we were preparing to depart, ſome of the towns people enquired whether we had any rolls of tobacco left? and being anſwered in the affirmative, ſoon fetched furs enough to purchaſe all we had, except ſeven or eight rolls, which we reſerved to pay our way back to Varanger; for tobacco is more neceſſary to thoſe who travel in this wild and unfrequented country, than gold, the Laplanders preferring a bit of the length of one's finger, to a crown-piece.

"The kings of Denmark and Sweden, and the Czar of Muſcovy, have taxed it ſeverely, and there are collectors ſettled in every frontier town, to gather the imports upon it.

"When we had diſpatched our buſineſs, we were obliged, according to the cuſtom of the place, to drink with our chapman. They all entertained us with brandy, and kept us till two in the afternoon, when our hoſt provided us with rein-deer and ſledges, packed up our furs for us, and furniſhed us with biſcuit, ginger-bread, and ſalted rein-deer veniſon, beſides a ſmall runlet of brandy. We now ſtored our merchandiſe in one of our ſledges, got into the other ourſelves, and having drank a bumper of brandy with our chapman at parting, ſet out on our return for the village, on the other ſide of the river.

"We arrived at the firſt village by ſeven o'clock, ſoon croſſed the river, and went directly to our old quarters, where our landlord, in hopes of getting more tobacco, received us very joyfully. He immediately gave us a cup of brandy, and if we choſe it, would have provided us with ſledges to go forward immediately; but we choſe to reſt ourſelves till the morning, there being no village for ſeveral leagues from his habitation; upon which he gave us another cup of brandy, and aſked us to accompany him to the funeral of one of his neighbours, who had been dead about four hours.

"This invitation was extremely agreeable to us, as we had heard much of their funeral ceremonies; we therefore attended him to the houſe of the deceaſed, where we ſaw the corpſe removed by ſix of his moſt intimate friends, from the bear's ſkin on which he had expired, into a wooden coffin; the body being firſt wrapped in linen, and the face and hands only being left bare. In the coffin they had put brandy, dried fiſh and veniſon, to ſubſiſt him on his journey to heaven; in one hand they put a purſe with money in it, to fee the porter of the gate of Paradiſe, and in the other a certificate, ſigned by a pariſh prieſt, and directed to St. Peter, informing him that the bearer had been a good Chriſtian, and ought to be admitted into heaven; and at the head of the coffin was placed an image dreſſed like a pilgrim, which they called St. Nicholas, who was one of the ſeven deacons mentioned in the acts of the Apoſtles.

"This St. Nicholas is greatly reverenced in all parts of Muſcovy, where he is ſuppoſed to be a particular friend to the dead; therefore his image is always fixed near the corpſe, inſtead of a crucifix.

"They ſet fire to ſome fir-tree roots, piled up at a convenient diſtance from the coffin, wept, howled, and made a variety of ſtrange geſtures, aſſuming a thouſand different attitudes to ſhew the extravagance of their ſorrow. When this noiſe, and theſe geſticulations were over, they marched ſeveral times round the corpſe in proceſſion, aſking the deceaſed why he died? Whether he was angry with his wife? Whether he ſtood in need of meat, drink, or cloaths? If he had been unſucceſsful in fiſhing, or loſt his game when hunting? After aſking theſe, and a thouſand other queſtions equally ridiculous, they reſumed their howling, ſtamped with all ſigns of diſtraction, while a prieſt, who attended, frequently ſprinkled conſecrated water on the corpſe and the mourners alternately.

"Being quite wearied with looking on theſe barbarous rites, we left our landlord behind us, and returned to his cottage, where we found his wife. She had made a ſally from the place in which her huſband had confined her on our arrival, and no ſooner ſaw us, than ſuppoſing he was in our company, would have retired to her corner, but our interpreter acquainting her that her huſband was at the funeral, and would not return for ſome time, ſhe came very willingly among us, examined us all attentively one after another, appearing good humoured, and well pleaſed with us. When ſhe had ſatisfied her curioſity, ſhe ſat down with us, and ſhewed us a bonnet of her own embroidering, very curiouſly performed with tinſel thread. After having taſted our proviſions, but particularly the gingerbread, which ſhe ſeemed fond of, and drank two or three glaſſes of brandy, ſhe withdrew to her place of confinement, for fear of her huſband's return, who would have certainly reſented her taking ſuch liberty, had he catched her amoug us.

"When the huſband came home, he inſiſted on our eating and drinking with him, after which we ſmoaked a pipe; and as our guide would touch nothing that was ſalt, he had a piece of bear's fleſh, which he broiled on the coals.

"We roſe early the next morning, and being furniſhed with convenient ſledges, and excellent reindeer, were carried at the rate of ſix leagues an hour. As we were paſſing between two hills, we ſaw a Laplander going a hunting, who came up to us, and ſkated on the ſnow, which often lies unmelted till ſummer, as faſt as we rode in our ſledges. His ſkates, which were made of the bark of a tree, were ſeven feet and a half long, four fingers broad, and flat at the bottom. His dreſs was deer's ſkin, embroidered with tinſel, and he had a girdle of the ſame ſort round his waiſt, a large quiver at his back, a dart in one hand, and a bow in the other, and was followed by a large black cat. He kept company with us about half a league, and we parted at the foot of the mountain.

"We continued our rout three days, ſtopping at the ſame places where we lay before, and meeting with nothing extraordinary. Our entertainment and method of travelling was exactly the ſame as before, and on the 21ſt of May, about nine o'clock at night, we arrived ſafely at Veranger, having met with no accident in the courſe of our journey, and having been every where treated with the utmoſt civility."

The Laplanders throw the dart with ſuch dexterity, that they will hit a mark of the ſize of a crown piece, at the diſtance of thirty paces, and they are ſo expert in the uſe of the bow and arrow, that they can ſhoot a bird flying in whatever part they think proper: yet they are ſo averſe to war, that if the King of Sweden or Denmark, or the Czar of Muſcovy, wants ſoldiers from among them, they leave their dwellings, and ſkulk in the woods, to avoid being forced into the ſervice.

The women of the Muſcovite Lapland, who are kept under greater reſtrictions than thoſe of the other Laplands, make all the cloaths for their huſbands and families, which they embroider round the edges with tinſel thread drawn between their teeth to a ſurpriſing fineneſs. They are handſome, well ſhaped, and good humoured, but ſo extremely lewd, that they would give themſelves up to the firſt comers, if they were not narrowly watched.

The Laplanders have plenty of fowl, which they feed with the grain of which they make their drink, and when that is ſcarce, give them dried fiſh. Moſt of the beaſts of Lapland are white, as hares, wolves, foxes, &c. but what is very extraordinary, their crows may be compared to ſwans for whiteneſs, having nothing black about them, but their bills and feet.

There is a bird of prey in this country, of a deep pearl colour, as large as an eagle, but not otherwiſe reſembling it than the beak and claws: his head is like that of a cat, his eyes are red and ſparkling; he devours hares and other ſmall game.

They have likewiſe a ſmall cur, which is an excellent mouſer, and feeds on his prey like a cat, theſe dogs, though very ugly, are greatly eſteemed: they are about a foot long, and four inches thick; their ears prick up like thoſe of a fox, and their heads are ſhaped like a rat's, the tail curls, and the hair, which is a light yellow, is very rough, and generally ſtands an end.

The fiſh, which when dried, the Laplanders uſe for bread, is called raff; it is very broad, and two or three yards long; it is firm, ſubſtantial, and excepting the fat, has a very good taſte. They have plenty of other ſorts of fiſh, and though they have an antipathy to ſalt, yet they boil them in ſalt water, if they live near enough to the ſea, to get it conveniently.

The rein-deer, of which we have given a deſcription, is a native of this country, and like certain trees, peculiar to other climates, ſeems calculated to ſupply in general, the wants of the ſimple inhabitants. The riches of a Laplander conſiſt in the number of theſe animals that he poſſeſſes, which are equally uſeful and hardy, and entirely adapted to endure the cold winter of the arctic regions.

We met with nothing farther worthy of notice in Lapland, unleſs we were willing, like ſome authors, to crowd our relation, with an account of the wonderful ſorceries of the natives, who when intoxicated with brandy, are mad enough, by the help of an inſtrument painted with various figures, to pretend to foretel future events to thoſe who are weak enough to believe them. We ſhall therefore cloſe this account, and proceed to a deſcription of the Ruſſian Empire.

TRAVELS IN RUSSIA, SIBERIA, &c. BY MR. HANWAY AND OTHERS.

RUSSIA owes her elevation to her preſent pitch of greatneſs, to the active genius and unremitting toils of the Czar Peter the third, who firſt began to mould the rugged natives into men, and brought the vaſt unwieldy body he governed into the form of a growing empire, and an European power.

The ancient ſovereigns of Ruſſia, ſtiled themſelves great Dukes, and afterwards Czars; but Peter the Great aſſumed the title of emperor, and that title is allowed by all Europe. The titles of the emperor at full length are, "Emperor and ſole Sovereign of all the Ruſſians, Sovereign Lord of Moſcow, Kiow, Wadimirea,

7 AP 53

A NEW
and correct MAP of the
RUSSIAN EMPIRE,
as Comprehended in
EUROPE and ASIA.
from the best Authorities and
Latest Improvements
North Pole
90°
NORTHERN OCEAN
EUROPEAN RUSSIA
ASIATIC RUSSIA
WESTERN TARTARY
EASTERN TARTARY
CHINESE EMPIRE
PACIFIC OCEAN
SEA OF OCHOZK
KOREA SEA
JAPAN ISLAND
KAMCHATKA
SCHELAT
ZUKTZI
POLAND
SWEDEN
LAPLAND
NOVA SEMBLA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Land seen in 1728
British Statute Miles.
70 280 560 980
Worths 204 to a Degree.
204 922 720 1428
East 90 Longitude from 100 London

Wadimirea, Novogrod, Czar in Caſan, Aſtracan, and Siberia; Lord of Pleſkow; Great Duke of Smolenſko; Duke of Eſthenia, Livonia, and Carelia; of Tweria, Ingria, Pernia, Wiatkia, Bulgaria, and Lord of ſeveral other Territories; Great Duke of Novogrod, in the low Country of Tſhernickow, Yeſan, Roſtow, Jaroſlaw, Bielo-ſero, Uldoria, Condinia; Emperor of all the Northern Parts; Lord of the Territory of Juweria; of the Carthalinian, Grewzinian, and Georgian Czars; of the Kabardinian, Circaſſian, and Gorian Princes; Lord and Supreme Ruler of many other Countries and Territories."

The power of the Emperor of Ruſſia is as abſolute and unlimitted as poſſible. Peter the Great publiſhed an ordnance, by which the ſucceſſion was entirely to depend upon the will of the reigning ſovereign; nor have they any other written fundamental law, relating to the ſucceſſion.

The empire of Ruſſia is bounded on the north and eaſt by the main, and towards the weſt and ſouth its limits are ſettled by treaties, concluded by ſeveral far diſtant powers; with the Swedes, the Poles, the Turks, the Perſians, and the Chineſe.

The number of provinces comprehended in the Empire of Ruſſia being very great, and many of them very extenſive, it neceſſarily follows, that the ſoil and temperature of the air, muſt be extremely various in different parts.

In thoſe which lie beyond ſixty degrees of north latitude, there are few places where corn will grow to maturity; and in the northern parts of the empire, which reach beyond ſeventy degrees, no good fruits are produced, except in the country about Archangel, where many buſhes and ſhrubs grow ſpontaneouſly, and yield ſeveral ſorts of berries. In the neighbourhood of that city horned cattle are alſo bred, and there are plenty of wild beaſts and fowls, and ſeveral ſorts of fiſh.

In the middle province of this empire, the ſoil produces moſt kind of trees and garden fruits, corn, honey, &c. They are alſo well ſtocked with horned cattle; the rivers are navigable, and filled with the beſt kind of fiſh, and the woods abound with game.

In the ſouthern parts of the empire the cold is very ſevere, and the days in winter are extremely ſhort; but the ſummers are warm and pleaſant, and even in the ſhorteſt nights the twilight is very luminous.

When the day is at the ſhorteſt at Archangel, the ſun riſes at twenty-four minutes after ten in the morning, and ſets at thirty-ſix minutes after one.

At Peterſburg, the ſun riſes at fifteen minutes after nine, and ſets at forty-five minutes after two: but at Aſtracan the ſun riſes at forty minutes after ſeven, and ſets at twelve minutes after four. At the ſummer ſolſtice, when the day is at the greateſt length, this order is reverſed, and the ſun riſes at Aſtracan at twelve minutes after four, and ſets about forty minutes after ſeven; and at Archangel riſes at thirty-ſix minutes after one, and ſets at twenty-four minutes after ten.

It is generally remarked, that the eaſtern countries are much colder in winter, than the weſtern that lies in the ſame latitude; this is particularly true with reſpect to Ruſſia: for the river Neva, at Peterſburg is in ſome years covered with ice, ſo early as the 24th of October; and in other years, when lateſt, about the 22d of November, but in general thaws by the 26th of April, old ſtyle.

The reader cannot fail of being pleaſed to ſee the progreſs of the ſeaſons at Peterſburg, which is ſituated in fifty-nine degrees of latitude, as given by Mr. Hanway.

February generally brings with it a bright ſun and a clear ſky; every object ſeems to glitter with gems, and the nerves become braced by the cold. There is no ſmall amuſement in riding in ſledges upon the ſnow, to thoſe who from the length of the winter have forgot the much ſuperior pleaſure, which nature preſents when cloathed in all her verdure.

March is frequently attended with ſhowers, which with the heat of the ſun, penetrates the ice; this is generally three quarters of a yard thick on the Neva, and in ſome great rivers to the north-eaſt, much thicker. This renders it like a honey-comb, and about the end of that month, it uſually breaks up.

The month of April is very warm; ſummer ſeems to precede the ſpring; for it is ſometimes the firſt of June before any verdure appears, and then the intenſe heat brings it on ſo faſt, that the eye can diſcover its progreſs from day to day. Till the middle of July it ſeems to be one continued day, the ſun not entirely diſappearing above two hours in the twenty-four.

The rain and froſt generally begins in September, and the ſeverity of both increaſes in October, and in November the river Nerva is always frozen. At this time comes on the ſeaſon for an eaſy and expeditious conveyance on the ſnow, by which, freſh proviſions are brought to market, 1000 Engliſh miles by land; ſo that beef of Archangel is often eaten at Peterſburg. The cold is ſo very intenſe in December and January, that the poor, who are overtaken by liquor, or expoſed to the air in open places, are frequently froze to death: but the great quantities of wood, chiefly birch and elder, with which the country abounds, and the commodiouſneſs of the ſtoves, enables the inhabitants to introduce any degree of heat into their houſes.

There is not a tenth part of the Ruſſian Empire properly cultivated, or ſufficiently peopled; for notwithſtanding its prodigious extent, the number of inhabitants who pay the poll tax, is reckoned at only five millions one hundred thouſand; and the reſt, including the females, are about ten millions, excluſive of the inhabitants of the conquered provinces.

The principal rivers of Ruſſia, are the Wolga, which takes its riſe in the foreſt of Walconſki, and is one of the largeſt rivers in the world; for it runs above 2000 miles before it falls into the Caſpian Sea. Its banks in moſt places are fertile, and though not ſufficiently cultivated, on account of the frequent incurſions of the Tartars, yet the ſoil ſpontaneouſly produces all kinds of eſculent herbs, and aſparagus in particular, of a very extraordinary ſize and goodneſs. This river receives ſeveral other conſiderable ones, among which are the Occa and Cama, and diſcharges itſelf by ſeveral mouths into the Caſpian Sea, by which means it forms many iſlands.

The Don (or Tanais) has its ſource not far from Tulain, the Iwans Affero, or St. John's Lake. It firſt runs from north to ſouth and after its conflux with the Soſna, directs its courſe from weſt to eaſt, and in ſeveral large windings, again runs from north to ſouth, but at length dividing into three channels, falls into the ſea of Aſaph. The Don in its courſe, approaches ſo near the Wolga, that in one place the diſtance between them is but a hundred and forty werſts, or about eighty Engliſh miles.

The Devina is a very large river, the name ſignifies double, it being formed by the conflux of the Sukona and the Yug. This river divides itſelf into two branches or channels near Archangel, from whence its runs into the White Sea,

The Nieper, the ancient Boryſthenes, ariſes from a moraſs in the foreſt of Walconſki, about 120 miles above Smoloſki, and forms ſeveral windings through Lithuania, Little Ruſſia, the country of the Zaporo Caſſaes, and a track inhabited by the Nagian Tartars; and after forming a marſhy lake of ſixty werſts in length, and in many places, two, four, or even ten werſts in breadth, diſcharges itſelf into the Black Sea.

The banks on this river are on both ſides generally high, and the ſoil excellent; but in ſummer the water is not very wholeſome. The Neiper has no leſs than thirteen water-falls, within the ſpace of ſixty werſts; yet in ſpring, during the land floods, empty veſſels may be hauled over them. There is but one bridge over this river, and that is a floating one, at Kiow, 1638 paces in length. This bridge is taken away

about the end of September, to give the flakes of ice a free paſſage down the river, and is again put together in ſpring.

A great number of mills erected in boats, are to be ſeen on this river.

The lake of Ladoga, ſituated between the gulph of Finland and the lake of Onega, is eſteemed the largeſt lake in Europe, and is ſuppoſed to exceed any other for its plenty of fiſh, among which are alſo ſeals. It is 150 miles in length, and ninety in breadth. This lake is full of quick-ſands, which being moved from place to place, by the frequent ſtorms to which it is ſubject, cauſe ſeveral ſhelves along its courſe, which often proves fatal to the flat-bottomed veſſels of the Ruſſians.

This induced Peter the Great to cauſe a canal near 70 Engliſh miles in length, ſeventy in breadth, and ten or eleven deep, to be cut, at a vaſt expence, from the ſouth-weſt extremity of this lake, to the ſea.

This great work was begun in the year 1718, and though vigorouſly proſecuted, was not completed till the year 1752, in the reign of the Empreſs Anne. There are 25 ſluices on this canal, and ſeveral rivers run into it. At the diſtance of every werſt, along its banks, there is a pillar marked with the number of werſts; and a regiment of ſoldiers are conſtantly employed to keep the canal in repair. The moſt fruitful part of Ruſſia is near the frontiers of Poland, where the inhabitants have corn enough to ſupply their neighbours. The northern parts are over-run with foreſts, chiefly inhabited by wild beaſts, and are extremely cold and marſhy.

Fiſh is much more common diet than fleſh, throughout the whole nation; for their faſts take up near two thirds of the year, during which they are abſolutely prohibited by their religion to taſte of animal food; which is obſerved with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs.

A perſon may travel very cheap and expeditiouſly both in ſummer and winter in Ruſſia: the poſt-roads leading to the chief towns are very exactly meaſured, with werſts marked, and the poſt ſtages fixed at proper diſtances; for throughout the whole empire, and even in Siberia, a pillar is inſcribed with the number of werſts erected at the end of each.

Between Riga and Peterſburgh, the hire of a poſt horſe for every werſt is no more than two copeiks and an half, which is one penny three farthings ſterling; between Novograd and Moſcow, but half a copeik. Nothing can be more accommodated to eaſe and diſpatch than travelling in ſledges during the winter, when the earth is covered with deep ſnow, and impaſſable for wheel carriages; for in the journey Mr. Hanway made in that ſeaſon from Moſcow to Peterſburgh, he ſlept in his ſledge, without waking, while he advanced 100 werſts, or 66 Engliſh miles.

The whole road betwixt thoſe two cities was marked out in the ſnow by young fir-trees, planted on each ſide, at the diſtance of twenty yards, which at a moderate computation, amount to 128,480 trees. At certain diſtances were likewiſe great piles of wood, to be ſet on fire, in order to give light to the empreſs and her court, if they paſſed by in the night.

Her majeſty, on theſe occaſions, is drawn in a kind of houſe, which contains her bed, a table, and other conveniences, where four perſons may take repaſt. This wooden ſtructure, which has a ſloping roof, and ſmall windows to keep out the cold, is fixed on a ſledge, and drawn by 24 poſt-horſes; and if any of them fail on the road, there are others ready to ſupply their places.

The late empreſs was ſeldom more than three days and three nights on the journey, (notwithſtanding her having ſeveral palaces at which ſhe ſometimes ſtopped to refreſh herſelf) though the diſtance is 488 Engliſh miles: and once this journey was made by Peter the Great in 46 hours, but he did not travel in the ſame kind of carriage.

The Ruſſian language is derived from the Sclavonian, but at preſent it is very different from it; and with regard to religious ſubjects, abounds with Greek words.

Their alphabet conſiſts of 24 letters, moſt of them Greek characters, as they were written in the 9th century; but as the latter did not expreſs every particular ſound in the Sclavonian language, recourſe was had to ſeveral Hebrew letters, and to the invention of ſome arbitrary ſigns. Various dialects are uſed in the different parts of the Ruſſian empire, as the Muſcovite, the Norogrodian, the Ukrainian, and that of the Archangel.

The Ruſſians profeſs the religion of the Greek church, which was firſt embraced by the Great Ducheſs Ogla, ſovereign of Ruſſia, in the nine hundred and fifty-fifth year after the birth of Chriſt. The external part of their religion conſiſts in the number and ſeverity of their faſts, in which they far exceed the Romiſh church. Their uſual weekly faſts are on Wedneſdays and Fridays. In lent, they neither eat fleſh, milk, eggs, nor butter; but confine themſelves to vegetables, bread, and fiſh fried in oil.

The Ruſſians are great enemies to the worſhip of graven images, and yet are ſo abſurdly inconſiſtent, that in their private devotions, they kneel before a picture of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, St. Nicholas, or ſome other ſaint, which is an indiſpenſable piece of furniture in their cloſet. To this they bow ſeveral times, making the ſign of the croſs with their thumb, fore-finger, and third-finger, on the breaſt, forehead, and ſhoulders; at the ſame time repeating, in a low voice, the Lord's Prayer, and ſome ſhort ejaculations; particularly, "Lord be mercifnl unto me." Indeed they ſeldom paſs by a church without uttering theſe words, at the ſame time bowing and croſſing themſelves, without paying the leaſt regard to any perſon who may happen to be within ſight.

Great numbers of the common people, and even ſome perſons of rank, either by way of penance, or ſome other motives of humiliation, proſtrate themſelves on their faces at the entrance of the church, and thoſe who are conſcious of having contracted any impurity, forbear entering the church. The bells are often rung; and as ringing is counted a branch of devotion, the towns are provided with a great number of bells, which make, as it were, a continual chiming.

The divine ſervice is entirely performed in the Sclavonian tongue, which the people do not underſtand, as it is very different from the modern Ruſſian; and this ſervice conſiſts of abundance of trifling ceremonies, long maſſes, ſinging, and prayers; all which are performed by the prieſts, while the people only repeat, "Lord be merciful to me." They ſometimes give a lecture from one of the fathers; but there are few churches in which ſermons are ever delivered, and even in theſe they preach but ſeldom.

In Ruſſia there are a great number of convents for the religious of both ſexes; but Peter the firſt, with the utmoſt prudence and good policy, ordered that no perſon ſhould be allowed to enter on a monaſtic life before 50 years of age; however, ſince his death, this regulation has been repealed, it being thought proper to ſhew a greater condeſcenſion to the monaſteries; but no man is permitted to turn monk till he is thirty, nor any woman to commence until ſhe is 50; and even then not without the expreſs approbation and licence of the holy ſynod.

Ruſſia affords a variety of articles of commerce, that are of great uſe to foreigners; and as the exports of this country far exceed its imports, the balance of trade is conſiderably in its favour. The Ruſſian home commodities are ſables, and black furs; the ſkins of blue and white foxes, ermines, hyænas, lynxes, ſquirrels, bears, panthers, wolves, martins, wild cats, white hares, &c. Likewiſe Ruſſia leather, copper, iron, iſinglaſs, tallow, pitch, tar, linſeed-oil, train-oil, roſin, honey, wax, pot-aſh, hemp, flax, thread, calamancoes, Ruſſia linen, ſail-cloth, mats, caſtor, Siberian muſk, mamonts teeth and bones, as they are called; ſoap, feathers, hogs briſtles, timber, &c. to which may be added the Chineſe goods, rhubarb, and

Engraved for
Moores Voyages
and Travels.
HABITS
of People in
RUSSIA

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other drugs, with which the reſt of Europe is partly ſupplied by the Ruſſians.

The trade to China is chiefly carried on by caravans, and partly by private adventurers. The moſt valuable commodities, and thoſe in the greateſt quantity, carried by the Ruſſians to China, are furs, in return for which they bring back gold, tea, ſilks, cotton, &c. The trade to Perſia, by the way of the Aſtracan and Caſpian ſeas, is conſiderable; and the returns are made in raw ſilks, and ſilk ſtuffs. The trade with the Calmucs, which is entirely in private hands, conſiſt of all kinds of iron and copper utenſils; in return for which they receive cattle, proviſions, and ſometimes gold and ſilver; but this trade is of no great importance. The trade to Bochara, one of the chief towns of Uſbec Tartary, is either for ready money, or by bartering of goods for cured lamb-ſkins, Indian ſilks, and ſometimes gems brought to the yearly fair at Samarkand. The traders in the Ukraine ſell all kinds of proviſions to the Crim Tartars; and alſo carry on a trade with the Greek merchants at Conſtantinople. The inhabitants of Kiow ſend cattle and Ruſſia leather to Sileſia.

The Engliſh enjoyed conſiderable privileges in trade, ſo early as the reign of the Czar Iwan-Baſilowitz, to whom Captain Chancellor delivered a letter from Edward VI. in 1553, and received a licenſe to trade, which was renewed by Peter the Great.

A treaty of commerce was concluded between Ruſſia and England in 1742, by which it was ſtipulated that the Engliſh ſhould be allowed the privilege of ſending goods through Ruſſia into Perſia: but Captain Elton, an Engliſhman, having entered into the ſervice of Nadir Shah, and built ſhips for that monarch on the Caſpian ſea, the Ruſſians, together with the troubles of Perſia, put an end to that trade; however, the Engliſh ſtill carry on a conſiderable trade to Ruſſia, and larger than that of any other nation.

Next to the Engliſh, the Dutch carry on the greateſt trade with the Ruſſians. Bills of exchange are drawn at Peterſburgh or Amſterdam only, on which account the traders of any other country than Holland, who give commiſſion for buying Ruſſian commodities at Peterſburgh, are obliged to procure credit, or otherwiſe to have proper funds at Amſterdam.

All the coins of Ruſſia, except ducats, have inſcriptions in the Ruſſian tongue. The gold coins are imperial ducats; and the largeſt ſilver coin is the ruble, the value of which riſes and falls according to the courſe of exchange. A ruble in Ruſſia is equal to an hundred copeiks, or four ſhillings and ſix-pence ſterling. The other ſilver coins are half rubles, which are called Potinnics, and quarter rubles. Agraphe, or griwes, is of the value of ten copeiks; and ten griwes are equal to a ruble. The copper coins are, a copeik, which is of the value of about a half-penny; or denga, or denuſhka, two of which make a copeik; and a poluſhka, which is a quarter of a copeik. There are no other foreign pieces current in Ruſſia, except Holland rix dollars, albert dollars, and ducats.

Mr. Voltaire obſerves of the Ruſſian empire, that "It is of greater extent than all the reſt of Europe, or than the Roman empire in the zenith of its power; or of the empire of Darius, ſubdued by Alexander; for it contains more than eleven hundred thouſand ſquare leagues.

"Neither the Roman empire, nor that of the Macedonian conqueror, compriſed more than 550,000 each; and there is not a kingdom in Europe the 12th part ſo extenſive as the Roman empire. In length, from the iſle of Dago, as far as its moſt eaſtern limits, it contains very near 170 degrees; ſo that when it is noon day in the weſt, it is very near midnight in the eaſtern part of this empire. In breadth, it ſtretches from ſouth to north, 3000 werſts, which make 800 leagues."

Moſcow was formerly the capital of this vaſt empire, till the Czar thought fit to build it at Peterſburgh, by which means he reſolved to make Ruſſia a conſiderable European power.

This city is built on ſeveral iſlands, which were nothing more than marſhy ſpots of mud, over-run with reeds: but the immortal Peter, whoſe undertakings in every thing carried a magnificence of idea in them that can never be ſufficiently admired, converted a miſerable bog into a fine city.

This city is the ſoul of commerce in all theſe northern parts; it is the foundation on which all the Ruſſian naval force has been erected; and the port, on which moſt depends their nurſery of ſailors. At the ſam time it is very deficient as a receptacle of the men of war of a great empire; for the depth of water, the freſhneſs of it, the docks, yards, every thing at Peterſburgh, are againſt the uſe of it for that purpoſe. The yards are at Peterſburgh, but the depth of water is ſo inconſiderable, that nothing can be put on board the firſt rate men of war before they are conveyed to Cronſtadt, which is not eaſily done neither. Once this work was effected by means of moſt expenſive machines, but now they come without that difficulty by means of the new canal, which is not ſo complete but infinite attention is neceſſary for conducting them.

Men of war are not the only veſſels that are built here; galleys are much in uſe for the Baltic, but as this empire has experienced of late great changes in the ſyſtem of politics, the uſe of galleys varies accordingly.

A celebrated author ſays, "Galleys are here the proper things, be there never ſo little water, there is always enough for them. They glide between the iſlands and the rocks; they can land any where. The Czar was ſenſible of it at laſt, and ſent for galley-builders from Venice. I met with one of them greatly advanced in years, and was not a little ſurpriſed to hear terminations in a. o. in 60 degrees of latitude. The galleys one ſees here, are of different ſizes: there are ſmall ones which carry about 130 men, and others ſome much larger. They are all armed with two pieces of cannon on the prow, and furniſhed with chace-guns, and ſwivels on the ſides. The Czar gave to each of them the name of a Ruſſian fiſh. Now they are numbered as the legions were; there are upwards of 130 of them, and they are to be much more numerous. By this means an army of 30,000 men are tranſported with great eaſe. Rowing is to the Ruſſian ſoldiers what the exerciſe of ſwimming was to the Romans. Every foot ſoldier learns to handle the oar at the ſame time as the muſquet, by which means, without maritime commerce, and without embargoes, the Ruſſians have always crews ready for their galleys. They caſt anchor every night, and land where it is leaſt expected. When diſembarked, they draw them up upon the land, range them in a circle, with their prows and artillery pointed outward, and thus they have in a trice a fortified camp. They leave five or ſix battalions to guard it, and with the reſt of their troops over-run the country, and lay it under contribution. The expedition ended, they reembark, and begin in another quarter. Sometimes they tranſport their veſſels from one water to another over a ſlip of land, as was practiſed by the antients on ſeveral occaſions, and particularly after the example of Mahomet II. at the ſiege of Conſtantinople.

"The Swedes can teſtify whether theſe Ruſſian galleys are formidable. They have ſeen them ravage their rich mines of Norkopping, the whole coaſts of Gothland and Sudermania, and ſhew themſelves even before Stockholm."

Peterſburgh is amazingly increaſed within theſe 40 years: at the death of Peter the Great, it did not contain 80,000 inhabitants, and now the Ruſſians aſſert that there are 500,000, but this is an exaggeration. It covers a very great extent of land and water. The ſtreets are ſome of them broad, long, and with canals in the middle of them; and others are planted in the Dutch faſhion; the houſes are im-

menſely large; the palaces of the nobility exceed in ſize, thoſe of any city; and that of the empreſs is an amazing ſtructure: but all is gigantic, they are rather great than beautiful; the ſize is all that ſtrikes the eye; and theſe prodigious piles are ſtuck ſo thick with ornaments, that there is hardly any ſuch thing as judging of their proportions: the Italian architecture is mixed with the Dutch, and the whole forms very inelegant buildings, in which true taſte is wholly ſacrificed to a profuſion of ornament. The Czar himſelf ſpared no pains in rendering it as ſtrong as poſſible; for being at the very extremity of his dominions, cloſe to his enemies the Swedes, and open to all the attacks which are poſſible to ariſe from his European connexions, he made a point of having it impregnable; but herein he certainly failed. There are many forts, and whole ſhores converted into platforms, and lined from end to end with great guns. Theſe works begin at Cronſtadt, which is made very ſtrong, and they laſt to the city. There is a citidal regularly built, and capable not only of protecting the city on one ſide, but alſo itſelf of ſtanding a ſiege.

There are many public buildings well worth the attention of a traveller, particularly the dock yards and the naval magazines, the arſenal, foundry, admiralty, &c. without inſiſting on the imperial palace, the cathedral, or many churches.

Here is a foundry: the iron is brought from Kexholm by water, and the number of cannon and mortars that are caſt here are very great; alſo cannon-balls, ſhells, and all ſorts of military implements in which iron is uſed; which are made here at as ſmall an expence as in Sweden, or any other part of the world. The arſenal is always well ſtored with them; and there are vaſt quantities made on a private account for exportation, forming a very conſiderable branch of commerce.

"This city, (ſays Mr. Wraxall) is as yet only an immenſe outline, which will require future empreſſes, and almoſt future ages to complete. It ſtands at preſent on a prodigious extent of ground; but as the houſes in many parts are not contiguous, and great ſpaces are left unbuilt, it is hard to aſcertain its real ſize and magnitude. Devotion has not been wanting to add to her magnificence, and to erect places of worſhip in almoſt every part. Curioſity and novelty have carried me to all of them. The external architecture differrs very little in any: the Greeks ſeem as fond of domes, as the Mahomedans are of minarets in their churches. They uſually encircle one large with four ſmaller cupulos, and cover them with copper gilt, which has a fine effect on the eye when the ſun ſhines upon it. The ornaments within are coſtly and barbarous: a Mexican temple can hardly be more ſo. They ſurround a daubing of the Virgin Mary and Jeſus, with gold and ſilver head-dreſſes, and ſometimes complete habits, and leave only expoſed the fingers, which the multitude very devoutly kiſs. Some of theſe ſtrange compound figures of paint and metal, are very laughable, and the poor Madona ſeems like a priſoner in golden fetters. The prieſts, are dreſſed in veſtments, which very much reſemble the Romiſh, and are generally compoſed of tiſſue and expenſive ſilks. The manner in which they perform the ſervice, rather reminds me of an incantation, than a prayer offered to the Deity; and they repeat much of it ſo incredibly faſt, that one is tempted to ſuppoſe it impoſſible the auditory can underſtand one articulate word the prieſt utters, let their attention be ever ſo ſtrong.

"In the church of the citadel repoſe the body of Peter I. and the ſucceſſive ſovereigns ſince his death; who are ranged in coffers ſide by ſide, but have not any of them marble monuments erected to their memories; nor is there any other motive to induce a traveller to enter this church, except the conſciouſneſs that he beholds the wood which contains the aſhes of Peter, and that mingled ſentiment of reverence and pleaſure, which the mind may experience from the contemplation of it. Only one monarch is excluded, as if unworthy to be entombed with his progenitors and predeceſſors in the throne of Ruſſia. This is the late unhappy Peter III. who after his death, was expoſed during ſome days in the monaſtery of St. Alexander Newſkoi, a few miles out of town, to convince the people that he had not ſuffered any violence, but ended his life naturally, he was afterwards privately interred there."

The public buildings of different kinds are prodigiouſly numerous in this city. Some of them are ſtone, but the larger part are only brick, or wood plaiſtered. The winter palaces is compoſed of the former materials, and was erected by the late Empreſs Elizabeth; it is very large and very heavy; one would have ſuppoſed Sir John Vanburgh was invoked to lend his aid in the plan of it, ſince nothing can more ſtrikingly reſemble his ſtyle. It is not yet quite finiſhed, like almoſt every thing elſe in Ruſſia. The ſituation is very lovely, on the banks of the Neva, and in the centre of the town, contiguous to it is a ſmall palace, built by the preſent Empreſs, and called, The Hermitage. When her majeſty reſides in this part of the building, ſhe is in retreat. Theſe apartments are very elegant, and furniſhed with great taſte. There are two galleries of paintings, which have been lately purchaſed at an immenſe expence in Italy. The crown is perhaps the richeſt in Europe. It is ſhaped like a bonnet, and totally covered with diamonds. The ſcepter is the celebrated one, purchaſed by Prince Orloff for five hundred thouſand rubles (a coin of the value of about four ſhillings and ſix-pence Engliſh) and preſented by him to his ſovereign miſtreſs.

There are two academies here, one of arts and the other of ſciences. The preſent empreſs has founded the firſt, which will be, when finiſhed, a ſuperb edifice: it is furniſhed with maſters in the different branches of polite letters, and filled with caſts from the moſt renouned of Greek and Roman ſculpture; but it does not appear that any eminent geniuſes have ariſen, though they have not been without artiſts. Nature ſeems to have confined perfection in theſe elegant and exquiſite productions, to certain climates and people, among whom they ſpring ſpontaneous for centuries; and which are only imperfectly copied by other nations, where the ſeeds are not ſo happily diſpoſed, or the organs ſo juſtly adapted.

Our modern travellers obſerve that the Thames is not comparable to the Neva, in beauty; and as the ſtream ſets conſtantly out of the Lake Ladoga into the Gulf of Finland, it is always full, clear, and perfectly clean. Along its banks is the fineſt walk in the world. It is not a quay, as veſſels never come to this part, but a parade running a mile in length; the buildings on which, are hardly to be exceeded in elegance. It is yet to be continued to double the length. Over the river in the narroweſt part is a bridge on pontoons. From this noble river, canals are cut to all parts of the city; nor could any ſituation be more favourable to the genius of commerce, if the inclemency of the latitude did not keep it frozen up at leaſt five months annually.

"As this place (ſays Mr. Wraxall) is the formation of ſo few years, it is laid out with great regularity; there is not any thing that looks odd, and much is ſtill imperfect and unfiniſhed. The buildings throughout have a very handſome appearance, and are like every thing elſe, on a larger ſcale than is to be ſeen elſewhere. The ſtreets are moſtly paved; but they have a cuſtom here of laying in many places a flooring of timber on the ground. This was more common formerly in Moſcow, where, in the frequent fires they uſed to have, the ſtreet itſelf caught the flames, and the conflagrations became terrible, as the houſes likewiſe are moſtly made of wood even at preſent."

The trade of Peterſburg is much more conſiderable than that of any other town in the Ruſſian Empire; and would figure in compariſon with many very great marts in other parts of Europe; but unfortunately that

that vaſt commerce is nine-tenths of it carried on in foreign bottoms. The Dutch alone load annually here with timber, iron, and all ſorts of naval ſtores, a great many ſhips, and the Engliſh many more.

The commodities theſe nations carry from Peterſburg, are tar, bees-wax, pitch, hemp, flax, leather, ſkins, furs, pot-aſhes, timber, plank, iron, yarn, linen, lint-ſeed, &c. and theſe in ſuch quantities that the very balance of trade between Great Britain and Ruſſia has been reckoned at 400,000 pounds a year againſt the former; the amount of the total commerce may therefore be eaſily conceived. The royal navy of England is almoſt totally ſupplied with hemp from Peterſburg, great quantities of iron, and other naval ſtores, and all the ſhipping in England likewiſe; and this importation has increaſed very much ſince the Swedes laid a prohibition on our manufactories, ſo that the importation from that country was reduced to the few articles which neceſſity obliged us to have from thence; and all the reſt very politically transferred to Ruſſia.

The greateſt trade at Peterſburg is carried on by the Engliſh; next in rank come the Dutch; as to the French, they deal here as little as poſſible; for the two crowns are very far from being on a good footing, the French and the Swedes being in cloſe alliance, they therefore trade to Sweden for all thoſe commodities which England gets from Ruſſia, ſome few excepted, which are not to be had at that market. Notwithſtanding this, they conſume large quantities of French commodities in Ruſſia, but theſe come to them principally through the hands of the Dutch.

The building this capital has had a very great effect in improving large tracks of land in the ſurrounding provinces. The corn and other proviſions brought hither, and the variety of merchandiſe exported from hence, employ ſome of the moſt conſiderable inland navigations in the world. The Neva, the great Lakes of Lagoda and Onega; the Tuerka, the Meſta, the Volcova, and the Wolga, all theſe rivers, with many others, though ſome of them are at a great diſtance, keep open a communication between Peterſburg and thoſe noble tracks of country upon the Caſpian and Euxine Seas: but it may be ſuppoſed that the greateſt advantages are made by the people who have not ſuch a diſtance to go; ſo that the products of all the neighbouring provinces are infinitely greater than thoſe of others more diſtant.

Next to Peterſburg the favourite city of Peter was Azoph, the reaſon of which, was his deſign of eſtabliſhing a trade from thence through the Thracian Boſphorus to the Archipelago. This would not only have given him greater mercantile advantages than Peterſburg, but would have endangered the very being of the Turkiſh Empire; by letting a naval power of the Ruſſians into the very heart of Conſtantinople; and that Peter deſigned ſomething more than commerce, we may eaſily gather from his forming dock-yards and naval magazines, at Azoph; and actually had ſhips of ſeventy guns upon the ſtocks, which ſufficiently ſhewed that he intended a naval war upon the Euxine Sea againſt the Turks.

The Ruſſian Empire is but badly peopled. The beſt writers inform us, that it contains ſeventeen millions of inhabitants, and one million in the conquered provinces; but the preſent Empreſs has increaſed the number of her ſubjects many ways, principally by a general and very active encouragement of all arts, of agriculture, mining, manufactures, and commerce, and this with ſuch effect, that all of them are more flouriſhing at this time by many degrees, than they were twenty years ago. And another means which ſhe has taken to increaſe her people, has been inviting foreigners; this ſhe has done in a ſtill greater degree than any of her predeceſſors; almoſt from her acceſſion to the empire ſhe has brought continual bodies of Germans, Poles, and Greeks from Turkey, to ſettle in her dominions, and theſe not few in number; from the coaſts of Germany ſhip loads, but from Poland and Turkey, whole towns, villages, and diſtricts, have left their habitations, and ſettled in Ruſſia; nor has it been only at certain times, but regular emigrations, in conſequence of her continued encouragement. All the expences of the journey or voyage of thoſe foreigners from their native country, are borne by her; ſhe feeds and ſupports them by the way. Upon their arrival at the territory appointed them to cultivate, (which has always been part of the crown lands) every family has a cottage erected at her expence, to which they contribute labour; they then are furniſhed with implements neceſſary for cultivation, and one year's proviſion for the whole family, and a further advantage is an exemption from all taxes for five years. All which is a ſyſtem of ſuch admirable policy, and carried into execution with ſuch unuſual ſpirit, even while the finances of the empire have been much diſtreſſed by expenſive wars. The continual diſorders in Poland, and the apprehenſions in Turkey, have cauſed many thouſands of families annually to leave their country, and make uſe of this bounty of the Empreſs. So that the number of the new comers is at preſent greater than ever, and promiſes to be ſo conſiderable, that in a few years, if the troubles in Poland continue, the increaſe of people will be immenſe, and with them certainly that of the power and wealth of the empire. Nor has any event of her reign diſcovered a greater underſtanding, than this regular favour ſhewn to population.

The revenues of the Ruſſian Empire are very great, conſidering the value of money. The Empreſs is in many articles the ſole merchant in her dominions. The whole trade by land to China is on her account; this is not indeed conſiderable, for a caravan rarely goes now. Rheubarb, pot-aſhes, and ſpices, are branches in which ſhe, and nobody elſe, trades. Salt is an article that brings her an immenſe revenue. Very large quantities of the beſt hemp of the Ukrain are bought and ſold on her account; much iron the ſame, and even beer and brandy are hers. Beſides theſe articles, ſhe has cuſtoms, tolls, and a poll tax of three ſhillings and ſix-pence a head. The crown lands which are prodigiouſly extenſive, bring in a conſiderable revenue.

We ſhall here preſent our readers with ſome circumſtances relative to the life and character of Peter the Great, as ſelected from the beſt authorities.

He had the utmoſt averſion to rich cloaths, and liked no dreſs ſo well as his regimentals: he never wore but one ſuit of embroidery, and that only for a ſingle day. It was his common cuſtom in the ſummer time to drive about the ſtreets of Peterſburg in a chair with one horſe, attended only by a ſingle ſoldier on horſeback. He has been often ſeen in winter, in a common hackney ſledge; and it has ſometimes happened that he had not the value of three-pence to pay the fare; on which occaſions he has not ſcrupled to aſk the loan of the money of any perſon whom he knew and accidently met. Yet notwithſtanding theſe ſeeming improprieties, the ſuperiority of his genius, ſupported the dignity of a great monarch.

In the winter ſeaſon he was uſually at his tribunals and public offices by five in the morning; and thus his perſonal attendance and knowledge of buſineſs, taught his ſubjects their reſpective duties, confined them to thoſe duties, and advanced the welfare of the ſtate.

Peter the Great was not ſatisfied without examining to the bottom of things, and therefore, inſtead of making his people wait on him, he watched them; ſo that he was but ſeldom to be found in the palace. The care of providing public feaſts for the foreign miniſters was committed to Prince Menzikoff, ſo that the emperor loſt no time in idle ceremonies; and with regard to his own diet, it was rather coarſe than elegant. He uſed to eat and drink with all ſorts of people, and was often god-father to their children; if his god-child died, he has even more than once attended their funerals.

He was very inquiſitive about trade, yet he confeſſed it was what he leaſt underſtood: but his eſta-

bliſhment of the commerce in St. Peterſburg, and bringing the greateſt part of it from Archangel; the premiums he offered to thoſe who ſhould find out new branches of trade; his ſetting up and encouraging new manufactories of linen and hemp in his own country; the great countenance he gave to foreign merchants, and many other ſuch like circumſtances, are certain indications that he underſtood in many inſtances, the means of advancing commerce, as well as the great end of it.

This prince made even his pleaſures and amuſements ſubſervient to the important ends of his government. He had more than once received very melancholy proofs of the impatience of his ſubjects under the reformation which he had planned, and was now accompliſhing; this rendered him extremely ſuſpicious of them. As mens hearts are generally moſt open in their cups, he often drank with them liberally, ſometimes at court, and oftener at their own houſes. His manners ſeemed to be rude, in requiring even the ladies, upon certain occaſions to ſwallow goblets of wine, or other ſtrong liquors; but in this he had his views: drinking is ſtill the vice of Ruſſia; but in this they conduct themſelves with more decorum than they did formerly.

He had frequent convulſive diſtortions of his head and countenance, contracted by a fright in his youth, upon an occaſion when his life was in danger; but in ſuch caſes it was always the rule of the company he was in, to look down, or a different way, and purſue their diſcourſe without ſeeming to regard him.

He would never lie alone, leſt any attempt might be made on his life; when he was not with the empreſs, or other companion, he ordered one of his chamberlains to ſleep with him, which was an uncomfortable ſituation to them, as he was very angry if they awaked him; tho' he uſed to graſp them very hard in his ſleep.

His character, as a maſter of exquiſite art, and acute judgement, will appear from his being able to inſpire his people with a contempt of that ſordid ignorance which had for many ages reigned through the country, and which he made it his particular care to baniſh. He could not bring this about more effectually than by ridiculing the ſuperſtitious reverence they entertained for the cuſtoms of their anceſtors; with this view he ordered a number of dreſſes of the ſeveral officers of the crown and court, as were worn in paſt ages, and in theſe himſelf, and his whole court appeared in maſquerade; by which means the people were perſuaded, that at leaſt they were as wiſe as their forefathers.

Mr. Bell in his travels to Derbent, in Perſia, has given us the following account of this great man.

About the middle of October, 1714, (ſays he) I arrived at Cronſtadt in an Engliſh ſhip. The Czar having notice of the ſhip's arrival, came on board the next morning from St. Peterſburg; being attended only by Dr. Areſkine, who was his chief phyſician at that time, and on that occaſion, ſerved him as interpreter.

After his majeſty had enquired news about the Swediſh fleet, &c. he ate a piece of bread and cheeſe, and drank a glaſs of ale, then went on ſhore to viſit the works carrying on at Cronſtadt, and returned the ſame evening in his boat to St. Peterſburgh; diſtance about twenty Engliſh miles.

The firſt winter after my arrival at St. Peterſburg, I lodged at Mr. Noy's, an Engliſh ſhip builder in the Czar's ſervice. One morning before day-light, my ſervant came and told me that the Czar was at the door. I got up, and ſaw him walking up and down the yard, the weather being ſeverely cold and froſty, without any one to attend him. Mr. Noy ſoon came, and took him into the parlour, where his majeſty gave him ſome particular directions about a ſhip on the ſtocks, which having done, he left him.

His majeſty's perſon was graceful, tall, and well made, clean, and very plain in his apparel. He generally wore an Engliſh drab-colour frock, never appearing in a dreſs ſuit of cloaths, unleſs on great feſtivals, and remarkable holidays; on which occaſions he was ſometimes dreſſed in laced cloaths, of which ſort he was not owner of above three or four ſuits. When he was dreſſed he wore the order of St. Andrew; at other times he had no badge or mark of any order on his perſon. His equipage was ſimple, without attendants. In ſummer, a four-oared wherry was always attending, to carry him over the river, if he ſhould want to croſs it, which he frequently did. When he went about the town by land, he always made uſe of an open two-wheeled chaiſe, attended by two ſoldiers or grooms, who rode before, and a page, who ſometimes ſtood behind the chaiſe, and often ſat with his majeſty and drove him. In winter he made uſe of a ſledge, drawn by one horſe, with the ſame attendants. He found theſe to be the moſt expeditious ways of conveyance, and uſed no other. He was abroad every day in the year, unleſs confined at home by illneſs, which rarely happened; ſo that ſeldom a day paſſed but he was ſeen in almoſt every part of the city.

I have, (ſays the author) more than once ſeen him ſtop in the ſtreets to receive petitions from perſons who thought themſelves wronged by ſentences paſſed in courts of judicature. On taking the petition, the perſon was told to come the next day to the ſenate, where the affair was immediately examined, and determined, if the nature of it would admit its being done in ſo ſhort a time.

He roſe almoſt every morning in the winter time before four o'clock, was often in the cabinet by three, where two private ſecretaries, and certain clerks paid conſtant attendance. He often went ſo early to the ſenate, as to occaſion the ſenators being raiſed out of their beds to attend him there. When aſſembled, after hearing cauſes between ſubject and ſubject, or public affairs, regarding the interior of the empire, read by the ſecretary, and the opinion of the ſenate recited thereupon, he would write upon the proceſs, or upon the affair under deliberation, with his own hand, in a very laconic ſtyle, Let it be according to the decree of the ſenate: and ſometimes would add ſome particular alterations, ſuch as he thought fit to mention, and wrote PETER under it.

His majeſty knew ſo little of relaxation of mind when awake, that he never allowed his time of reſt to be broke in upon, unleſs in caſe of fire. When any accident of that kind happened, in any part of the town, there was a ſtanding order on its firſt appearance to awake him; and his majeſty was frequently the firſt at the fire, where he always remained giving the neceſſary orders, till all further danger was over. This example of paternal regard of the Czar for his ſubjects was, of courſe, followed by all the great officers, and thoſe of the firſt quality, which was frequently the means of ſaving many thouſands of his ſubjects from utter ruin, whoſe houſes and goods, without ſuch ſingular aſſiſtance, muſt have ſhared the fate of their ruined neighbours.

In acts of religion he appeared devout, but not ſuperſtitious. I have ſeen him at his public devotions in church many times. I have been preſent when his majeſty, not liking the clerk's manner of reading the pſalms, hath taken the book from the clerk, and hath read them himſelf; which he did very diſtinctly, and with proper emphaſis. His majeſty was allowed by the beſt judges of the Sclavonian and Ruſſian languages, to be as great a maſter of them as any of the moſt learned of his ſubjects, whether churchmen or laics. He wrote a very good hand, very expeditiouſly, yet the characters diſtinct enough. As to the ſtyle, ſome of his ſecretaries, and other complete judges of the language affirmed, that they had never known any man who wrote more correctly than he, or could compriſe the ſenſe and meaning of what he wrote in ſo few words, as his majeſty.

The following I had from a certain Ruſſian gentleman of very good family, and who was a general officer of unexceptionable character, in the army, who

attended

tended his majeſty from his very youth, in all his expeditions. This officer being an old friend of mine, I went to pay him a viſit one evening, long after the death of Peter the Great, when he told me that ſuch and ſuch officers, naming them, had dined with him that day, and that the principal ſubject of their converſation turned on the actions of their old father (as he termed him by way of eminence) Peter the Great. He told me further, that though his majeſty ſeemed to be ſevere on certain occaſions, yet not one of them all could produce or recollect one ſingle inſtance of his having puniſhed an honeſt man, or that he had cauſed any perſon to ſuffer any puniſhment, who had not well deſerved it.

He hath been repreſented as making too frequent uſe of ſpirituous liquors to exceſs, which is an unmerited aſperſion; for he had an averſion to all ſorts, and to thoſe too much given to drinking. It is true, he had his times of diverſion, when he would be merry himſelf, and liked to ſee others ſo; this may have been neceſſary, and proper for the unbending his mind from affairs of great weight; but ſuch amuſements occurred generally during holidays, and feſtival times, and was with him, at no time of long continuance. It hath been imputed to him, and not without ſome appearance of reaſon, that he had political views in encouraging drinking at thoſe times of merriment, for on theſe occaſions, he mixed with the company, and, converſing with them on the footing of a companion, had better opportunities, at ſuch times, of diſcovering the real ſentiments of thoſe about him, than when they were quite cool.

Thoſe, who by their offices about the perſon of Peter the Great, might be ſuppoſed to be the beſt acquainted with his diſpoſition, always diſavowed his drinking, to acceſs; and inſiſted on his being a ſober prince.

During the campaign of the expedition to Derbent, in Perſia, he was not guilty of the leaſt exceſs, but rather lived abſtemiouſly. In this point I could not be miſtaken, as the tent of Dr. Blumentroſt, his majeſty's chief phyſician, with whom I lodged, was always the neareſt tent to that of his majeſty. One inſtance occurs in proof of the temperance of this great man, viz. in our third day's march, on our return from Derbent, when we were kept in continual alarms by conſiderable bodies of mountaineers, both horſe and foot, whom we ſaw hovering on the tops of the adjacent hills, though they durſt not come down to the plain, to attack any part of our army, yet it was neceſſary to be watchful of them, which in ſome meaſure impeded our march. The evening of that day, we had a hollow way to paſs, which took up much time, and obliged the greateſt part of the army to remain there all night; ſo that none reached the camp, except the guards, and ſome light horſe who attended his majeſty. On my arrival there, about midnight, I found only his majeſty's tent ſet up, and another ſmall one for Mr. Felton, the Czar's principal cook, and maſter of his kitchen.

I went into Felton's tent, and found him all alone, with a large ſaucepan of warm grout before him, made of buck-wheat, with butter; which he told me was the remains of his majeſty's ſupper, who ate of nothing elſe that evening, and who was juſt gone to bed.

During the whole courſe of his life, his majeſty avoided all ſorts of ceremony, except on public occaſions. His manner of living in his houſe, was more like that of a private gentleman than of ſo great a monarch. I was once at court on a holiday, when the emperor came home from church to dinner, with a large attendance of his miniſters, general officers, and other great men.

His table was laid with about 15 covers. As ſoon as dinner was ſerved up, he and the empreſs took their places; and his majeſty addreſſing himſelf to the company, ſaid, "Gentlemen, pleaſe to take your places as far as the table will hold, the reſt will go home and dine with their wives." On ſuch occaſions, the princeſſes, his children, dined in another room, to whom he ſent ſuch diſhes from his own table, as he thought proper for their dinner.

This great monarch took all the pains, and uſed all means poſſible, in order to be intimately acquainted with every thing proper for a man, who ruled a mighty empire to know. He entered into the detail of every branch of arts uſeful to mankind; into that of the manufacturies which regard the conſtruction of ſhips, and fitting them for the ſea; into that of the making of arms, artillery, &c.

If he had a ruling paſſion for any part of theſe acquirements, it muſt have been for ſhip-building, into which he entered himſelf very early, in the quality of a common workman, with his hatchet, and proceeded regularly through all the degrees, to the rank of maſter-builder, which he attained but a few years before his death.

After he got that length in the art, he made the draughts, formed the mouldings, and directed the building of ſeveral men of war, of the ſecond and third rates, himſelf; and he duly demanded and received his ſalary as a maſter-builder. The day of launching the ſhips, which he himſelf built, he celebrated as a holiday, and put on laced cloaths, but before he went to work, to ſtrike away ſtanchions, blocks, &c. he always put off his fine coat.

He was very frugal in what regarded his perſonal expences, and thoſe of his houſehold. Notwithſtanding his frugality in what related to himſelf, he ſpared no coſt, in whatever concerned the public, in the ſtructure of the men of war, in the artillery, fortifications, arſenals, canals, &c. all which bore marks of very great magnificence. Nor has he ſpared in his buildings, and the decoration of his gardens with ſtatues, grottos, fountains, &c. of which the buildings of the ſummer palace, and the gardens of St. Peterſburgh, at Peterſhoff, Strealna, Czarſky, Scalo, and many others, are ſufficient proofs.

As his majeſty was always very early up in the morning, he went abroad generally without breakfaſt, came home to dinner about eleven o'clock; after dinner went to ſleep for about an hour; after which, if buſineſs did not intervene, he ſometimes diverted himſelf at his turning loom; then went to viſit thoſe he had a regard for, as well foreigners as Ruſſians, with whom he would be very ſociable, and eaſy in converſation. He ſometimes ſupped with them, which generally in his latter days, was on hare or wild-fowl, roaſted very dry, he drank ſmall-beer, and ſometimes a few glaſſes of wine, and generally was in bed before ten o'clock at night. He neither plaid at cards, dice, or any other game of chance.

This great monarch was at no time, even during maſquerades, feaſtings, aſſemblies, or any other diverſions or amuſements, by day or night, without the attendance of ſome or other of his miniſters, and of thoſe who poſſeſſed his confidence; by which means buſineſs, and ſuch affairs as were of the greateſt conſequence, went on regularly; and ſome of them were even concerted during thoſe times of relaxation.

Notwithſtanding theſe elogiums, there have been thoſe who have pointed out many defects in the character of this great man. They have ſaid that he was given to intrigues with women, and that he was of a cruel vindictive temper. As to the firſt circumſtance, ſeveral private anecdotes have been brought forward in proof it. And as to the ſecond charge, it has been thought ſufficient to obſerve, that he put to death his own ſon, though many reaſons have been offered, on the other hand in ſupport of the policy and juſtice of the ſentence. In effect, we are not to expect princes to be perfect characters, and much leſs are we to expect to find ſuch perfection in the the abſolute monarch of a rude and barbarous people.

We cannot help taking notice here, that his amourous diſpoſition, which at certain times would not

admit of the controul of political conſiderations, led him to the moſt fortunate action of his life, when it occaſioned him to advance an obſcure Livonian to be the partner of his throne. When this prince and his army were ſurrounded by the Turks at a critical period, and ſaw no hopes of eſcaping their hands, in ſpite of his orders to be left alone, the Empreſs entered his tent, and propoſed to him the only means of deliverance, which was to bribe the Grand Viſir, who having excepted the propoſal, after ſettling terms with the Czar, drew off his troops;——and thus did his conſort preſerve him from impending deſtruction.——

But to return to our traveller, he thus continues his recital. "As I advanced on my journey (ſays he) I every where made enquiries after new ſettlements on the lands belonging to the empreſs; but heard nothing of them till I got to Twera: there they told me, that in the foreſt of Volkouſkile, about an hundred miles to the South Weſt, was a very large new colony of poles, ſettled at the expence of the Czarina. I immediately determined to go out of my way to view it, that I might have an opportunity to ſee in what manner they were fixed, and what a reception they met with. I got there the 16th, paſſing through a country, the chief of which is waſte, being either foreſt or meadow, but with few villages. I found the ſettlement of Poles conſiſted of about 600 families; and pleaſed me better than any thing I had ſeen in Ruſſia. Each family has a ſmall, but not a bad houſe, built of wood, and covered with ſhingles; a houſe as good or better than the generality of ſmall farm houſes in England, where mud walls would give foreigners an idea that we were the pooreſt nation in Europe. Behind every houſe was an incloſure of about 50 Engliſh acres in one field. The fence was a ditch and parapet with a row of young plants for a hedge, that ſeemed to be a kind of elm. Each incloſure came down to a rivulet, where cattle might water. Each family had two ſheep and a ram to a certain number, a cow and a couple of oxen to till the arable, with a cart and a plough; all which was at the empreſſes's expence, and do not coſt what they do in England. This may be conceived, when I give the rates. Two oxen for ploughing and carting come to about five pounds; a cow to thirty ſhillings; a ſheep eighteen pence; a plough four ſhillings, a cart nine ſhillings, each houſe coſt the empreſs about twenty-four ſhillings, and every family had an allowance of proviſion the firſt year from the neighbouring county, which coſt her nothing; ſo that the total expence, per family, was only eight pounds ten ſhillings; and many of the families conſiſts of eight or nine perſons. The farms were all under culture, and ſubdived by the people themſelves: and I obſerved that theſe inner fences were done exactly in the ſame manner as the ſurrounding ones. Some had four fields, others five, and ſome ſix. The land, when they ſettled it, was waſte foreſt, but not many trees on it, that yielded a wild and luxuriant graſs; it is a red loom or clay. The peaſants cultivate wheat without exception, which they had been uſed to in Poland; each had one field of it; alſo a crop of barley, oats, rice; with a piece of beans, and another of turneps. Their farms were in general in good order, and they ſeemed to be extremely diligent and induſtrious in their management. Some of them had vaſtly encreaſed on the adjoining foreſt: ſome had more than twenty ſheep, ten cows, and ſix oxen; but they had greatly increaſed their farms, which the empreſs allows, provided the former portion is all in culture. They all ſeemed to be perfectly happy, being entirely free from all oppreſſion by being the lands of the crown: and there is no doubt but they will in time yield a fine revenue, without any ſeverity being employed.

"Some of them had pieces of hemp, which thrives with them ſo well, that its culture increaſes among them daily. I enquired particulary into the value of an acre, and found that it was worth upon the ſpot from fifty ſhillings to four pounds, which I think is very conſiderable, and ſhews that theſe new colonies may prove a ſource of very great wealth and population.

"It is extremely evident from this inſtance, that the way of bringing improvements to bear in Ruſſia, is not by encouragements given to the peaſants, unleſs they could at once be ſet as free as in other countries, which I am convinced already is an impoſſibility, from what I have ſeen on this journey; becauſe the nobility and other land-owners, to whom they are vaſſals, fleece and oppreſs them to ſuch a degree, that they can never be ſecure of any property, unleſs their encouragement comes from their own lords. Even they who are not vaſſals, but have poſſeſſions of their own, are trampled on by the ſoldiery. No improvements, by giving them a greater degree of liberty, can have any effect, unleſs it comes from their lords; as in this caſe of the Poliſh emigrants. The empreſs fixing them upon the crown lands, they are vaſſals of the crown, and all the liberty ſhe chuſes to give them they will ſecurely enjoy without any one's daring to injure them in any reſpect; and as the ſovereign can never profitably cultivate an extenſive domain for her own account, this is the only means of working improvements; and they cannot fail of proving moſt highly profitable.

"Theſe crown lands are ſo amazingly extenſive, that very great things might in this manner be done, and far more effectually than by general laws, in a country where the people are ſo habituated to ſlavery, that it would be a vain attempt to free them under all maſters. Theſe 600 families had at once 30,000 acres in culture, beſides the increaſe, which by many of them was very conſiderable; all which will, in proceſs of time, yield a great revenue to the crown, beſides the acquiſition of ſtrength which the empire receives by the addition of population, and the amount of ſo much induſtry as all theſe people create. After five years this colony is to pay an annual rent, which in ten more will be increaſed, and after that remains a freehold to the Poles, ſubject only to that rent.

"This colony of Poles have a market in the middle of their ſettlement on the great road, where the merchants reſort to buy their ſpare products, hemp, &c. bringing all thoſe ſorts of commodities which they want; and this trade occaſions a circulation among them, which is highly advantageous. The report of the indulgence and benefit they have met with has had great effect in Poland: ſo that they pointed out to me a track of land contiguous, where they ſoon expected 200 families more.

"I arrived at Moſcow on the 20th, paſſing through a very fine variagated country, well watered and wooded, and ſpread in fine plains, with many villages, ſcattered through them; and much appearance of cultivation: all this country is in the hands of three or four nobles, whoſe ſtewards direct the management of it.

This city is the greateſt in the empire; it was once ſtrongly fortified for this part of the world, but the ſecurity of the preſent times has made every thing unneceſſary except a wall: it is about ſixteen miles in circumference, and contains about half a million of inhabitants, till lately the Czars ſpent a part of the year here; but the palace, which is a very indifferent one, having been damaged by fire, they have not of late years been there; but notwithſtanding, this, Moſcow is the reſidence of a vaſt number of the nobility, indeed of three fourths of thoſe whoſe offices or expectations do not oblige them to attend the court, in which inſtance there is a greater appearance of liberty than in moſt other countries, for in general, all the nobility of a kingdom, flock to the ſeat of government.

"This city is very irregularly built, but it is a beautiful city; from the windings of the river, and from many eminences which are covered with groves of fine tall trees, and from numerous gardens and lawns, which open to the water, give it a moſt delightful airy appearance. I expected to ſee nothing but wooden houſes, but was

agreeably

agreeably ſurpriſed at the ſight of many very fine fabricks of brick and ſtone. It is beyond compariſon a finer city than Peterſburg. The number of churches and chapels, amounting it is ſaid to 1800, make a great figure in the printed deſcription of this city; but from the appearance of them I ſhould ſuppoſe the fact falſe, and that out of great numbers very few are worthy of notice. I ſaw the great bell, which is the largeſt in the world, and indeed a moſt ſtupendous thing it is. They have many other bells in this city, which much exceed any thing that is to be met with elſewhere; the Ruſſians being remarkably fond of this heavy ornament of their churches.

"There is a very conſiderable manufacture at Moſcow, of various hemp fabricks, particularly ſail cloth and ſheeting; which employs ſome thouſands of looms, and many thouſands of people: the hemp is moſt of it brought from the Ukraine; there are alſo great numbers of conſiderable merchants here; who carry on a very extenſive commerce with all parts of the Empire; for there is water carriage from hence to the Black and Caſpian Seas, and with but few interruptions to the Baltic alſo, which are circumſtances that make it the centre of a very great commerce.

"Our author ſays, Moſcow is much better ſituated for the metropolis of the empire than Peterſburg; it is almoſt in the centre of the moſt cultivated parts of it, communicating in the manner above mentioned, with the three inland ſeas, not at a great diſtance from the moſt important province of the empire, the Ukraine, open to the ſouthern territories on the Black Sea, and by the means of the rivers Wolga and the Don commanding an inland navigation of a prodigious extent. Its vicinity alſo to the countries, which muſt always be the ſeat of any wars with the Turks, the enemies moſt to be attended to of all thoſe with whom the Ruſſians made war; upon the whole made it infinitely a better ſituation for the ſeat of government, than that of Peterſburgh, which is at the very extremity of the empire.

"The 23d, (continues he) I left that city, taking the road towards the Ukraine.——I was fortunate in having very fine clear weather, and found the roads every where exceedingly good, no autumnal rains having yet fallen, I got that night to Molaſky, the diſtance about ſixty miles, nor did I find ſuch a day's journey too much for the horſes, the country all this way is a level plain, very fertile, and much of it well cultivated, with many villages, and in general, a well peopled territory; the peaſants ſeemed tolerably eaſy, but ſcarce any of them have any property. From Molaſky, fifty-ſix miles carried me the next day to Arcroiſy, a ſmall town ſituated in a territory not ſo well peopled as the preceding; the villages thinner, and but little of the ſoil cultivated, being covered with much timber of great ſize and beauty. On the 25th, I reached Demetriovitz, at the diſtance of more than fifty miles, every ſtep of which, was across a foreſt in which I ſaw not the leaſt veſtige of any habitation; the road was not difficult to find, even if I had not had a guide, but it is not much frequented; the mercantile people making that part of the journey to the Ukraine by water.

"This immenſe track of wild country, is part open meadow and part timber, which would in England be thought a glorious ſight: the ſoil is all a fine ſand, and, if I may judge from the ſpontaneous vitation, a moſt fertile loom; ſo that nothing is wanting but an induſtrious population; but without that, the whole territory is of little worth. I baited the horſes in the middle of the foreſt, and refreſhed myſelf and company, much admiring the uncommon extent of country that was without the leaſt appearance of being inhabited: I apprehended that the country muſt have a great reſemblance of the boundleſs plains and woods of Louiſiana.

"The 26th I rode forty miles through an uninhabited plain, to Serenſky; no timber in it, but all one level fertile meadow. I ſaw ſome herds of cattle feeding as if wild, but the land was not a tenth part ſtocked; for the graſs, if we turned out of the road, was up almoſt to the bellies of the horſes.

"The 29th, I got to Staradoff, at the diſtance of 50 miles, full twenty of which are through a rich and pleaſant country, much of it very well cultivated; they were getting in part of their harveſt; they cultivate all the grain and pulſe common in England; and from what I ſaw, I have little doubt but their huſbandry is extremely good."

From Staradoff to Czernicheu is 75 miles. Part of the track is as well cultivated as that on the other ſide of Staradoff, but much of it is covered with the foreſt. Czernicheu is a very well built town, finely ſituated on the banks of the river Deſna, which is navigable for barges of 50 tons, is very well fortified, and inhabited by about 15,000 people, many of whom carry on a conſiderable trade with Kiovia, and by the Nieper, with Poland. All the track of country, which lies upon the river Deſna, is very rich, and well cultivated. Many of the inhabitants of Czernicheu are Coſſack Tartars; but a traveller has no more reaſon to fear them, than the inhabitants of any other part of Ruſſia, for the government, although milder in the Ukraine, and the neighbouring provinces, from having been conquered from Poland, is yet the ſame, and the police as ſtrict as any part of the empire.

Kiovia is the capital of the Ukraine, and eighty miles from Czernicheu. The road leads on the banks of the Deſna, through a beautiful country, great part of it being well peopled and cultivated. It is inhabited by Tartarian deſcendants; but the preſent Coſſacks, who have very little idea of huſbandry, come far from the eaſtward, from countries that reach the river Don, at the diſtance of above 1000 miles from hence. The preſent race of the Ukraine are a civilized people, and the beſt huſbandmen in the Ruſſians empire.

Kiova is a place well known in the empire; for though it has been ſubject to many revolutions, which reduced it to a low ſtate, compared with its former grandeur; yet it has now recovered all thoſe ancient blows; it is well built of brick and ſtone; the ſtreets are wide and ſtrait, and well paved; it has a very noble cathedral, much of it lately rebuilt, and eleven other churches. It has 40,000 inhabitants, and is ſtrongly fortified. The Nieper is here a noble river; and ſeveral larger rivers falling into it, after waſhing ſome of the richeſt provinces of Poland, enable this town to carry on a very conſiderable commerce. It is the grand magazine of all the commodities of the Ukraine, particularly hemp and flax, which in this fine province are raiſed in greater quantities, and of a better quality, than in any other part of Europe. The Ukraine is the richeſt province in the Ruſſian empire. Part of it formerly was a province of Poland, and the reſt an independent ſovereignty, under a Tartaran prince; but the whole is now a mere province of Ruſſia, and much the richeſt acquiſition that crown has made. It is upon an average 250 miles long eaſt to weſt, and 140 broad from north to ſouth.

The grounds are moſt of them incloſed with ditches, to ſome of which are hedges, but not to all. They have fine meadow grounds, which they convert to hemp, but leave them under graſs for ten or twelve years before they break them up; and keep them in a tillage management as long: upon ſome grounds they have three crops of hemp running.

Flax they alſo cultivate, but they do not reckon it ſo profitable as hemp. In the management of their cattle they are very good farmers: they have large ſtocks, and they houſe them all whenever the ſnow is above four inches deep upon the ground; they litter them down well with ſtraw, and feed them with hay or turnips; cows are their principal ſtock, and they ſell immenſe quantities of butter and cheeſe; tho' it is extremely remarkable, that not many years ago, they knew not what butter was. The property of all this country is very much divided; here are very few great

eſtates

eſtates belonging to the nobility; the old inhabitants of the country are very free, and have a great equality among them; and this in poſſeſſions as well as other circumſtances; and fortunately this continues, though in ſubjection to Ruſſia. Moſt of the peaſants are little farmers, whoſe farms are all their own. They pay a conſiderable tribute, but raiſe it among themſelves according to their own cuſtoms; and they alſo furniſh the Ruſſian armies with a great many very faithful troops. Theſe points, with the immenſe value of trade the Ruſſians carry on by the means of their products, hemp and flax in particular, render the province of the firſt importance.

Buda is a little town, or rather a village, prettily ſituated between two rivers in a country very pleaſant.

To the north-weſt is Kordyne. Tobacco grows in the neighbouring country; and the Tartars upon the Black Sea, and the Kalmucks, buy large quantities, and they are not ſo nice in the ſeparation of the ſorts, as the American planters. They have large houſes, highly run up for drying it. They think the land cannot be too rich for either hemp or tobacco, and accordingly plant them on freſh land.

Catherine II. who ſways this vaſt empire may be ranked among thoſe wiſe uſurpers whoſe policy leads them by enacting good laws to obliterate from the memory of their ſubjects, the indirect means by which they arrived at that power they ſeem diſpoſed to exerciſe for the good of their people.

When Peter III. had, by his attempts at reformation, gained the ill will of moſt of the orders of the ſtate, all Europe with aſtoniſhment beheld a woman ſeize on the ſovereign power. Surpriſed with the news of an inſurrection, which he whom it concerned the moſt, was the laſt appriſed of, he haſtened from his country ſeat to the ſea ſide, called Onenabeium to take refuge in the fortreſs of Cronſtadt, where he was refuſed admittance, and ſome guns which were not charged, being pointed at his boat, ſtruck with a panic, he bore off, and after ſome friendly overtures ſurrendered himſelf at diſcretion. Every one knows he died in priſon, and all may gueſs of what diſorder; though his death was attributed to a natural diſtemper, and his body was expoſed to public view for ſome time by command of the empreſs.

Mr. Wraxall gives us a ſhort deſcription of the perſon of this princeſs, which we ſhall preſent the reader in his own words, together with ſome remarks of his on her palace at Peterſhoff.

"As we arrived early, I had an opportunity of viewing the gardens before her majeſty's appearance. They are very extenſive, lying along the ſhore of the Gulf of Finland, and waſhed by its waters. In the midſt of them ſtands the palace itſelf, ſituate on an eminence, and commanding a fine view, it was begun by Peter the I. but has been enlarged and improved by the empreſſes, his ſucceſſors, ſo that it is become now very large. In the front is a canal of ſome hundred yards in length, which joins the Gulf, and from which three *jets d' eau* are filled, which do not like thoſe of Verſailles, only play on great feſtivals, but conſtantly through the year. The apartments are all very ſplendid; but my attention was chiefly engroſſed by the drawing room, where hung five matchleſs portraits of the ſovereigns of Ruſſia. They are all length pieces, but by what maſters I cannot ſay. Peter himſelf is the firſt, and oppoſite to him appears the Livonian villages, whom he raiſed from a cottage to the moſt unbounded ſovereignty. I ſtood for ſome moments under this painting in ſilent admiration of the woman, who had paſſed from ſo humble a ſituation to an imperial diadem, of which her genius, her fidelity, and her virtue made her worthy. She is drawn by the painter as in middle life; her eyes and hair black, her countenance open, ſmiling and ingratiating, and her perſon not exceeding the middle ſize. The empreſs Anne and Elizabeth fill their reſpective places in this apartment, but did not long detain me from a portrait of the reigning ſovereign, which is of a ſingular kind. She is habited in the Ruſſian uniform, booted, and ſits aſtride on a white horſe, in her hat is the oak bough, which ſhe wore at the memorable revolution which placed her on the throne, and which was likewiſe taken by all her adherents. Her long hair floats in diſorder down her back: and the flushing in her face, the natural heat and fatigue ſhe had undergone, is finely deſigned. It is a faithful and exact reſemblance of her dreſs and perſon, as ſhe appeared twelve years ago, when ſhe came to Peterſhoff, and ſeized the throne of Ruſſia.

"While my eyes were rivited to this picture, and my thoughts employed on the melancholy cataſtrophe of the unhappy emperor which ſo ſoon followed, the empreſſes entrance was announced. She was preceded by a long train of lords and gentlemen. I felt a pleaſure corrected with awe as I gazed on this extraordinary woman, whoſe vigour and policy, without any right of blood, has ſeated and maintains her on the throne of the Czars. Though ſhe is now became rather corpulent, there is a dignity tempered with graciouſneſs in her deportment and manner, which ſtrikingly impreſſes. She was habited in a deep blue ſilk with gold ſtripes, and her hair ornamented with diamonds

Another modern traveller draws the character of the empreſs in the following manner.

"The empreſs (ſays he) entered more than once into converſation with us; and enquired into our opinions of ſeveral objects we had viewed. She is reſerved in the manner of her ſpeech, but has a noble open countenance; with a becoming greatneſs in her air and carriage. There is nothing lively or pleaſing at court, the whole being but a dull though a fine ſcene. It is certain that the great wiſdom that has hitherto appeared in all the actions and counſels of this princeſs, flows from her own perſonal genius and abilities.

"I have not learnt that ſhe has any miniſters, whoſe diſtinguiſhed parts would give one any reaſon to ſuppoſe the ſucceſs owing to them; beſides, it is well known here, that the empreſs is very determinate in her opinion. She aſks and hears the advice of her council upon important affairs; but generally follows her own opinion, which is evident from her acting directly contrary to the opinion of the whole in two or three affairs of conſequence; and in which the ſucceſs that followed, proved clearly that her own judgment was far ſuperior than that of all her miniſters. She is remarkable for being quick in her deciſions; ſhe never acts from long and repeated conſiderations, but determines almoſt inſtantaneouſly, and executes with equal celerity. Such a diſpoſition is certainly fitter for the conduct of great affairs, than one in which more caution, and a greater degree of prudence appeared: for nothing is ſo fatal in the government of an empire, as inconſtancy and irreſolution.

Under the government of ſuch a princeſs, there will be no wonder if the Ruſſians ſee the ſchemes of Peter the Great, which were left unfiniſhed, and happily completed, and the foundation laid for intirely reducing the power of the unwieldy Ottoman empire, which has ſo long tottered under its own weight. Catharine has already made them feel the force of her arms. She has ſufficiently availed herſelf of the troubles in Poland; and where ſhe has not ſhared in the partition of provinces, has depopulated whole tracts of land in that country, to add to the number of her ſubjects in one part of her dominions, whilſt the Tartars in diſtant parts own her ſway; and there remain yet vaſt regions capable of cultivation, and of filling her coffers, and increaſing her power.

The palaces of the Ruſſian nobles are not without their beauties.

I have made one or two excurſions (ſays a modern writer) into the country, particularly to Gathchina, a place of prince Orloffs, about forty miles off. It is ſituate in the moſt eligible ſpot within a great diſtance

of

of the metropolis, and will when finiſhed be a perfect ſeat. The gardens are laid out in the Engliſh taſte by a man of great merit, who was ſent for by the prince on that account. The nature of the ground, and a fine piece of water near the houſe, gave him ſcope for his genius. On my return from hence, I ſaw the royal palace of Zarſco-Zelo; this was built by Elizabeth, and is the completeſt triumph of a barbarous taſte I have ſeen in theſe northern kingdoms. The ſituation is low, and commands hardly any proſpect, nor has any natural advantage to claim ſuch a preference. It is very large, and the front extends to a great length, as there is only one ſtory beſides the ground floors. All the capitals of the pillars, the ſtatues, and many other parts of the external ſtructure, are gilt; nor does the eye ſcarce meet any thing elſe, in the apartments within. One room is in a very peculiar and uncommon ſtyle of magnificence, the ſides of it being entirely compoſed of timber, on which are diſpoſed feſtoons, and other ornaments of the ſame. Its tranſparency, and the conſciouſneſs of its rarity, have a fine effect. This was a preſent of the reigning king of Pruſſia to the late empreſs. Her preſent majeſty prefers this palace to any of the others; and when here ſhe is in retreat, as in town at the Hermitage.

AMONG the extenſive territories of the Czarina is Siberia, which if we may believe ſome modern travellers, is far from being incapable of improvement.

It is to this province that the Ruſſians generally baniſh ſuch criminals, as not having merited death, are yet adjudged worthy of ſevere puniſhment; and indeed theſe unhappy exiles, for the moſt part, ſuffer ſo much during their baniſhment, which is often for life, that it were better for them to fall by the hands of the executioner, than thus to drag on a miſerable exiſtence.

The frontiers of Siberia are for the moſt part well garriſoned, which is very neceſſary, to preſerve them from the incurſions of ſuch of the Tartar tribes as are diſpoſed to commit depredations upon their neighbours.

The religion of this province is called Nicholatian. The judiciary proceedings are all expeditiouſly terminated, for all their courts of juſtice are courts of equity. There are no pettifoggers that prey upon the innocent and unwary, and under pretence of relieving innocence, and ſuccouring diſtreſs, enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of the widow and the fatherleſs.

The people of Siberia are grave, robuſt, ſwift, and very dexterous at ſhooting at the croſs-bow, but they are ignorant, churliſh, and jealous of their wives, whom they generally lock up; and even if they do not, none of them dare quit their rooms without leave of their huſbands.

The adulterers of either ſex are ſtoned to death; the murderer ſeldom eſcapes with his life; perjury is moſt ſeverely puniſhed, and the robber generally meets with his deſerts.

Toboleſk, or Tobolſke, is the chief city of Siberia, whoſe juriſdiction extends ſouthward, beyond Bazapa, from Warchaturia to the river Oby; eaſtward to Samojedia; northward to Oſtiaſki; and weſtward to Uſſa, and the river Zuzawaja. This province is every where well peopled, as well by Ruſſians who depend on huſbandry, as by all ſorts of nations, particularly Tartars and heathens, who pay tribute to her Czariſh majeſty. Corn is ſo very cheap there, that a thouſand German pounds of rye flour, may be purchaſed for ſixteen cops; and as for fleſh, the price of an ox is commonly two rix dollars; two and an half about eleven ſhillings Engliſh money; and that of an indifferent large hog is from thirty to thirty-five ſtivers. Beſides, the river Irtis produces ſuch a prodigious quantity of fiſh, that a ſturgeon, weighing forty pounds, is to be bought for five or ſix cops or ſtivers; and theſe fiſh are ſo far from being lean, that when they are boiled their fat appears the thickneſs of a finger. Here are great plenty of all ſorts of wild beaſts, as elks, ſtags, deer, hares, &c. and of wild-fowl, viz. pheaſants, partridges, ſwans, wild geeſe, ducks, and ſtorks, all which are cheaper than beef.

This city is ſecured by a ſtrong garriſon of well armed ſoldiers, who upon orders from the Czars, can bring 9000 men into the field; beſides which, here are ſeveral thouſand of Tartars, who ſerve their Czariſh majeſties all on horſeback on occaſion.

Strolling incurſions in the weſt, upon their Czariſh majeſties frontiers, are very frequently made by the Kalmucks, the Coſack Orda, and the ſubjects of the Taſticham, or governor of the Bucharian Tartars: Beſides which, the Uffimer and Bakirian Tartars commit ſeveral inſolences; but theſe birds of prey are immediately oppoſed and repulſed by the Toboleſkians.

This city is alſo the place of reſidence of the metropolitan or chief eccleſiaſtic, who is ſent from Moſcow hither, and exerciſes ſpiritual juriſdiction over all Siberia and Dauria.

About a centry ago, this city, and the whole province of Siberia, became ſubject to the Czar, by the following accident. Jeremak Timoſciewitz, a certain robber in the reign of Czar Ilam Waſitiwitz, having plundered theſe, and all the circumjacent countries, had greatly injured thoſe of his Czariſh majeſty; when he was purſued, he and his companions fled up the river Kama, and from thence into the Iwzawaja, which falls into the Kama, where lie the lands of Straginoff, famous for his vaſt eſtate and works, which take up the greateſt part of the ſhore, and ſtretch to the length of 70 German miles. It was this rich man's grand-father that he applied himſelf to for protection, and begged his intereſt in obtaining his Czariſh majeſty's pardon, offering at the ſame time, by way of atonement for his fellonious crimes, to reduce the whole province of Siberia to be ſubject to the Czar; purſuant to which he alſo obtained from the abovementioned Straginoff, aſſiſtance of barks, arms, and neceſſary workmen; and thus provided, and accompanied with his fellow robbers in light barks, he paſſed up the river Serebrenkoy, which runs by the north-eaſt part of the Werchaturian hills, and falls into the Iwzawaja; thence he conveyed his equipage by land to the river Togin, on which he ſailed into the Tura, took the fort of Tumeen, ſituate thereon, razed it to the ground, and advanced up the river Tobol to Toboleſk, where then reſided a Tartarian prince, aged about 12 years, whoſe name was Altanai Kutzjumſwitv. This city he likewiſe attacked and took with ſmall loſs; after which he carried the prince priſoner to Moſcow, and put the conquered city into a better poſture of defence.

After this ſucceſs he proceeded down the river Jetiſoh; but was ſet upon in the night by a party of Tartars, not far from Toboleſk, who cut off a great many of his men, and he himſelf endeavouring to ſtep from one bark into another, leaped ſhort, and by reaſon of his heavy armour, irrecoverably ſunk to the bottom; his body was carried away by the force of the ſtream, and never found. In the mean while Straginoff had obtained the Czar's pardon for Jeremak; and ſeveral Muſcovite officers and ſoldiers came and garriſoned and fortified the places which he had taken; and from this juncture the Czar's ſovereignty over Siberia is to be dated.

Moſt of the inhabitants of the country near the river Irtis are Ruſſian Jemſkicks, who are in the annual pay of her Czariſh majeſty, for which they ſupply the way-wodes, that are ordered this way, and all other perſons who travel on the Czariſh affairs in Siberia, with free carriages and men to work; and are obliged to carry them by water, as far as Surgut, ſituate on the Oby, at a very reaſonable price. Theſe people keep great numbers of dogs, which they make uſe of to travel with in winter, for it is utterly im-

poſſible to paſs this country with horſe-ſleds, by reaſon that ſometimes the ſnow on the Oby is above a fathom deep.

Theſe dogs are yoked two to each ſled, which is for that purpoſe made very light and thin, and can carry from two to three hundred German weight. Neither the ſled nor the dogs are hurt by the ſnow, but both run very ſwiftly over, leaving a trace only of the depth of a finger's breadth. Some of theſe dogs know before hand whether there is a likelihood of any work to be for them, as we are told; and if they are likely to be employed, they herd together in crowds, and howl in a diſmal manner, whence their maſters draw their preſages. If when they are on the way, they are inclined to hunt, the maſter takes his gun on his ſhoulder, and puts on his long ſliding ſhoes, with which he goes over the ice, takes his dogs with him, and ſteps a little way into a wood, turns up all manner of wild game, perhaps a fine black fox; and the ſkins of the game are the maſter's, and the fleſh he gives the dogs. Thus they make a ſufficient and very profitable uſe of theſe draught dogs, which are middle-ſized, ſharp-noſed, with long-erected ears, and carry their tails crooked, ſome of which are like wolves or foxes, inſomuch that as they lie aſleep in the woods, they are ſometimes by miſtake, ſhot for one of thoſe two ſpecies; to countenance which, it is alſo certain, that theſe dogs mix their ſtrain by a promiſcuous copulation with that of wolves and foxes; whence it is that whenever a courſing match happens among the inhabitants of the villages, they find a great number of both ſpecies near the villages, as hath been frequently obſerved.

The banks of the Oby are inhabited by a people called Oſtiacks, who worſhip terreſtrial gods, but acknowledge, that according to nature, there muſt be a Lord in heaven, that governs all; nevertheleſs they do not pay any worſhip at all to him, but have their own gods made of wood and earth, in ſeveral human ſhapes. Some of the richeſt amongſt them dreſs theſe deities in ſilken cloaths, made after the faſhion of the Ruſſian women. All of them have theſe idols placed in their huts, which are made of barks of trees, ſewed together with harts guts.

On one ſide of the god hangs a bunch of human and horſe-hair, and next that a wooden veſſel, with milk pap, with which they daily ſupply their gods, and thruſt it into their mouths with a ſpoon, made for that purpoſe, but by reaſon the idols cannot ſwallow this their milk diet, it runs out again at both ſides of their mouth, down their bodies, in ſuch a filthy manner, as is ſufficient to diſguſt one from eating that diet. When this nice god is to be worſhipped or prayed to, his adorers ſtand bolt upright, and toſs their heads up and down, without bending their backs in the leaſt; beſides which they chirrup or whiſtle through the lips, as we do when we call a dog.

They call their god Saiturn. Mr. Ides in his travels from Moſcovy to China, tells the following pleaſant ſtory, of the idolatry of theſe people. "Once, (ſays he) ſeveral Oſtiacks came on board the ſhip in which I was, to ſell us fiſh, and one of my ſervants, a Nurenburgh-bear in clock-work, which when wound up, drummed and turned his head backwards and forwards, continually moving his eyes, till the work was down. Our people ſet the bear at play a little; and as ſoon as ever the Oſtiacks ſaw it, all of them performed to it their cuſtomary religious worſhip, and danced exceſſively to the honour of the bear, nodding their heads, and whiſtling at a great rate. They repreſented our bear for a right Saiturn, crying out, What are our Saiturns which we make? If we had ſuch a Saiturn, we would hang him all over with ſables and black fox-ſkins. They alſo aſked if this clock-work was to be ſold; but I ordered it out of their ſight, to avoid adminiſtering any occaſion of idolatry."

They have as many wives as they can maintain, and marry their near relations without any ſcruple: If a relation dies, they cry inceſſantly for ſeveral days; covering their heads, and ſitting on their knees in their huts, and will not ſuffer themſelves to be ſeen; but they carry the corps on poles to the ground to be buried. They are a poor people, and live very miſerable in ſorry huts. They might indeed live well, ſince all parts near the Oby, abound with great quantities of rich furs; beſide that, there is extraordinary good fiſhing in that river, inſomuch that 20 large ſturgeons may be bought of them for three pennyworth of tobacco; but they are ſo horrid lazy, that they do not deſire to get any more than will barely ſuffice them annually for the winter; for when they travel, they eat moſtly fiſh, eſpecially when they are on the water fiſhing, for then they live on nothing elſe. They are of a middle ſtature, moſt of them yelloviſh or red haired; and their faces and noſes diſagreeably broad; they are weak, and unable to labour hard, not at all inclined to wars, and utterly uncapable of military excurſions. Bows and arrows are their weapons, with which they ſhoot wild beaſts, though not much addicted to this either. Their cloaths conſiſt of ſturgeon and other fiſh-ſkins, and they wear neither linen nor woollen; their ſhoes and ſtockings are faſtened together; and they wear a ſhort coat with a cape, which in caſe of rain they pull over their heads. Their ſhoes are alſo made of fiſh-ſkins, and are ſewed faſt to their ſtockings, but not cloſely, ſo that their feet muſt neceſſarily be always wet. When they are upon the water, notwithſtanding the thinneſs of their cloathing, they will bear extraordinary great cold; for if it be but a common winter, they are no better cloathed than abovementioned; but if the winter prove hard, thoſe who are thus cloathed, are neceſſitated to put another coat of the ſame ſort of fiſh-ſkin over that; and they expreſs this ſevere winter amongſt one another, by ſaying, Do you like the winter that forces one to wear two coats of ſkins? They ſometimes go a hunting in the winter with a ſingle coat only, and their breaſts bare, depending upon warming themſelves quickly with ſliding and running over the ice in their ſcates, or ſliding ſhoes; but if, as it often times happens, they are overtaken by an extraordinary ſevere froſt, and it ſeems utterly improbable to eſcape or ſave their lives, (ſo incredibly does it ſometimes freeze on the Oby) they with the utmoſt haſte throw off their fiſh-ſkin coat, and fling themſelves into the deepeſt ſnow, and willingly freeze to death: the reaſon why they put off their coat is, only that they may die the ſooner and with much leſs pain.

The womens cloaths are almoſt like the men; the men's greateſt diverſion is bear-hunting, to which ſport they gather together in crouds, armed with no other weapon than a ſharp iron, like a large knife, fixed to a ſtick, about a fathom long.

When an Oſtiack is jealous of one of his wives with another man, he cuts ſome hair off the under part of a bear's ſkin, which he carries to the man whom he ſuſpects: if he be innocent, he then accepts it; but if he be guilty, they believe he dare not venture to touch it, but acknowledges the truth, and then amicably makes up the buſineſs with the huſband, and the wife is ſold. But if any ſhould preſume to be ſo raſh as to take the hair, though he was guilty, they tell us they are aſſured, that the bear's ſkin from whence that hair was cut off, will again become a living-bear, which after the expiration of three days, will appear in the woods, and tear the perjured wretch to pieces, who was not afraid fraudulently to receive his hair in order to deny the truth. On this occaſion they invoke bows, arrows, axes, and knives, and firmly believe that if any guilty takes any of theſe, he ſhall certainly be killed by thoſe individual inſtruments, which he accepts, within the ſpace of a few days, which is not only avered by themſelves, but alſo unanimouſly backed by the Ruſſians, who live all round theſe parts.

Buratz is a fortreſs, the country about which is inhabited by Buzartians; of whoſe manners, and thoſe of the neighbouring people, the following account

count is extracted from M. Ides's Travels. The houſes of theſe people are built at ſome diſtance from each other, as in villages, and are generally ſituated at the ſide of a river. Cloſe to their doors ſeveral poles are erected in the ground, on ſome of which are ſtuck ſheep, on others bucks, and ſome faſten horſe-hides on them.

In ſpring and autumn they go out by hundreds, in a troop on horſeback, to hunt ſtags, wild ſheep, and roe-bucks. When they have found a place where there is game, they range themſelves in circular order, ſo that they can eaſily come near one another, by which in ſuch a ring, they will hunt together, and encompaſs ſome hundreds of beaſts; and having once got them within reach of their arrows, every one lets fly, ſo that very few of the beaſts eſcape, each hunter being ſo well provided as to make thirty ſhots ſucceſſively.

After hunting, each huntſman eaſily finds his arrows, by their peculiar marks; but there is one great misfortune attending this way of hunting, which is, that they unawares frequently ſhoot one another, and the horſes are often wounded. They ſkin their game, cut the fleſh from the bones, and dry it in the ſun; on this proviſion they live as long as it laſts, and when it is gone, they go out a hunting again.

Thoſe who want oxen or camels of an extraordinary ſize to convey their goods to China, are obliged to buy them of theſe people, who will not deal for money, but receive in exchange of the buyers, pale ſables, pewter, copper baſons, red Hamburgh cloths, otter ſkins, and Perſian ſilks of all colours, in which commodities the price of an ox is not above four or five rubles, and that of a camel ſeldom exceeds ten or twelve rubles.

Both men and women of this country are large, robuſt, and have tolerable handſome features. In the winter both ſexes wear long coats made of ſheep-ſkins, with a broad girdle tipped with iron. They have a ſort of caps which they draw over their ears in cold weather; and in ſummer they wear coats of a light red cloth. Theſe people never cut the nails either of their hands or feet, nor are ever waſhed, except at the time of their birth; ſo that they make a very naſty appearance. The hair of the unmarried women ſticking faſt together in plaits, ſtands an end, and makes them look juſt as Envy is repreſented by the painters. The married women have only two plaits, which hang down on each ſide of their heads, adorned with all ſorts of tin figures.

When any of them die, they are buried with their beſt cloaths, bows, and arrows. Their religion conſiſts of worſhipping the dead bucks and ſheep which are ſtuck upon their poles before their houſes, at ſeveral times of the year, as long as they continue unputrified. Their adoration of them is performed by bowing the head, while they are kneeling with their hands claſped, without either prayers, or ſo much as ſpeaking one word.

This is the only divine ſervice they are acquainted with, nor will they learn any other. They have indeed ſeveral prieſts, whom, when they think proper, they kill and bury, together with cloaths and money, alledging it is neceſſary to ſend them firſt to the other world to pray for them, and that they ought to have money to ſpend, and cloaths to wear, leſt they ſhould be driven to neceſſity.

When they are to take an oath, they go to a hill which they eſteem ſacred, and upon this hill they take the oath, firmly believing that the falſe ſwearer ſhall never come down alive. To this hill they frequently offer up all ſorts of ſlaughtered cattle, and have paid a veneration to it for many years; but upon what tradition this reverence is founded, is not as yet known.

In this neighbourhood is found the muſk cat. This animal is almoſt like a young buck, without horns, with this difference, that its hair is a little black, and the head reſembles that of a wolf. The Chineſe call this animal Yelicam, that is Muſk-hart, on account of its likeneſs to a ſtag; but beſides the diſſimilitude of the head, it hath two tuſks like that of a wild boar, which ſtick out of its mouth. The muſk is contained in a certain ſwelling at the navel, like a little purſe, which is compoſed of a thin ſkin, covered with a very fine hair.

Philip Martinus, in his Chineſe Atlas, gives the following deſcription of this animal:

"The muſk-cat is almoſt like a young hart or doe; only that he is ſomewhat browner, and ſo ſlow and unactive, that the hunter's greateſt difficulty is in putting him up; for that once done, he is immediately ſhot, for he ſuffereth himſelf tamely to be killed, without either defending himſelf or ſtirring; the muſk, of which there are various ſorts of different values, is prepared from this beaſt in the following manner.

"After he is taken, all his blood is drawn off and reſerved; and from under his navel is taken out a bladder, that is filled with blood, or ſome other oderiferous liquor there concreted; after which the animal is flead and cut to pieces.

"When the Chineſe deſign to make the beſt ſort, they take the hinder part of the animal, beginning from the kidneys, which they ſtamp and bruiſe to a jelly, which they dry, and there with it fill the ſmall bags, which they make of the ſkin of the beaſt.

"But if they deſire a ſlighter ſort of muſk, which ſhould yet be very good, and not at all ſophiſticated, they then beat all the parts of the animal together, without any diſtinction, to a jelly, with a little of his blood, in a mortar, with which, as before, they fill up the bags made of the hide.

"Beſides theſe two, there is another ſort of muſk, which is highly valued, though not ſo good as either of the former. This is prepared of the fore-part of the animal to the kidneys, which they particularly lay by the reſt of his body, in order to make the common muſk; ſo that none of this creature is thrown away, but all parts of it are good; whence it is ſaid to be better dead than alive."

Thus far Martinus; we will now purſue our author.

After travelling ſome days, he arrived at the city of Jakutkoi, which was large and populous. In this city, grain, ſalt, fleſh and fiſh, were very cheap: an hundred weight of rye was ſold for ſeven ſtivers. For ſome miles round the city, the land is very fruitful, and corn grows in great abundance; beſides which great numbers of Ruſſians have ſettled here, and it is inhabited by ſome hundreds of villagers, where they follow agriculture, with great induſtry and ſucceſs.

Oppoſite to the city on the eaſt ſide, is a burning cave, which for ſome years before Mr. Ides was there burnt very violently, but was then almoſt extinct; it is a large cleft in the earth, and on a long pole, being put into it, it felt very warm.

Near this city was a very fine cloiſter, in which lived a Mongalian Baron, who had put himſelf under the protection of their Czariſh majeſties, and embraced the Greek Chriſtian religion.

This gentleman had a ſiſter, who, according to the Mongalian cuſtoms lived in the devoted ſpiritual ſtate, and was almoſt inclined to receive the Chriſtian faith. When any one diſcourſed with her on that ſubject, ſhe uſed to reply, "I am ſatisfied that the Chriſtians God muſt neceſſarily be a ſtrong God, ſince he will return thither, though he ſhall again be beaten down."

Our author paid a viſit to this lady, who on her entering the room ſaluted no perſon, her order not admitting of ſuch condeſcenſion. She had a roſary or ſtring of beads in her hand, which ſhe conſtantly paſſed round through her fingers. There was with her a lama, or prieſt, who had alſo a ſtring of beads in his hand, which he very ſwiftly and inceſſantly turned over through his fingers, continually moving his lips, as though at his devotions; and with this perpetual telling of his beads, his thumb was worn through the fleſh and nail up to the knuckle; which

which having been rubbed off by very ſlow degrees, did not pain him at all.

Mr. Ides and his retinue having remained ſome time at Jakutſkoi, ſet forward in ſledges on the firſt of March, towards the lake of Baikol, which they reached on the 10th of the ſame month, and finding it frozen up very hard, paſſed ſafely over.

The lake of Baikol is about forty German miles long, and ſix broad. The ice in it was about eight feet thick. There are commonly in it ſeveral broken places or wind holes, which not being frozen up, prove very dangerous to travellers when ſurpriſed with ſnow or tempeſtuous winds: for the horſes, if not ſharp ſhod, are driven ſo violently by the fury of the winds, that they cannot tread ſure, but falling on the ice, are hurried on by the wind, till they and the ſledge are ſwallowed up in one of thoſe open places, by which both horſes and paſſengers are infallibly loſt: beſides, to augment the danger, the ice of this lake is ſometimes torn open ſeveral fathoms by ſudden winds, which make a noiſe as loud and terrible as thunder claps; but after the expiration of a few hours, the ice joins again, and ſoon becomes as cloſe as before.

The camels and oxen which travellers take with them on their journey to China, are obliged to paſs over this lake from Jakutſkoi; in order to which the camels have a kind of boot tied about their legs, which is very ſharp at the bottom; and the oxen are provided with ſharp irons ſtruck through their hoofs, without which it would be impoſſible for them to go forwards.

The water of this lake is clear, taſtes very freſh, and yet it is of a deep green, like that of the ocean. Where the ice was open, our author frequently obſerved a great number of ſea-dogs, and fiſh in great abundance, particularly ſturgeons and pikes, ſome of which he aſſerts weighed two hundred German pounds.

We have already mentioned the cuſtom of ſending exiles into Siberia, whither perſons of rank are frequently baniſhed after having their ears and noſes ſlit, or receiving ſome corporal puniſhment.—In order to give the reader a clear idea of this matter, we ſhall here quote the narration of a traveller, who converſed with ſome of theſe unhappy exiles there, together with his deſcription of the city of Papinowgorod, whither he was going when he met with the adventure.

"Having held on our way (ſays he) through almoſt impaſſable foreſts, and over high mountains, at length, after three hours journey, as we approached a thick wood, we obſerved five men in long coats of white bears ſkin, made after the Muſcovite faſhion, each of whom had a gun on his ſhoulder, a pouch on one ſide, and a knife and ſheath on the other. As they advanced towards us, our guide ſtopped the rein deer. When the five men being near enough to be heard, one of them perceiving that we were ſtrangers, bad us good-morrow in the German tongue, wiſhing they were as free as we were. Our ſupercargo being a native of Lower Saxony, was attracted by the ſound of his own language, and aſked him what countryman he was; when entering into converſation, ſeveral things were ſtarted, by which it appeared that they had been intimate acquaintances. The ſupercargo now alighted from his ſledge, embraced him, and enquired how he came there; to which he replied, that he had been baniſhed for hunting ſables, a very capital offence.

"While they were diſcourſing, I had leiſure to ſurvey the other four, when one of them, of whoſe features I had ſome idea, though I could not inſtantly recollect who he was, aſked me in French whence I came, and whither I was going. Finding that I could not recollect him, he told me his name, and that he had often drank with me at Stockholm. I now knew him well; he was a perſon to whom I had been greatly obliged, having received many civilities from him in Sweden. He was a gentleman by birth, a native of Lorrain, and lieutenant colonel of a regiment of Muſcovite horſe. He had endeavoured to perſuade me to go with him to Moſcow, by offering to procure me a poſt of honor and profit; but I had declined the propoſal.

"When I compared the fine appearance he made at that time, the reſpect with which he was treated on account of his eſtate, his rank, and his character, with the miſerable condition to which I now ſaw him reduced, I could not refrain from tears. I embraced him with the utmoſt tenderneſs and affection, and enquiring into the cauſe of his diſgrace, he replied, that the Czar unjuſtly ſuſpecting he had not been ſo zealous in his ſervice as he ought to have been, had baniſhed him to Siberia for three years, where he endured hardſhips not to be expreſſed; being expoſed to the greateſt dangers in hunting wild beaſts for his ſubſiſtance, to the miſeries of hunger, and the rigour of the ſeaſons, which he and his companions were obliged to endure, no perſon daring to afford them the leaſt relief. He ſaid that ſcarce a day paſſed but they were attacked by wild beaſts, which they met in herds ſeeking for prey, and that they frequently found great difficulty in defending themſelves; that beſides, they were obliged to ſupply the Czar's officers with a certain number of ſables, under the penalty of being ſeverely laſhed with a whip of thick hard leather, on their naked backs, till they were covered with blood.

"One of the others had been receiver-general of the Czar's revenues, another had been a major-general, and a fifth a man of note. They all joined in deploring their misfortunes, exclaiming loudly againſt the Czar, and declared, that when once the time of their exile was expired, they would take care to get far enough out of his power. We offered our beſt endeavours to facilitate their eſcape; but they told us this was impoſſible, all the frontiers being guarded by forts, to the commandants of which their faces were well known, and that nothing leſs than the crueleſt death barbarity could deviſe, would be the certain conſequence, both to them and us, for the attempt.

"Having refreſhed them and ourſelves with ſuch proviſions as we had with us, we told them we reſolved to ſpend a few hours with them, for we could not think of leaving ſo very ſuddenly, men whom we had known in better days, when fortune ſmiled upon them.

"They received this propoſal with great joy, told us they had five little huts, which they had built in the neigbouring wood, and if we would be ſo kind to go thither with them, they ſhould be greatly obliged to us, and all the ſkins they had ſhould be at our ſervice, except the ſables, which they were obliged to reſerve for the Czar: they added, that the remembrance of the happy hours they ſhould ſpend with us in their ſolitude, would make many future months glide more ſweetly. We immediately complied with a requeſt ſo politely and affectingly enforced, and on approaching the huts, we found that neceſſity had rendered theſe unhappy men ingenious. They were built of fir, and were higher and more commodious than any we had ſeen in our travels; there were two or three rooms in each of them, and lattices to let in the light at the ſides. They were each ſhaded by trees, and ſo artfully paved with fiſh bones, that the floors looked as if they were inlaid with ivory. To defend themſelves from the depredations of wild beaſts, they had dug a trench round theſe buildings, and erected palliſadoes with ſtrong poſts and pieces of wood nailed acroſs them, on the tops of which were ſpikes of fiſh bones. Thus, when their gate was cloſed, they were as ſecure as in a fortified place. They had within all kinds of hunting and fiſhing-tackle, beſides a good ſtore of ſalted rein-deer veniſon, biſcuit, and metheglin.

"While the reſt of the company ſat down to drinking, the lieutenant colonel and I withdrew to his hut to converſe together. Our converſation turned chiefly on the wilderneſs of the country, and the barbarity of its inhabitants; and his deſcriptions were ſo lively and juſt, as added greatly to the picture. He told me that when the time of his exile ſhould be

be expired, he intended to return home; and gave me his direction in Lorrain. When my friend and I had tired ourſelves with talking, we compoſed ourſelves to ſleep, upon bear ſkins, as our companions did alſo when they were tired of drinking, and ſlept ſoundly till next morning.

"We aroſe early, at the deſire of the five exiles, took each of us a gun, and attended them into the woods, to examine their ſnares, to ſee what prey was caught in thoſe they had laid the night before. We killed ten or twelve white foxes, and half a dozen grey martins, but met with none of the larger game. As we intended to purſue our journey in the afternoon, we did not chuſe to loſe much time in hunting, but returned to the huts, and having dined heartily, and drank plentifully, we took our leave, truly affected at not being able to relieve thoſe unhappy gentlemen.

"At parting, they forced upon us ſome ermines, bears, foxes, and wolfs ſkins, for which they would take no money; however, we prevailed on them to accept ſome brandy, tobacco and cloth, which we took care ſhould exceed in value the commodities they had given us. We wept reciprocally at parting; and having taken a laſt farewel, we mounted our ſledges, and purſued our journey with the uſual expedition.

"In about three hours we came to five or ſix huts, inhabited by about a dozen people, of whom we bought all their ſkins; and afterwards following the courſe of the river Petzora, we frequently met with ſmall villages, in ſome of which we found inhabitants, and in others none; but whenever we meet with any body to trade with, we were ſure of having ſkins either for money or brandy, but none would venture to ſell us ſables. We now reached a large ridge of mountains, that are almoſt always covered with ſnow, and ſo barren, that no human creature can live upon them. On both ſides of theſe mountains were vaſt numbers of white bears and wolves, which put us in fear of our lives; though I am apt to believe thoſe beaſts were as much terrified as we were, for they fled from us on all ſides, perhaps frightened by the glittering of our arms, which we took care to diſplay to the beſt advantage.

"We were above twelve hours croſſing theſe mountains, over which our cattle had great difficulty to draw us; but we at length reached the deſcent, and ſoon arrived at a village in Siberia, where the people had linen ſhirts, cloſe buſkins, and garments of bear-ſkins, with the hair outwards; they appeared to be leſs barbarous than thoſe with whom we had lately converſed, receiving us with great hoſpitality and civility, aſking our country and buſineſs. Having reſolved their queſtions, we bought all their ſkins for ready money; feaſted with them on dried bears and wolfs fleſh, rice cakes, and brandy; and then ſlept upon bears ſkins, in houſes built after the manner of thoſe in Lapland. At our riſing, they treated us with a glaſs of brandy, and then we ſet forward for Papinowgrod, which place we reached in twenty-four hours.

"The governor hearing of our arrival, ſent for us, upon which we immediately waited on him, and anſwered all his queſtions much to his ſatisfaction. When he underſtood we were Daniſh merchants, who had travelled ſo far to buy furs, he treated us in a very friendly manner, and as a mark of his reſpect, ſent for his wife to entertain us, which was a moſt ſingular honour.

"She came into the room with a bottle of brandy in one hand, and a ſilver cup in the other, and was followed by a ſervant maid, who carried a plate of gingerbread. We ſaluted her according to the cuſtom of the country, by bowing our heads, when untying the knot of her ſhift ſleeves, ſhe let it fall to the ground, and the ſupercargo taking it up, we each of us kiſſed it. She then furled it up again with her left hand, and taking the bottle and cup, which ſhe had ſet down to perform this ceremony, gave each of us a bumper of brandy, and gingerbread, ſtanding all the while near her huſband at the end of the table. She then withdrew, and the governor treated us with an excellent ſupper.

"The entertainment being ended, we were conducted to the lodgings prepared for us in the caſtle, and conſidering the country, lay in very good beds. Having ſlept about ſeven hours, we aroſe, and the governor inſtantly waited on us, followed by a ſervant with a bottle of brandy, of which he gave each of us a hearty cup for a morning's whet. He then produced his ſkins, which though they were valued much higher than any we had met with in our travels, they were the beſt worth our money.

"When he had diſpoſed of his own ſtock, he ordered one of his ſervants to enquire for chapmen among the people of the town; and while the ſupercargo was dealing with the people, I diverted myſelf with walking about the town.

"The houſes of Papinowgrod are low and meanly built, of mud or wood, the chinks being ſtopped up with moſs, and the ſtreets are paved with timber, laid cloſe together. The country about it is very fertile, and well watered by a fine river, in which there is variety of excellent fiſh.

"The people of faſhion wear a long cloth coat, which reaches down to their toes, with very cloſe ſleeves of another colour, under which they have breeches, and ſtockings of the ſame cloth. Their ſhoes, or rather their boots, are of blue, red, or low colour, buttoned on the top; and on their hands they wear cloth caps, lined and bordered with ermine, ſable, or black fox ſkins. The women are very handſome, and ſomewhat fat; their hair is of a light cheſnut colour, hanging down to their waiſt, and their head-dreſs is an oval cap; their upper garments, which like the men's, hang down to their feet, are made of a red, blue, or violet coloured cloth, and are lined either with ſable, or white fox-ſkin, ſtudded with pearls, and their ſhifts are made of fine callico, with ſleeves all ruffled up from the wriſt to the ſhoulder, ſome of which are five ells long; and this bundle prevents their uſing the arms of their robes, which therefore hang uſeleſs, and are only pinned on."

The baniſhment of priſoners into Siberia by order of the government of Ruſſia, is in general conſidered as a puniſhment even worſe than death itſelf; and yet we find that there are ſome authors of a contrary opinion. And the country, although as barren as we have repreſented it, yet is in a capacity of admitting of many improvements, which good ſenſe will point out, and honeſt induſtry will ſubmit to; indeed it muſt be granted in favour of the unhappy perſons who are condemned to live in thoſe inhoſpitable deſarts, that their ſpirits are depreſſed, and conſequently they have no deſire to cultivate the ground. They are often left in a ſtate of uncertainty, with reſpect to the time allotted for their baniſhment, and thus think it unneceſſary to begin what they may not accompliſh.

Many perſons were baniſhed to Siberia in the reign of Peter the Great; but moſt of theſe were perſons of eminence, who had incurred the royal diſpleaſure; for that emperor although in many reſpects an eminent perſon, yet being a ſlave to his paſſions, like Alexander the Great, often deſtroyed his moſt intimate friends. It was the deſign of Peter, nor has it ever been loſt ſight of by his ſucceſſors, that nations can never riſe to grandeur, unleſs commerce is cultivated; and for this reaſon, Peter whoſe dominions were interior, and whoſe people were ſavages, left nothing undone in order to eſtabliſh a harbour, from whence he could ſend ſhips into any parts of the known world.

It is well known what methods Peter made uſe of in order to cultivate the manners of his ſubjects, and while he was laying the grand ſcheme for the conqueſt of Livonia, the oppoſition he met with from his rival Charles XII. ſerved rather to accellerate than fruſtrate his deſign. After the battle of Pultou, 1709,

Peter found the whole province of Livonia as it were laid open to him, and it was taken poſſeſſion of by his victorious troops. On a cluſter of iſlands he built the city of St. Peterſburgh; and partly by promiſes, and partly by force, he cauſed ſome of the moſt reſpectable perſons in his empire to come and ſettle in it. The encouragement he gave to men acquainted with the liberal arts and the ſciences, induced many perſons to ſettle in the new city, and this part of his conduct is imitated by his ſucceſſors.

The late empreſs, who died 1762, made it an invariable rule never to put a criminal to death, and this practice gave riſe to the frequency of baniſhments to Siberia. It was common to ſend regiments of raw undiſciplined recruits along with theſe priſoners, and when theſe young men returned again to Peterſburgh, they were ſo much inured to the ſevere hardſhips of the climate, that they became ſoldiers able to undergo any fatigues whatever. This was a bold ſtroke of policy, and it is in part owing to it that the Ruſſian armies make at preſent ſuch a diſtinguiſhing figure. It is well known that at the battle near Frankfort on the Oder, in 1758, the Ruſſian forces, commanded by General Apraxin, ſtood like an immoveable wall againſt the forces of that experienced general the preſent King of Pruſſia, and obliged him to quit the field.

The baniſhment of criminals to reſide in wild deſarts has been attended with different conſequences, in different ages; and there have been many inſtances wherein the deſcendants of the baniſhed have returned to thoſe countries from which they were driven, as unworthy of a place in ſociety, and eſtabliſhed governments upon more enlarged principles of freedom.

Aſtracan, by ſome writers called Aſtrakan, is ſituated on a plain near the river Wolga, and not far from the borders of Ruſſia. It is a town of conſiderable antiquity, and according to Mr. Hanway, who viſited it in 1742, it is in a thriving condition. It is built upon an aſcent, and ſurrounded with a wall, which has been lately rebuilt; and within the wall are many pleaſant gardens, where the inhabitants ſpend much of their time in ſummer. Two or three regiments of ſoldiers, are commonly ſtationed in it, and there is a caſtle where the governor reſides. The inhabitants are partly Greeks, Mahometans, and Heathens. The Greeks, as in other parts of Ruſſia, have their churches; the Mahometans have a moſque, and the heathens a temple; for it is a maxim in the Ruſſian government, to grant a toleration to the profeſſors of all different religions, ſo as they do not give any offence to the civil power. This is in all reſpects conſiſtent with the infancy of a government, which aims at extenſive power, and intends to eſtabliſh an univerſal monarchy. The perſons who aſſemble in the Heathen temple of Aſtracan, are diſciples of the ancient Magi; but they having been ſo long mixed with the Tartars, they have forgot the principles of their religion; and are now become worſhippers of images and attendants on ſacrifices.

When Mr. Hanway was at Aſtracan, his curioſity led him to be preſent one day in the Pagan temple, where ſacrifices are offered, and he found theſe to conſiſt of fleſh, cakes, and ſuch liquor as the country affords, and one of the officers of the temple, brought him a part on a plate, but he refuſed to eat it, knowing it had been offered to idols. He adds, that the Heathens in that city are not very numerous, and in general they are compoſed of the lower ranks of people. They have ſome confuſed notions of a Supreme Being, but although there can remain no doubt of divine revelation having been made known to them during the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, yet there are at preſent no remains of it among them. But the Greeks, and the Mahometans in Aſtracan, and throughout the whole of that province, are equally as ignorant as the Heathens; and Peter the Great was ſo much intent on acquiring a dignified place in the political ſyſtem of Europe, that he payed but little regard to ſuch of his ſubjects as lived eaſtward of Moſcow.

All along the banks of the Wolga there are ſuch vaſt numbers of Tartarian robbers, that the government has found it neceſſary to puniſh them in a moſt exemplary manner. The mode of puniſhment is indeed conſiſtent with the manners of a barbarous, ferocious people, but it is much to be doubted whether they ever lead towards the reformation of manners; thoſe who are ſavage in their manners, pay little regard to torture, when inflicted on themſelves, for ſeverity of puniſhment ſerves rather to harden than to humanize the mind. A conſtant repetition makes it familiar, and that which would to us become ſhocking, is conſidered by theſe barbarians no more than ordinary puniſhments, in the ſame manner as the people in France, Germany, and other countries, are not in the leaſt ſhocked when they ſee a man broke alive upon the wheel.

Mr. Hanway, who travelled that extenſive part of the Ruſſian empire which lies between Peterſburgh and Aſtracan, had an opportunity, as a man of experience, to make proper remarks on every object that preſented itſelf to his view, and being well acquainted with drawing, he ſketched out the forms uſed in the execution of thoſe Tartarian robbers. All along the banks of the Wolga, ſmall platforms of wood, like ſcaffolds, are built, and in the centre of each is a pole with great hooks ſtuck into it. Theſe hooks are almoſt in the form of a gardeners pruning knife, with the points ſtanding upwards, and when the thief is taken, he is ſtrip'd naked, and the point of the hook is driven in between two of his ribs, and the point ſtretching upwards, it keeps the criminal ſo confined to the ſtake that he is like one nailed to a croſs. This part of the barbarous ceremony being performed, the ſoldiers, who are the executioners, ſet the ſcaffold afloat on the river, and it frequently happens, that ſome of theſe wretches will live three or four days under the moſt excruciating tortures; nay it frequently happens, that ſome of them make their eſcape, and although this may appear rather incredible to ſome perſons, who never viſited the country, yet we cannot doubt the veracity of Mr. Hanway, a man eſteemed by the learned, the pious, and indeed by all thoſe who are not aſhamed of virtue and truth.

When he viſited that country, robberies were perhaps more frequent than they are at preſent, and he himſelf, although he had a guard to eſcort him from Moſcow to Aſtracan, yet was very often in danger. He ſaw many of their temporary gibbets floating on the river, and there were generally a few ſoldiers to take notice of the criminals till ſuch time as they expired.

One day a thief was fixed to the gibbet in the manner already mentioned, and ſet afloat on the river. This happened about noon, and notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the torture, yet he continued in that condition till night, when by an unaccountable exertion of his manual power, he extricated himſelf from his confinement, and ſwam aſhore. It was not enough for him that he had recovered his liberty, nor did he value ſelf-preſervation ſo much as the deſire of being revenged on his tormentors. Accordingly he walked ſlowly to the place where three ſoldiers were poſted, two of whom were aſleep; and he wreſted the gun from the third, who was not the leaſt aware of his coming. He ſoon diſpatched the centinal from whom he had taken the gun, and with the butt end of it he knocked out the brains of the two others who were aſleep. He then went in queſt of his companions, carrying the three muſquets with him as a valuable acquiſition.

From what has been ſaid concerning theſe barbarians, of whom we ſhall have ſtill more to ſay when we come to treat of Aſiatic Tartary, it appears that the Ruſſian empire, is like an unwieldy body with a ſmall head. The extent of territory is too large for government to take proper notice of the conduct of

Engraved for Moore's Voyages & Travels

Various CARRIAGES & SLEDGES used for the conveyance of Goods, Merchandise, &c. during the Winter in RUSSIA.

7 AP 03

7 AP 53

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HABIT of a MOSCOVITE WOMAN.

ARMS and DRESS of a CALMOCK.

W. Grainger Sculpt

all the inhabitants; and the civil power is ſtill weak, there being yet no fixed body of laws, for the preſervation of property and protection of ſociety. This extenſive empire would be greater in power and more rich in commerce, if its territories were leſs, and its ſubjects not ſo numerous. It is very probable, however, that it is riſing from obſcurity, on the decline of ſome of the greateſt European powers, and it will acquire glory, as well as ſtrength, in proportion to the virtue of the people.

The late war between the Ruſſians and the Turks has been of more ſervice to the latter than the former. The Turkiſh janiſſaries had been long unaccuſtomed to war, but here an unexpected event rouſed them from a ſtate of lethargic ſtupidity. It was the deſign of the preſent empreſs to eſtabliſh a port on the Euxine ſea, and from thence to open a paſſage into the Mediterranean. The French apprized the Turks of the deſign of the empreſs, and forces from all parts of the Ottoman empire were brought to oppoſe the Ruſſians. Moſt people believed that the Ruſſians would have prevailed, but they had a more dangerous enemy to engage with than the Turks. The warmth of the climate, and the luxurious way of living, fought and prevailed againſt men who had been brought up and inured to hardſhips in a cold mountainous country.

It was during this conflict which the Ruſſians had with the Turks, that a fleet of men of war for the firſt time paſſed through the ſound, and from thence up the Mediterranean as far as Conſtantinople. Very little ſucceſs attended this expedition, for the French continued to ſend aſſiſtance to the Turks, and all the Ruſſians could do after the loſs of many thouſands of men, was to conclude a peace on the beſt terms they could. The preſent Empreſs continues to give all poſſible encouragement to men of learning to come and ſettle in her dominions; but what with the difference of religion, and the unſettled form of government, there are but few that chuſe to go, except ſuch as we commonly call adventurers, who having no fixed habitations in the country which gave them birth, think all nations alike to them.

The religion of Ruſſia is what we call the Greek, and ſeems to reſemble that form of worſhip which prevailed in the Eaſtern church about the eighth century. Miſſionaries from ſeveral parts of Greece introduced their religion in Muſcovy about the middle of the eleventh century, and in moſt things there is but little difference between them and the Greeks in the Levant. They have archbiſhops and biſhops, with convents both of monks and nuns. None of the ſecular prieſts can be ordained till they are married, and if they ſhould marry after ordaination, they are depoſed. Every proteſtant who embraces their religion, muſt be re-baptiſed and anointed with oil, as was the caſe of the preſent empreſs and the grand ducheſs, both of whom were brought up Lutherans. They have vaſt numbers of convents near Muſcow, which was once the capital city, but there have ſo many foreigners ſettled at Peterſburgh that we find not many of them there except a few for form ſake. Originally the great land-holders had power to ſell their tenants, but in conſequence of their progreſs in refinement in manners, that barbarous cuſtom begins to ſink into oblivion. In a word, Ruſſia will either become a moſt flouriſhing empire, or it will ſink under the extent of its dominions. Its internal reſources are much contracted, and therefore prudence and well timed œconomy can only promote the intereſt of the people, and ſupport the dignity of the ſovereign.

TRAVELS FROM ASTRACAN THROUGH ASIATIC RUSSIA TO CHINA;

BY FATHER AVERIL, THE MUSCOVITE AMBASSADORS, &c.

THE antient geographers had ſo little knowledge of that vaſt extent of land ſituated between the river *Oby* and the famous Chineſe wall, that they either paſſed it over in ſilence, or invented fabulous ſtories concerning it. Neither have the modern geographers been more ſucceſsful, for moſt of them have told us, that in that vaſt country there are nothing beſides mountains and deſarts. For the diſcovery of that country we are obliged to the *Zaporogian Coſſacks*, a ſavage body of people, whoſe ſituation was originally beyond the Boryſthenes. Theſe having been oppreſſed by the Ruſſians, they formed a reſolution to ſhake off the yoke of ſubjection, and to effect this they marched in great numbers towards the Wolga, by the way of Caſſan, and from thence to the river Joliſh, where they built a city, which they named Tobol, from a river upon which it was ſituated. It was not long before they extended their conqueſts a great way into the country, but not being able to procure the neceſſaries of life, they once more ſubmitted to the Muſcovite yoke, in order to carry on a trade by diſpoſing of the ſkins of ſuch beaſts as are found in the country, but notwithſtanding their formal ſubmiſſion, yet they pay no more regard to the Ruſſian laws, than as it ſuits their own intereſt.

The moſt valuable creatures throughout Tartary are the ſable martins, and the manner in which they are hunted is very ſingular. Some companies of ſoldiers are ſent once in ſeven years into thoſe provinces where theſe creatures are found. They are found in general in the ſmall iſlands, or on the banks of the rivers, and the ſoldiers kill them with croſs-bows, leſt fire-arms ſhould ſpoil the fur. As the chief part of this hunting depends on the activity and diligence of the ſoldiers, ſo the officers are obliged to reward them with ſome of the ſkins. Some of theſe officers clear upwards of four thouſand crowns during the ſeven years they are there, and the common ſoldiers ſix or ſeven hundred, which are vaſt ſums in that country. There are alſo in this country black foxes as in Siberia, and theſe are conſidered as extremely valuable. Formerly the Muſcovites were contented with ordinary furs, except the ermines, which were uſed only by perſons of quality, but ſince the diſcovery of theſe more precious furs, they have been ſo eager in the ſearch of them, that by penetrating every year further into the country, they have diſcovered the roads leading to China. The firſt of theſe roads is through the territories of the great mogul, but the vaſt deſarts being much frequented by robbers, the journey is extremely dangerous. All thoſe who travel this road are obliged to go in caravans of two or three thouſand each, carrying fire-arms and other weapons along with them for their preſervation. Several of the French jeſuits have travelled this road, particularly Father Averil, to whom we are under many obligations for the curious diſcoveries they have made, and the information they have communicated to all the European nations.

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The ſecond road is that uſed by the merchants of Bocara, who travel through the cities of Samarkan, Kabal, Kachemire, Tourſan, and ſo on through ſeveral other cities to Barantola, the moſt conſiderable city of great Tartary. This road, like the other already mentioned, is equally dangerous, for there are many ſandy deſarts, and vaſt numbers of Calmuc Tartars, who rob and murder all thoſe who are not able to defend themſelves; and yet it is often made choice of by the Ruſſians, in preference to any other. The third, and that which is moſt commonly uſed by thoſe who regard their preſervation, is from Tobolſko, along the banks of ſeveral lakes, yielding large quantities of ſalt; and this journey takes up about nine or ten days before they arrive at the great wall of China. The fourth road is along the banks of the river Oby, and this leads them to Szelingii Khun's reſidence, which is a journey of about eight weeks, from whence by means of a ſma'l preſent, they procure carriages and guards to conduct them to the great wall.

This is the road the Muſcovites have uſed ever ſince they were laſt at war with the Chineſe, and it is reckoned the moſt ſafe of any; for although the roads are ſometimes peſtered with robbers, yet here they ſeldom appear in large bodies; but all thoſe who travel along this road, muſt, before they begin their journey, provide themſelves with water, otherwiſe they will be in danger of periſhing. The fifth road is that which Spartavius the Ruſſian ambaſſador took to China; he paſſed through Siberia, to the city of Narezinſki, on the river Najunai, and from thence to Chiria, which is near the entrance into China. This road is the more ſafe, becauſe the travellers generally once in a day meet with the ſable martin hunters, who are well acquainted with the country, and who for a ſmall gratuity, are always ready to eſcort them.

The ſixth road is likewiſe through Narezinſki, and the country of the Monguls, and from thence to the Lake Dalai, out of which riſes the river Argus, which is navigable all along, and joins its current with the Turnour. Near the Argus are mines of ſilver and lead, and the prince, or Taiſo, whoſe territories border upon it, is obliged to find the Muſcovite caravans, which paſs that way three times in the year, carriages and horſes.

From Narezinſki, to the Lake Dalai, is a journey of upwards of a week, and near it we find a province, ſubject to China, the inhabitants of which cultivate the ground near the lake, and in three weeks carry paſſengers in waggons drawn by horſes, to the great gate of the Chineſe wall.

And hence it may be proper to ſay ſomething concerning theſe tribes of Tartars who inhabit the country near the borders of China, and over whom the Ruſſians pretend to exerciſe a ſovereign authority. This account is taken from the writings of the Jeſuits, who have been indefatigable in finding out new unknown countries, in order to make converts to the church of Rome. The firſt of theſe are the Bogdoi, and their country being of a large extent, they are divided into ſeveral tribes, or herds, each having a particular prince of their own. One of theſe provinces is called by the Ruſſians Dionerſki, and is incloſed between the eaſtern ſea, and the two great rivers Ebingala, and Yamour. They were anciently known to the Chineſe, but little regarded by them, till they made an irruption into that empire, and conquered ſix provinces, which induced the Chineſe to ſend for the Youſbec Tartars to aſſiſt them; but theſe ſettled the family of Jvina on the throne of China, and by the princes of that family, the empire was governed till 1386, when being expelled by the Chineſe, who enthroned the family of Tayminga, and they reigned till 1664, at which time the Dioughi Tartars again invaded China, and made an entire conqueſt of that kingdom. Their prince who took poſſeſſion of the throne of China, was named Cuncki, and his poſterity are at this time ſovereigns of that empire, of whom more ſhall be mentioned afterwards.

Throughout the whole country of Bogdoi, and ſeveral other of the neighbouring provinces, ſubject to Ruſſia, all the houſes are built of earth, and their trade conſiſts in exchanging with the Muſcovites ſables of martins and black foxes ſkins. In their features they are much like the Crim Tartars, but they are more polite in conſequence of converſing with the Chineſe. They are all heathens, and worſhip many different idols, but they have no regular ſyſtem of theology. They wear croſſes about their necks, called lamas, and ſome of them pretend to pay much regard to the Chriſtian religion. Probably it had been once planted among them, but at preſent there are no remains of it to be found; for, when the Jeſuits began to enquire into their ſentiments, they found them extremely ignorant. Their language is a ſort of corrupt Perſian, but they have ſixty letters in their alphabet, and, like the Chineſe, read from the top to the bottom. Their rivers of Argus, Yamour, and Ebingala, produce great ſtore of rubies and pearls, which they ſell to the Ruſſians, for things of a more uſeful nature, and they know the uſe of gunpowder, although it does not appear that they avail themſelves of that deſtructive invention.

Next to the Bogdoi, is a vaſt extent of land to the weſt, called Mongul, beginning at the eaſtern countries of the river Yamour, and extending weſtward, to the dominions of the Calmuc Tartars, from whom they are ſeparated by great deſarts. Upon the ſouth eaſt it borders upon Turqueſton, and reaches to China on the eaſt. Theſe people live under the government of their Taiſos', or Khans, but as they are all of one family they live together on the moſt amiable terms, and aſſiſt each other againſt all their enemies; not excepting even the Ruſſians themſelves, who vainly call them their ſubjects. As they inhabit neither towns nor villages, ſo they live moſtly on plunder, by making excurſions into thoſe territories near the Lake Dalai. As their grounds are watered with a great many rivers that fall into the Szelinga, they are very fertile, fit for paſture, and rich in cattle, which makes them live on good terms with the Muſcovites, to whom they pay a ſmall annual tribute. Amongſt themſelves they are peaceable, but when it happens that a quarrel ariſes, it is referred to the deciſion of the judge, whom they call contriſta, and one of that character attends all their clans when they go out to war, or to plunder their neighbours.

The Monguls bear a conſtant grudge againſt the Bogdoi, ever ſince the latter had the addreſs to plant one of their colonies in China, and to give ſovereignty to that vaſt empire. But as they are not acquainted with the uſe of fire arms, ſo they are not in condition to do them any conſiderable miſchief, any farther than to drive away their cattle and ſell them to the Ruſſians, and this practice is very common.

One of the chiefs of the Monguls is called Otchiourtiçane, and he pretends to derive his origin from the great Tamerlane, and this is not in the leaſt improbable. This prince has vaſt power over thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of ſmaller territories, and even the Ruſſians who pretend that he is ther vaſſal, are often obliged to court his friendſhip. He lives in great magnificence, and is ſerved with as much ceremony and grandeur as the emperor of China. His ſubjects have no fixed habitations, much leſs either towns or cities, but live in the fields under tents made of ſkins, and theſe are very commodious and neat; for as they lead a vagabond wandering life, they are the quickeſt in the world at encamping. Some time ago one of theſe chiefs of the Monguls raiſed an army to invade Ruſſia, and advanced near to Aſtracan. While he lay encamped in that neighbourhood, he was viſited by a French officer, who found that he had no leſs than one hundred thouſand horſe; but he contradicted the common accounts that this prince was ſerved in gold and ſilver, which would be very ſurpriſing indeed, when we conſider that the Tartars have but few artiſts among them.

All the inhabitants of Ruſſian Tartary, are Pagans,

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An IMAGE worshipped by the CHINGULAIS as the Deity who presides over Health, Wisdom, Plenty, &c.

and they have a ſupreme high prieſt, whom they call Dalac Lama, but this name is a quality, for even the Dalac is ſuppoſed never to die; which has ſome affinity with the notions entertained by the Egyptians, concerning their God Apis, who was no other than a bull, and when he died another was ſubſtituted in his room to deceive the people.

This Dalac Lama, has his temple in the fortreſs of Beatabac, near the city of Barantala, the metropolis of the kingdom of Tunchut; lying between China and Perſia. It is in a manner impoſſible to deſcribe the veneration ſhown to him; all the Tartars ſend preſents to him annually, and ſometimes they carry him into China, where he is worſhipped as a god. As ſoon as he dies, his prieſts make choice of one of their own body to ſucceed him; ſo that it is not a difficult matter for them to make the vulgar Tartars believe that he is immortal. It is rather more than probable, that this Dalac Lama, is no other than the famous Preſter John, of whom we have read ſo many fabulous accounts in hiſtory; and when we conſider the ſtories related of him, it will be more rational to look for his reſidence in Aſia, than in Abyſinia, where he certainly never was. To make this the more evident, it is to be obſerved, that when John II. king of Portugal, had ſent Peter de Coulan to make the diſcovery of the paſſage by ſea to the Eaſt Indies, he gave orders in the moſt particular manner, to the ſaid Coulan, to make an exact enquiry after the famous Preſter John, ſo much talked of in Europe, without its being known in what part of the world he reſided. Purſuant to the king's commands, Coulan advanced a great way into the Indies, where after the moſt diligent enquiry he poſſibly could make, he could not hear one word of Preſter John, but on his return home, coming to Cairo, he was told that in Ethiopia, beyond Egypt, reigned a certain potent prince, a profeſſed protector of the Chriſtians, and that whenever he appeared in public, he had a croſs carried before him.

As theſe characters bore a near reſemblance to thoſe of the prince he was in ſearch of, he thought himſelf ſufficiently informed of the truth of what he eagerly ſought for, and believing this monarch to be the ſame Preſter John, king of the Abyſinians, he ſent an account thereof to the king his maſter, containing a relation of his diſcovery. The king received the news with tranſport, and next year, when his ſhips ſailed to Africa, he gave orders to make further enquiries, and they, upon their return home, ſpread the news through every part of Europe, that they had found the country and city of the famous Preſter John; ſo that the ſtory was believed, and ſeveral accounts were written concerning this extraordinary perſon, but all ſtuffed with the groſſeſt falſhoods. Father Kircher juſtly obſerves, that none of the Abyſinian hiſtorians make any mention of this Preſter John, and therefore it is reaſonable that we ſhould look for him in Aſia.

But this ſubject is of too much importance to be ſlightly paſſed over, eſpecially as we find ſomething of this Preſter John in moſt of the writings of our ancient travellers, although they generally differ from each other. Some of the Jeſuits tell us, that the emperor of the Tartars having ſent his ſon to conquer the Leſſer India, which he effected, he advanced with his victorious army, againſt the Greater India, at that time inhabited by Chriſtians, where he was overthrown by their prince, commonly called Preſter John. This agrees with what Paul the Venetian, another Jeſuit, ſays on this ſubject, and he reſided ſeveral years in the palace of the Great Khan of Tartary, and was better acquainted with that country than the reſt of his brethren. It is certain, that by Kitay, the Ruſſians underſtand that country which runs from the Wolga to China; and the only objection againſt this opinion is, that the ſubjects of the ancient Preſter John, are ſaid to have been Chriſtians, whereas the modern Tartars are all heathens, except a few Mahometans who reſide amongſt them. But this objection is ſoon anſwered, for if any credit can be given to hiſtory, there are many nations now in the world ſitting in darkneſs under the power of idolatry, whoſe anceſtors were once illuminated with the glorious light of the goſpel. It is generally allowed that Thomas the apoſtle preached the goſpel in India; for there is a province northward of China, where the inhabitants are ſtill called by way of deriſion, the Diſciples of St. Thomas, although it does not appear that they have any veſtiges of Chriſtianity left among them.

Upon the whole, it appears evident that this Preſter John, ſo much talked of, was one of the Tartarian princes in the middle ages, ſince the incarnation, and that he, as well as his ſubjects, had ſome faint notions of Chriſtianity, and the name itſelf ſeems to have been corrupted by oral traditions among the ignorant barbarous inhabitants. And as knowledge decreaſed among the Tartars, nothing was more eaſy than for ſome of their prieſts, who were ſlaves to ſuperſtition, to make the natives believe, that Preſter John was ſtill alive, and as ignorance encreaſed, he became an object of idolatry!

It is true, the Dalac Lama is no temporal prince at preſent, as Preſter John was of old, but this muſt be the conſequence of ſome revolution, of which hiſtory is ſilent. He is ſtill at the head of religion, and he is called in the language of the country, Lama, which ſignifies a croſs, and all his followers wear croſſes.

Beſides theſe Tartars before mentioned, there are ſeveral other tribes or hordes, ſuch as the Oſtiaki, the Braſki, the Jacuti, and the Tongueſi, who inhabit about the lakes, betwixt Siberia and the Monguls. As they ſpeak the ſame language, and wear the ſame habits as the Calmucs, ſo it is probable they are of the ſame original, but having, in their roving manner, ſettled near to Muſcovy, became ſubject to that empire, rather from motives of ſelf-intereſt, ariſing from the benefit of trade, than with any deſign of becoming ſlaves. They are generally of a ſwarthy complexion, inclining to an olive colour, with broad flat faces, high above, and falling in below. Their noſes are flat, their eyes are ſparkling, and they ſuffer their beards to grow. Their habits are ſheep-ſkins, or ſkins of any other animals ſewed together, in the ſhape of veſts, cloſe to their bodies, having a cord about their waiſts, inſtead of a girdle, whereunto they faſten their bow and quiver, wherever they go. They ſhave their heads, leaving a ſmall tuft of hair on the middle of the crown, and on their heads they wear a round bonnet of the ſame ſtuff with the reſt of their habit, and to the top of their bonnet is fixed a piece of cloth in the form of a cockade, to diſtinguiſh the horde to which they belong. Thoſe who live in the countries where they catch martins, make themſelves cloaths of their ſkins, as alſo of dogs ſkins, of which they have vaſt numbers.

Sometimes they wear double veſts, and when that happens, the ſkins of the martins, although much eſteemed, are kept within next to the body, and thoſe of the dogs without. And natural ſenſe in thoſe people, who are little better than ſavages, points out an excuſe for this part of their conduct. They ſay, that as the dogs aſſiſt them in taking the martins, ſo they are more noble creatures than the latter, and that the martins, for their cowardice, ought to be concealed, and the dogs for their boldneſs, expoſed to public view. Here is philoſophy, without education, and from theſe ſavages we may learn that all the difference between mortals in the exertions of mental powers, conſiſts only in the aids that we receive from human learning, ſelf knowledge, and an acquaintance with the world.

From what has been here ſaid, it appears evident, that the Ruſſians could be under no great difficulty in opening a road and eſtabliſhing a communication between their own empire and that of China; for although it is not an eaſy matter to ſubdue populous nations of ſavages, yet when theſe ſavages are divided

in ſmall hordes, political and deſigning princes can eaſily ſet them againſt each other. By theſe means the power of theſe hordes is weakened, and they become an eaſy prey to thoſe who have ſtanding armies inured to hardſhips, and acquainted with military diſcipline; for as the Ruſſians know the art of war, and are acquainted with the uſe of gun-powder, it could not be ſuppoſed that thoſe ſavages ſhould be long able to oppoſe them, and yet the Ruſſians have never been able totally to ſubdue them.

It would be much for the intereſt of the Ruſſians to erect forts for the defence of their conqueſts, the furthermoſt of which is called Albaza, not above three weeks journey from Peking, although above three months from Moſcow. It is ſeated on the banks of the River Yamour, which occaſioning a difference between the Ruſſians and the Chineſe about the privileges of pearl fiſhing and hunting of ſables, broke out at laſt into a war; but the Ruſſians conſidering the diſadvantages they lay under in expoſing an army to be deſtroyed for want of proviſions in ſo vaſt a country, thought it moſt convenient to accommodate the matter in an amicable manner, by leaving things in the ſame ſtate as before.

The Ruſſians in journeying to the eaſt, commonly ſet out in the months of February, the ſnow being then hard, and they are drawn by rein deers on ſledges properly conſtructed for that purpoſe. They wait near the borders of Siberia a few days to ſee whether it will thaw, which if it does, they ſail in boats down the River Oby, but if the froſt continues they go on by land to the country of the Oſtiaks, a horde of Tartars, under the juriſdiction of the Ruſſians. Here, if the thaw does not overtake them, they ſend back their carriages to Toboloſko, which they change for others, and in order to make the rein deer run as faſt as poſſible, there is a great dog behind each of the carriages, who barks and ſcares the creatures when they begin to be idle. But the moſt ſurpriſing thing is, that in the open country all the way between Siberia and Mount Caucauſus, the travellers to eaſe their beaſts have a method of putting up ſails to their ſledges, which, if the wind be favourable, carries them over the ſnow and frozen rivers. In this manner they travel over the ice to the River Geneſſai, where the Ruſſians have built a city of the ſame name. There they take ſhipping on the river, which carries them to two other rivers, Tongueſſi and Angara, which runs out of the Lake Baſkala. The waters of this lake are ſo clear, that although very deep, yet a perſon can ſee the ſtones which lie at the bottom. This lake is ſurrounded by lofty mountains, but although it is not above eight leagues in length, yet, on account of ſome troubleſome winds, it often takes them eight days to croſs it.

Having paſſed the lake, if they intend to go further by water, they embark in ſmall veſſels on the River Schelinga, which carries them to a city of the ſame name, built by the Ruſſians for the convenience of their caravans; but when they intend to go by land, they buy dromedaries and mules from the Mongul Tartars. This being one of the principal roads which the Ruſſian merchants take to China, makes it appear, that all that country, known formerly by the general name of Great Tartary, is not ſo unpeopled as many have repreſented it.

They have many fine rivers, which produce abundance of precious commodities, ſuch as pearls, ginſong roots; and in many parts of the country there is plenty of rhubarb, caſtors, azure-ſtone, with ſables, martins, black foxes, and lead mines. The Ruſſians have found out a kind of ivory, which for its whiteneſs and ſmoothneſs, ſurpaſſes any that is brought from India. This they are furniſhed with by a certain amphibious creature, called behamoth, found moſt commonly in the River Laka, or near the ſhore of the Tartarian Sea. "I have ſeen (ſays Father Avaril) ſeveral of theſe creatures at Moſcow, and their teeth were about ten inches long, and two in diameter. Theſe teeth are more beautiful than the elephant's; and they have a remarkable quality in ſtopping the blood of wounds. The creature is very fierce, and it requires much labour and trouble to hunt him. The Tartars uſed to carry along with them their whole families to the chace, and it frequently happened that proceeding too far upon the ice, many hundreds of them have periſhed.

Among the many rivers that lie beyond Siberia in Tartary, the four following are the moſt noted, the Oby, the Geneſſai, the Lena, and the Yamour. The moſt weſterly of theſe rivers is the Oby, and it is extremely dangerous by reaſon of the vaſt mountains of ice lying at the mouth of it, which prevents ſhips from getting into the ſea. The next to the eaſt, is the River Geneſſai, which, beſides the mountains of ice in common with the Oby, it labours under another inconvenience, that of being incommoded with ſeven cataracts or water-falls, which puts the merchants to vaſt trouble in loading and unloading their veſſels. The River Lena has a more uniform current, but inſtead of ice, it is ſo much peſtered with rocks and ſhelves at the mouth, that it is only paſſable for ſmall boats. The River Yamour, the moſt eaſterly of all, which falls into the ſea of Japan, is not ſubject to thoſe inconveniencies, but where its waters mix with the ſea, there grow ſuch prodigious quantities of bulruſhes, and thoſe of ſo large a ſize, that the entrance is extremely difficult.

The Ruſſian ambaſſador who travelled over Tartary to China, has related many curious particulars, which will not ſurpriſe the reader that he went in a public character, and a numerous retinue to attend him. "Walking one day along the banks of the Pultou, (ſays Brand, the ſecretary) we ſaw at a diſtance ſome of their huts, and among them one ſomewhat bigger than the reſt, which raiſed my curioſity to go and take a view of it, having obtained leave of the owner for a ſmall preſent of bread and ſalt. I entered without any ceremony, and found three women lying on the ground, who roſe up as ſoon as they ſaw me, and by their geſtures, ſufficiently teſtified their diſpleaſure, but as I had ſecured the owners good will, I went forward, and took a view of every thing in the hut. I was afterwards told that thoſe were the wives of one of their princes or chiefs; but their furniture appeared but little ſuitable to ſuch a rank. The only thing worth notice in the hut, was their domeſtic idol, which they call their *Sheitan*. It was made of wood, about a yard in length, of a moſt dreadful aſpect, for its head being covered with an iron plate, it appeared as black as a chimney, occaſioned by the incenſe they offer to it; beſides that, its garments were nothing but a parcel of woollen rags of different colours. One day, the ambaſſador being in a good humour, ordered one of his ſervants to bring out a wooden machine, made in the ſhape of a drum, ſo curiouſly contrived, that it beat by means of clock-work within. He immediately ſet it a beating, which ſo much frightened the Tartars who were preſent, that they all ran away; but recollecting themſelves, they imagined it to be a god, and returned and worſhipped it in the ſame manner they do their own idols. They begged earneſtly that the ambaſſador would let them have it, but he did not chuſe to comply with their requeſt, leſt it ſhould encourage their idolatry.

Their manner of devotion is the moſt ſingular that can be imagined, for inſtead of ſaying their prayers, they whiſtle them, clapping their hands together, and knocking their heads againſt the ground: when they ſwear, they lay their hands upon a bear's ſkin, and each of the parties drinks a cup of horſe's blood. They have ſuch reſpect for their idols, that in all public entertainments, the firſt diſhes are ſet before them, and when they neglect that ceremony, they believe that the victuals would rot or turn to worms in their bellies. Their chiefs are much addicted to tobacco, and they take it after a manner peculiar to themſelves. Having filled their mouths with water, they draw the ſmoak from the pipes into the

the water and ſwallow it, which is the reaſon that frequently at taking it, they fall down in a fit, but ſoon recover themſelves, and it does not affect them any more at that time.

The ambaſſador having reſted himſelf two days at the village Buhutſha, began his journey through the northern deſart, and did not find any houſes in it except a few huts, although it took up eight days to croſs it. At the eaſtern extremity of this deſart, there is a numerous tribe of Tartars, called Tongueſſes, who were formerly reputed for their valour, but they have been for many years ſubject to the Ruſſians, and pay an annual tribute. They are, generally ſpeaking, well proportioned, and have ſtraight limbs, and there is no difference between the dreſſes of the men, and thoſe of the women. They have a cuſtom which ſeems peculiar to themſelves, which is to ſtitch the cheeks of their children while infants with black thread, through and through in different forms, ſome being like croſſes, and others ſquare, or which ever way they chuſe, and this they conſider as a badge of honour and antiquity, tranſmitted to them by their anceſtors, and theſe marks they retain as long as they live.

Their huts are made either of the ſkins of rein deer, or of ſome other wild beaſts, or of the bark of trees, and in theſe miſerable places they live, enduring the ſevereſt winters, being inured to cold from their birth; for no ſooner are they born, than they are laid into cold water, in the ſummer, and on the ſnow, in winter. Theſe Tartars, in this province, are divided into three hordes; the firſt live by plundering their neighbours, and they are very expert horſemen; the ſecond ſubſiſt by hunting, and the third are ſo barbarous, that in their way of living, they reſemble beaſts, rather than men. Their idols are all of wood, every one having his domeſtic god, or patron, unto whom they direct their devotions: but if they do not obtain what they pray for, they make nothing of throwing them out of doors, where they muſt lay till they procure an anſwer to their prayers, when they are again taken into the houſe, and have an offering made to them. In all places where five or ſix families live together, they jointly maintain a Shamman, or Prieſt, and at their meetings, this prieſt makes his appearance in a habit, having upon it all the figures of lyons, bears, ſerpents, adders, and ſuch like, which being made of iron, they ſometimes weigh two hundred pounds, and the prieſt beats on an inſtrument like a drum, while the people make the moſt diſmal outcries and lamentations, pretending that they ſee apparitions under the forms of ravens, and ſome other birds.

In the mean time the prieſt leaving his drum, pretends to fall into a trance, which the people conſider as a ſure ſign of his ſincerity, and while he remains in that poſture, they believe him to be converſing with ſpirits. Notwithſtanding their wretched way of living, they maintain a plurality of wives, eſpecially the chiefs, who buy the young women from their parents, for a few rein deer each. He that is to take an oath, muſt drink the blood of a dog, ſtabbed in the fore legs for that purpoſe, and the blood is ſuffered to run out till the creature dies. They neither bury nor burn their dead, but hang their bodies upon trees, till they putrifie. The worſt curſe they imprecate upon thoſe who offend them, is, that they may be taken into Europe by the Ruſſians, and forced to cultivate the ground; ſo that although they pay a ſmall tribute of ſkins annually, yet it appears that the Czars, are rather their nominal than real maſters.

As the ambaſſador approached nearer the borders of China, he ſtopped at a village, where there was a ſheep and a goat killed, and fixed on a tree with their heads upwards, being intended as ſacrifices to the heavenly bodies. Mr. Brand, the ſecretary, made ſome enquiry into the religion of thoſe Tartars, but all he could learn was, that they were Pagans, who offered a ſheep and goat every year, to the Creator of the Heavens; and they adored the ſun. They are very rich in cattle, particularly in camels, whom they ſell to the Ruſſians, who travel towards China.

In eight days after they arrived at Udinſky, a Ruſſian fort, and were met a mile from the place by the commanding officer of the garriſon, who treated them in the moſt hoſpitable manner. This fort is ſituated on a hill fortified in the Ruſſian manner, and is conſidered as a place of great ſtrength, and the chief bulwark of the province of Dauria; for although it has been often attacked by the Mongul Tartars, yet they have never been able to take it. In this place the ambaſſador and his retinue were obliged to remain three weeks, to provide themſelves with camels and horſes, and with ſuch other neceſſaries as were wanting to conduct them over a great deſart, through which they had to paſs.

Having procured what they wanted, they entered the deſart, on the 6th of April, with a caravan conſiſting of 250 men, ſome hundreds of camels and horſes, 400 waggons; the camels carrying about 600, and the horſes about 250 weight a piece. As the Mongul Tartars are generally abroad in large parties, thoſe in the ambaſſadors retinue were obliged to be conſtantly upon their guard, and for that purpoſe when they pitched their tents at night, it was done in a circular form, that centinals might be the more conveniently placed round it, at a proper diſtance from each other, to give the alarm to the others if there ſhould happen to be any neceſſity for it. This precaution having put it beyond the probability of the Tartars doing them any harm, they ſoon found themſelves moleſted in a manner they little expected. The Mongul Tartars being well acquainted with the nature of the country, ſet fire to the graſs, in order to prevent them from procuring proviſions for their cattle. Several of their horſes and camels died for want of ſubſiſtance, which was very agreeable to the Tongueſſes, a certain horde of Tartars, who inhabit that deſart, and live chiefly on horſes fleſh, as the moſt delicious food in the world. Theſe Tongueſſes, whom the Ruſſians call their ſubjects, know little or nothing of any civil government whatever. They burn the bodies of their dead with all their moveables along with them, and if any of them become decripped before they die, they burn them upon a high mountain, and impale their horſes beſide them. Having croſſed the deſart, they came to the city of Nerkinſkoy, ſeated on the banks of the river Neſtza, where there is a colony of 600 Tongueſſes, ſettled by Peter the Great, and they have fortified the place againſt the Mongul Tartars. In this city the ambaſſador was obliged to remain two months, in order to procure carriages and horſes, having loſt a great number in croſſing the deſart. Beſides the guard they had already with them, they were allowed 50 Coſſacks, who were to conduct them into China, and eſcort them again into the Ruſſian territories.

Leaving Nerkinſkoy with part of the caravan, they reached the ſame night the Schilaka, which they ferried over, but as this was their general rendezvous, they were obliged to wait three days, till the reſt of the caravan came up.

At laſt they arrived, being in all about 600, and every one having had his ſhare of bread, beef, and veniſon, they proceeded on their journey, for three days together, through a vaſt boggy foreſt, and three days more through a dry barren deſart, and two days more through another deſart, which brought them to the river Samur, where they pitched their tents, of which they had no more than 50, the road having been ſo bad that many of their camels were not able to travel. Here they refreſhed themſelves, and ſetting out for the city of Arguin, where they arrived in ten days after, but very much fatigued. Near this city is a river, from which it takes its name, and the ſtream is ſo rapid, that it was four days before the whole caravan could paſs it. This river is in ſome parts the boundaries between the two empires

pires of China and Ruſſia, for the city of Arguin is the laſt frontier of the province of Dauria, ſubject to the juriſdiction of the Ruſſians.

As the Mongul Tartars are always roving abroad for booty, the ambaſſadors caravan was obliged to keep a watchful eye wherever they went, but as thoſe Tartars are for the moſt part, puſillanimous cowards, they were not much afraid of them. The ambaſſador diſpatched twenty of his Coſſacks to the town of Naun, on the frontiers of China, in order to know in what manner he was to be received, but they could not proceed in leſs than four days, becauſe the rivers were ſo much ſwelled, that they had overflown their banks, and rendered it dangerous for thoſe Coſſacks to attempt paſſing them, although they are ſeldom afraid of the moſt threatening dangers.

About ten days afterwards the Coſſacks, with the meſſengers that had been ſent to the city of Naun, returned and brought advice to the ambaſſador, that there was a perſon of rank come from Peking, to meet him and receive him with the honours due to his rank. While they were waiting for the return of theſe meſſengers, a Ruſſian convoy came up, conſiſting of 300 camels. They were returning from China, where they had been to purchaſe goods, and to diſpoſe of the commodities of their own country. They ſpent two days together, entertaining one another in the moſt friendly manner, for few things can be more pleaſing, than for the natives of a country to meet each other in a foreign land.

Theſe friends having parted, the ambaſſador with his retinue proceeded on his journey two days longer through many fruitful plains, and encamped near the ſource of the river Gull, which is another of the boundaries, between Aſiatic Ruſſia, and China. For ſeveral days after they travelled through the moſt delightful wood, the branches of the trees covering heir heads. Here were likewiſe many filbert trees, and although not ſo high as thoſe in Europe, yet they were ſo loaded with fruit, that they afforded an agreeable entertainment to thoſe people in the caravan, while the camels and horſes were refreſhed by the ſweet graſs, that grew along the ſides of the paths. At laſt they were received by the Chineſe meſſengers from the emperor; but of this we muſt treat afterwards, in our account of the different travels into that extenſive empire.

Thoſe other parts of Aſiatic Ruſſia, which we have not yet deſcribed, are ſuch as lay near the borders of Perſia, along the banks of the Wolga. The firſt place deſerving our notice, is the iſle of Dolgoi, which is all ſandy and barren, producing nothing for the ſupport of human life, except what is brought forth by the ſevereſt induſtry of the inhabitants, in their gardens, and in ſome ſmall ſpots of ground. The continent on the right hand is no leſs barren, but on the left, towards the river Jaika, are ſome very good paſtures. On this ſide the Wolga is a very long heath, extending ſeventy German leagues to the Euxine ſea, and another extending eighty leagues to the Caſpian ſea, the laſt of which generally takes up two weeks to travel over it. The only thing theſe barren heaths produce, is ſalt, of which there are many valuable pits, and it is a uſeful article of commerce, for the Ruſſians in their dealings with the eaſtern Tartars, who purchaſe large quantities of it for the preſervation of their fiſh, upon which they live great part of the winter.

This ſalt is baked by the heat of the ſun, which leaves it to ſwim upon the ſurface of the water of about half an inch thick, much in the form of rock cryſtal, and in ſuch prodigious quantities, that for the value of a halfpenny, one may be permitted to take up of it about forty pounds weight, one cruſt being no ſooner taken off, but another comes up. This ſalt is much eſteemed, but we do not find that any of it is ſent into Europe, becauſe it anſwers the end of the merchants to a better purpoſe to ſend it among the Tartars, who pay them for it in the commodities of their own countries.

The Wolga between Aſtracan and the Caſpian ſea abounds ſo much with fiſh, that the gentlemen in the retinue of the ambaſſadors from the duke of Holſtien, bought twelve large carp for two-pence, and 200 young ſturgeons for half a crown; lobſters are here in infinite numbers, becauſe the Muſcovites and Tartars do not eat of them. The numerous iſles in the river afford a great variety of wild-fowl, eſpecially wild geeſe, and wild ducks, which the Tartars hunt with falcons and hawks; and in the breeding of theſe birds, the Tartars are very ingenious. Theſe Tartars are very much addicted to the hunting the wild boar, and becauſe their religion does not permit them to eat it, they ſell it to the Muſcovites.

The fruits here are much inferior to thoſe which grow in Perſia, but ſome of them are much eaten, particularly a ſort of melons, called Arpus by the Tartars, becauſe they are of a cooling nature. The ſeeds from which they grow were firſt brought from the Indies, and the fruit is pleaſant both to the ſight, and the taſte: the rind being of a lively green colour, the meat of a pale carnation, and the ſeed black, and yet for all that, they are ſold as cheap as the worſt of our apples.

Grapes were but lately introduced here by means of ſome Perſian merchants who brought the firſt ſamples of them to Aſtracan, and being ſold to an old monk, who happened to be there on a viſit, he carried them home to his convent, and planted them in his garden. Peter the Great, having taſted ſome of theſe grapes, ordered the monk to propagate them with unremitting induſtry, which he did ſo effectually, that ſome years ago when the Holſtien ambaſſadors viſited the place, no houſe was without its walks or arbours of vines. This turned ſo much to the advantage of the inhabitants, that the landlord where the ambaſſadors lodged, told them, that the year before, the vines about his houſe had yielded him one hundred crowns, and that ſome of the vines in ſmall gardens had yielded no leſs than ſixty pipes of excellent wine.

This monk, whoſe name will ever be treated with reſpect in the country, was born in Auſtria, in Germany, and being taken priſoner by the Tartars, was ſold to thoſe Muſcovite Tartars, and by them to the Muſcovites. Having embraced the religion of the Greeks, he turned monk, and became the ſuperior of a convent. He lived to a great age, and was much eſteemed and reſpected by all who knew him. And when any ſtrangers came to viſit him, he treated them with all that his convent could afford, and with ſuch pleaſure as none but the virtuous feel.

The Tartars of Nagalia, near the Wolga, were formerly governed by their own princes, till they were conquered by the Muſcovites, about the year 1554, and now there are ſo many Muſcovites among them, that they begin to live on amicable terms, many of the Tartars having embraced the religion of the Greek church. Theſe Tartars are much more refined in their manners, and leſs ferocious than thoſe we have mentioned inhabiting near the borders of China; but they ſtill retain many of their antient cuſtoms, ſuch as eating the fleſh of horſes, and drinking the blood of thoſe ainmals when they are taken ſick. When they go out to war, they are all mounted on horſe-back, and when they come to a deep river that cannot be forded, they diſmount in an inſtant, and plunging themſelves into the water with their horſes bridles in their hands, ſwim acroſs with as much eaſe as if they were marching on land.

In all that part of Tartary which lays ſouth of Aſtracan along the banks of the Wolga, the people in winter aſſemble in troops together, and lodge at a proper diſtance from each other, that they may be in a condition to aſſiſt each other againſt the Calmucs, who in that ſeaſon generally pay them a viſit to rob them of every thing they can carry away. For this reaſon the Ruſſians furniſh them with arms and ammunition

ammunition to oppoſe the common enemy. This is the more neceſſary, becauſe if they had not arms, they would be in danger of being murdered, and robbed of all they have in the world; and the Calmucs are obliged to return ſoon from their expeditions, leſt a thaw ſhould take place, and then their journey would ſubject them to be attacked by thoſe whom they came to rob. The Tartars along the banks of the Wolga, who acknowledge the Ruſſians to be their maſters, are obliged to furniſh the empreſs, or the ſovereign for the time being, with a certain number of troops, and this they are to do whether he is attacked in his own dominions, or makes war upon thoſe of any other prince. It is true, they have provinces of their own; but in order to ſecure their allegiance to the Ruſſians, they are obliged to give up hoſtages, who for the moſt part are kept confined in the caſtle of Aſtracan, where they are treated in a princely manner, in order that, when they are exchanged in the room of others, they may carry home with them a favourable report to their own country. This is attended with another advantage; for as many of theſe hoſtages are induced to embrace the Greek religion, ſo when they return home, it is no difficult matter for them to make converts among their countrymen, and this is perhaps one of the wiſeſt maxims in the Ruſſian government.

The Crim Tartars are generally low of ſtature, inclining to fat, with large faces and little eyes. They are of an olive colour, and the men have wrinkles, with ſhort beards, and their heads ſhaven. The men wear a garment of coarſe cloth, with a mantle of ſheep-ſkin over it, having the woolly ſide outward, and a cap of the ſame materials. The women are tolerable in their ſhapes, and they moſt commonly wear a robe of coarſe linen cloth, with a coif on their heads, round about which hang a great number of the ſmalleſt ſorts of Ruſſian coins.

The ſecretary to the Holſtein ambaſſador ſays, that while he was there, he did all he could in order to find out their manners and cuſtoms.

"They have a cuſtom (ſays he) of devoting their children to that god, or idol, who is the object of their worſhip: and if the child is a girl, ſhe is diſtinguiſhed from others by a ring with a ruby, hanging from her noſtrils; but if a boy, he wears it in his right ear. It is not unneceſſary to obſerve, that this cuſtom prevails in many other parts of the world, particularly in Perſia.

"They live upon what their cattle, their hawking, and fiſhing ſupplies them with, and their cattle are exceedingly large. Their ſheep have large fat tails, with flat noſes, and hanging ears like our ſpaniels. Their horſes are ſmall, but capable of undertaking any fatigue; and their camels have two hunches on their backs, which ſeems to be peculiar to this country and Perſia; for we did not ſee any of the ſame ſhape in the other parts which we viſited. We made particular enquiries into their manner of living, and we found that it was moſtly on fiſh, dried in the ſun, which they uſe inſtead of bread, though the better and more opulent ſometimes make cakes of meal, rice, and millet, and fry them in oil or honey. They eat the fleſh of camels and horſes, and they drink either water or mare's milk; but the latter is the moſt eſteemed, and they treated us with it as a mark of reſpect."

As we proceeded towards the Caſpian ſea, we had frequently occaſion to ſtop for proviſions; and no ſooner did we ſtop for that purpoſe, than ſome of the Tartarian princes came to viſit us, and preſented us with all ſuch neceſſaries as their country could afford, ſuch as melons, apples, apricots, peaches, and grapes, in exchange for which we preſented them with diſtilled waters and ſweet-meats. As we proceeded farther down the river, we met with ſtill greater civilities, particularly one day, when we were in want of proviſions, we were obliged to ſend our ſhallop on ſhore, to try whether the natives would let us have any of thoſe things we were in need of, but this they could not do without permiſſion from their prince. Accordingly we made application to him, and he came on board our veſſel, attended by forty domeſtics, and having along with him another prince, who ſeemed to be his relation. The firſt was a tall, comely looking man, who ſeemed about twenty-eight years of age, of a fine complexion, and merry diſpoſition, being richly clothed after the faſhion of the Muſcovites.

We received them with ſound of trumpets, under the diſcharge of three pieces of cannon, and after a ſtay of two hours in the ambaſſador's apartment, and viewing our veſſel, he was reconducted on ſhore; for although we had prepared a collation for him, yet he politely refuſed to eat any of it; but with the utmoſt condeſcenſion ordered his people to bring us what proviſions we wanted. His preſents conſiſted of rice, millet, and ſeveral ſorts of dried fruits, with twenty flitches of bacon, and a great number of large fiſhes dried in the ſmoak, a barrel of beer, and two or three barrels of mead.

Next day the Tartarian prince deſired the ambaſſador would honour him with a viſit; and accordingly we rowed our boat to the ſhore, and were received by him in the moſt polite manner.

We were conducted to an apartment prepared for us without the city, where we were met by the prince, who attended us to an apartment richly hung with tapeſtry, which is common in that country, becauſe they purchaſe it from the Perſians. There was a noble collation of fruits prepared for us, and we were ſerved with wines, beer, mead, and ſpirituous liquors reſembling what the Europeans call Geneva. The prince in the moſt humble poſture drank the health of the Czar; and ſuch was the reſpect he had entertained for him, that he would not put on his cap till he had drank to all his pages. Here it was that we met with the Muſcovite ambaſſador, or rather deputy; for although he is called an ambaſſador, yet he enjoys a power ſuperior to that name. His buſineſs is to enquire into the public revenues, that he may ſend an account thereof to Peterſburgh, and according to his account of the ſtate of affairs in the province, the taxes are regulated. He does not exact the tribute himſelf, but another perſon of an inferior rank is ſent to do it, who acts much in the ſame manner as the Roman quæſtors, although with much leſs power.

This Ruſſian ambaſſador entertained us in the moſt ſumptuous manner, for he was a man of experience, who had been formerly on ſeveral embaſſies into Perſia, ſo that he had acquired a very conſiderable knowledge of the world, and was reſpected by all thoſe who knew him. After the entertainment was over, we wanted to take a view of the habitations of the Tartars without the city, but the Muſcovite guards would not permit us, it being contrary to their orders, nor could the ambaſſador from that court comply with our requeſt, unleſs he would have gone beyond the line of his duty.

A few days afterwards, the Ruſſian ambaſſador came on board our veſſel, to pay us a viſit, and we treated him as magnificently as we could, conſiſtent with our circumſtances, being then far from home, in a ſtrange country, and depending for ſubſiſtence upon people whom we imagined to be ſavages, although we found them quite otherwiſe. This ambaſſador was about fifty years of age, had a moſt graceful appearance, and was well acquainted with the Latin language, the mathematics, and ſeveral other ſciences; and what was ſtill more to his honour, he had, during his embaſſy, at his leiſure hours, begun making daily progreſs in every thing that could enlarge his mind in human knowledge. He was ſo well acquainted with aſtronomy, that he could at any time calculate an eclipſe, and take the elevation of the pole while he ſtood in the fields, or in the ſtreets, to the no ſmall ſurpriſe of ſuch of his countrymen as attended him.

Proceeding ſtill farther down the Wolga, we

came to the territories of a prince who was nominally ſubject to the Ruſſians, but paid little regard to their government. He entertained us with much civility, and conducted us to the places where the Tartars have their houſes, that we might be able to form ſome notion of them; for he told us that we had been miſinformed with reſpect to many particulars concerning them. To this we anſwered, that it was not much to be wondered at that we ſhould be miſinformed, becauſe there being ſo many nations of Tartars, we ſometimes conſidered them all as one and the ſame, in conſequence of the imperfect accounts that had been tranſmitted to us; but we were glad to find ourſelves miſtaken, and for the future would be cautious how we drew our concluſions.

Here it was that we firſt obſerved that they did not threſh their corn as we do in Europe, but trod it out by oxen and horſes, nor did we meet with a hut ſo mean but it had its hawk and falcon. In our return we met with one of their deputy princes, who came with his hawk in his hand, as did all the reſt of his retinue. He complimented the ambaſſadors in the politeſt manner, telling them, that he was ſorry he had not an opportunity of waiting on them at home, that he might have treated them according to their rank.

The next place we came to was a Ruſſian or Greek chapel, and near it was a village, which the natives call Zuanzuk, a place where vaſt numbers of fiſh are taken, and here the Wolga is divided into many channels, which form ſo many iſlands, all covered with buſhes, canes, and oziers, as indeed is the greateſt part of the coaſts of the Caſpian ſea. Among the reſt of theſe iſlands, there is one of conſiderable bigneſs, on which there is a houſe pretty high, having on the top a pole, with the ſcull of a ſheep fixed to the ſummit of it. They aſſured us that this was the ſepulchre of a Tartarian ſaint; and that the inhabitants who paſs that way, kill a ſheep, part of which is offered up in ſacrifice, the remainder they feaſt on, and the head is fixed on a pole, where it remains till it falls off, and then another is put up in its room, and this is the reaſon why the Muſcovites call this place, The Tartar's Sacrifice. In the ſame iſland are a vaſt number of huts, where the fiſhermen reſide free from the noiſe of a tumultuous world, for if their enjoyments are ſmall, their deſires are few, and they are utterly unacquainted with luxury.

At night we came within ſight of another fiſhing place, fenced in, and guarded by about a hundred Ruſſian ſoldiers, where we ſaw a great many dog-fiſh, or ſea-hounds, and a kind of fowl, called by Pliny onocratabus, with long beaks, round and flat at the end like a ſpoon beaten out, having taken its name from the noiſe it makes like an aſs, by putting its beak into the water. We alſo diſcovered a vaſt number of creatures as large as wild geeſe, larger than ſwans; their bills about a foot and a half long, two fingers broad, and forked at the ends. They have under their bills a bag of ſkin, which they can contract or extend as they pleaſe, and it will contain three gallons of liquor, and this they uſe as a preſervatory for the fiſh they take till they can ſwallow them. We ſhot one of them, and it meaſured two ells and a half between the extremities of the wings, and ſeven feet from the head to the feet. We alſo ſaw a kind of wild ducks much larger than thoſe in Europe, and as black as crows, with forked bills, and their feathers as hard as thoſe of crows. The Ruſſians call them braclun, and they never appear but in the night, when they make a moſt horrid noiſe.

When we arrived at the mouth of the Wolga, we found it full of ſmall iſlands covered with reeds and canes, and theſe iſlands extend ſix leagues into the ſea, which has given riſe to a proverbial expreſſion among the natives, "That the Wolga has ſix mouths." With reſpect to ourſelves, we found we had many difficulties to encounter, for the bottom was all muddy, with ſhallow water not above four or five feet deep; ſo that in ſeven days we did not advance above four leagues. One day we ſtuck upon a ſand bank near one of theſe iſlands, and after fatiguing ourſelves ſeveral hours in getting off, we came into ſix feet of water, but ſoon found it was only a pit, ſurrounded on all ſides with ſands, and the wind changing about, brought us in three feet water, ſo that we ſoon found ourſelves fixed in the mud.

We unloaded our goods into the Tartar's boats, and tried day and night to get her out, but in vain, there being no hopes of relief till the return of the water, which could not be expected without the change of the weather. In four days after, perceiving the waters to have increaſed five feet, we began to entertain ſome hopes of being extricated out of our difficulties, and the next day a tempeſt raiſed the water to nine feet, and we might have got into the ſea had not the violence of the winds prevented us. Our Ruſſian pilot was extremely ignorant, and all the maps we had along with us were falſe, ſo that we found it neceſſary to addreſs ourſelves to the colonel of the ſoldiers who did duty there, to procure us a pilot, to conduct us to the Caſpian Sea.

This gentleman, who was a native of Moſcow, came on board our veſſel, and we having treated him in the beſt manner we could, he promiſed to ſend us a pilot, but no ſooner was he gone, than he ſet ſail in a veſſel of his own, and left us to reflect on our credulity. We met with this fellow after our arrival at Terki, and when we upbraided him with his inſolence and perfidy, he only laughed at it; nay, he had even the impudence to tell us, It was a fine matter to talk of.

In the mean time being reduced to ſuch ſtraits, we reſolved to apply to the maſter of a Perſian veſſel, a man of ſome knowledge in navigation, far beyond moſt of his countrymen. No ſooner had he heard our requeſt, than he came on board our ſhip, and at eleven at night ordered the anchor to be weighed, ſo that we ſoon found ourſelves in eighteen feet water, and continued ſailing along the coaſt till next morning, when, to our inexpreſſible pleaſure, we beheld the trees waving over the ſea.

Having eſcaped from theſe dangers, we diſcovered the country of Circaſſia, which extending along the coaſt, forms a ſpacious bay, in the form of a creſcent. We did all we could to get round the point of the Gulph; but the wind veering about, had infallibly forced us into it, had we not caſt anchor at the entrance. About twenty fiſhermen, who came to ſell us ſome fiſh, put us in much fear, becauſe we believed they were Coſſacks; but coming nearer, we diſcovered who they were, and bought plenty of proviſions of them. The fiſh they ſold us were large; and what was very remarkable, moſt of them had lobſters in their bellies. The remainder of the day was ſpent in giving God Almighty thanks for his gracious goodneſs to us, in preſerving us from ſuch imminent dangers, and in the mean time our Perſian pilot not only ſent a proper perſon to direct us, but likewiſe a boat as a guide.

Next day a thick miſt ſurrounded us, ſo that we were obliged to lay at anchor till morning, when, after much fatigue, we weathered the point, and caſt anchor about a quarter of a league from the ſhore. We were told that the Coſſacks had a deſign of attacking us the night before, near the point where we had been reduced to ſo many difficulties; but miſſing us, they had the inſolence, upon their return, to attack thoſe Tartarian princes who had treated us with ſo much civility. In this, however, they found themſelves doubly miſtaken, for the Tartars fired upon them, and killed ſeveral, upon which, they begged for mercy, telling them that it was only the Germans whom they wanted to rob; which circumſtance ſerves to ſhew, 'That idleneſs will always ſtimulate 'people to acts of the greateſt injuſtice.'

A rumour that the Coſſacks were in the neighbourhood, had been ſpread the ſame morning in the city of Terki, and the noiſe of our great guns having increaſed their fears, becauſe they knew that their

prince Muſſalto was there, occaſioned a great alarm in the place, which was however quickly appeaſed, when the prince and his fleet ſoon after came into the road, and giving a ſalute with their fire arms, invited us to honour them with a viſit, at the houſe of his mother. But here we muſt ſtop, to give ſome account of the city of Terki.

This antient city is ſituated about two miles from the ſhore, upon a ſmall river called Temenſki, a branch of the great River Buſtro, and facilitates a communication between the ſea and the city, which has no other avenues by land, being ſurrounded with trees for a quarter of a league round.

The ſituation is low, and all the houſes, as well as the ramparts, were formerly built of wood, but Peter the Great ordered a rampart of earth to be thrown up, and ſeveral other fortifications to be raiſed. There is a large garriſon conſtantly kept in this city, and a battalion of them attends the Tartarian prince.

Circaſſia is a very antient kingdom, and although now ſubject to the Ruſſians, yet they ſtill enjoy their own religion, and in general are governed by their own laws. The men are ſtrong limbed, and of a tawny complexion, but in general not ſo broad-faced as thoſe Tartars we have already mentioned. They wear long black hair, but ſhave the middle of their heads from the forehead to the neck, but not above the breadth of an inch, leaving a lock juſt at the crown, which falls down behind, and makes them appear frightful to ſtrangers.

Several authors have repreſented them as extremely barbarous, and probably that was the caſe formerly, but it is not ſo at preſent, for ever ſince they became ſubject to the Ruſſians, they have been making daily improvements in politeneſs, as far as is conſiſtent with the ſtate of the country and the form of government. Beſides their own language, which is that of the Tartars, many of them, particularly thoſe in offices, ſpeak the Ruſſian, which is much eſteemed among them. In their dreſs they reſemble the other Tartars who inhabit thoſe parts, only that their cloaks are ſomewhat longer, and faſtened to the neck with a ſtring; but as they do not cover the whole body, ſo they turn them according to the weather. Their women have good ſhapes, amiable countenances, and freſh complexions. They wear no veils, and their locks hang down in treſſes on both ſides. They wear black coifs upon their heads, and cover them with a piece of fine calico or linen cloth tied under the chin. In the ſummer the women wear ſcarce any thing but a ſhift, which is either green, yellow, or blue, and they are cut ſo deep before, as to betray a large ſhare of immodeſty.

Widows are diſtinguiſhed from the others, by having the bladder of an ox full blown, and covered with calico, or any other ſort of ſtuff, hanging from their necks. Their women in general treated us with much familiarity, taking particular notice of our cloaths; and not in the leaſt offended, when ſome of our ſervants, proceeding from one familiarity to another, would often thruſt their hands into their boſoms.

Some of them invited us to their huts, and told us that it was the cuſtom of the country, when ſtrangers came to viſit the women, for the huſbands to go abroad into the fields. They have, notwithſtanding all this, the reputation of being very virtuous; and one day an officer in our retinue, having got into a familiar acquaintance with one of them, who was very handſome, having an opportunity to make trial of her chaſtity, found her deaf to all his intreaties, but at the ſame time was not diſpleaſed; when he told her it was common enough in his own country, ſhe ſaid, ſhe would ſhew him all the kindneſs in her power conſiſtent with modeſty and decency, but further ſhe would not go.

Polygamy, or a plurality of wives, is allowed among them, and they may marry as many as they pleaſe, ſo as they can maintain them, but in general they are contented with one. If a man dies without iſſue, his brother, if unmarried, muſt eſpouſe the widow; and this practice being one of the maxims of the Jewiſh law, there is reaſon to believe that theſe Circaſſians learned it from thoſe people, while they were captives in Perſia. Some of them are Mahometans, others are Chriſtians, their rites conſiſting of a mixture of Jewiſh, Popiſh, and Greek ceremonies. The heathens, however, are the moſt numerous, and ſome of their ceremonies differ from thoſe of the Tartars. Thus, when a perſon of any note dies, the relations of both ſexes appoint a meeting in the fields, to perform the ſacrifice, which is a he goat, that creature being conſidered as moſt proper to make an atonement for ſin.

The firſt thing they do, is to try whether the goat is fit for the ſacrifice; and for this purpoſe, they cut off his teſticles, and throw them againſt a wall. If they ſtick there, they flay the goat, and ſtretch the ſkin upon a long pole, before which they offer the ſacrifice: the fleſh is both boiled and roaſted, after which, it is eaten. After the feaſt, the men pay their devotions to the ſkin; which done, the women are ſent home, and the men conclude the day with drinking ſpirituous liquors to ſuch an exceſs, that they appear rather like beaſts than human creatures, and ſeldom part without blows. The ſkin of the goat remains fixed on the pole till another perſon of quality dies, for theſe ſacrifices are not for the ordinary ranks of people. We ſaw one of theſe ſkins near Terki, upon a black croſs, with the head and horns on it; it was fixed in the middle of a quick-ſet hedge, to keep the dogs and cattle from profaning it.

In burying the bodies of the deceaſed, they uſe a great number of ceremonies, perſons of quality having houſes built over their tombs; and to expreſs their grief for the loſs of their departed friends, they ſcratch their foreheads, arms and breaſts, till the blood flows plentifully; and ſo far do they carry this ridiculous part of their ſuperſtition, that they tear open their wounds, and make them bleed afreſh.

So far as we can learn, there is little or no mention made of the Circaſſian Tartars in antient hiſtory, and equally as little by modern authors; Scaliger makes mention of them in very few words, and calls them by the name of Ziga; as Strabo, the famous geographer, did of old; and he aſſigns their habitations beyond Mount Caucaſus, upon the Euxine Sea, near the Palus Mæotis, betwixt Aſia and Europe.

In this however, they are miſtaken, for thoſe Circaſſians mentioned by our learned traveller are deſcended from the antient Scythians, inhabiting part of Albania, being incloſed on the eaſt and weſt by the Caſpian Sea, by Mount Caucaſus to the ſouth, and the vaſt mountains of Aſtracan to the north. Our traveller proceeds to deſcribe ſeveral other curious particulars.

"In the neighbourhood of Terki, we ſaw ſeveral creatures of the bigneſs of a man's arm, and ſix feet in length, ſporting themſelves in the heat of the ſun, and the place is peſtered with a ſpecies of creatures called jerbuah, or field mice. They are moſtly of the ſize of a ſquirrel, and not unlike it in ſhape, only that they are more inclining to black, with heads like rats, long ears, and the fore feet ſhorter than the hindermoſt, which makes them unfit for running, but they will leap five or ſix feet high from the ground, with their tails laid over their backs, which are long without hair. They are in great numbers, not only in Tartarian Circaſſia, but all the way along as far as Babylon, and many of the people eat them.

"If they get into the houſes, they will carry every thing they can along with them to their neſts, and they will even take money, as happened to a Perſian, the father of one Ackwerdi, who was my ſervant. He had long miſſed ſome money, and although there were no thieves that any one knew of, or ſuſpected in the place, yet his pockets were picked almoſt every night. He told this to our landlord, who deſired him

to

to ſearch the neſt of one of theſe creatures, and there he found more than he had loſt."

Having ſeen every thing worth notice in Terki, we prepared to continue our journey, and bargained with our inn-keeper to furniſh us with waggons at a crown each, with two horſes, to carry us through the deſart, which was about ſeventy leagues, between this place and Aſtracan. We were joined by as many Perſian, Turkiſh, Greek, and Ruſſian merchants, that we had in all about two hundred waggons, each carrying three or four perſons, ſo that we amounted to about ſeven hundred and fifty. Our proviſions for ſuch a journey were as ſcanty as can well be imagined, each of us had a few pounds of hard biſcuit, a mouldy loaf of bread, and the half of a dried ſalmon for his portion. We had no water, becauſe Baron Brugman, one of the ambaſſadors, would not conſent to hire a waggon to carry it, and moſt of us did not urge the matter, although we had reaſon afterwards to repent of this part of our conduct.

We had only left Terki a few hours when we came in ſight of the dreadful deſart, our journey being along the eaſt of the Caſpian ſea. It was no ſmall matter of ſurpriſe to us not to ſee a city, town, village, houſe, or even a tree, for eleven days; nay, not ſo much as a bird, or a river, except the Kiſibar; the whole was one vaſt ſandy plain, which here and there produced a little graſs, and ſome ſtanding pools of ſalt, with a little corrupted muddy water; near one of which pools, we took up our lodgings, on the 11th night, having made no more than two leagues a day. On the 13th day we travelled through fenny grounds, that were ſcarce paſſable, and were much afflicted with heat, thirſt, gnats, waſps, and other inſects, eſpecially the camels, who having no tails, could not defend themſelves againſt them ſo well as the horſes.

On the 14th day we made four leagues in the forenoon, and after having refreſhed our beaſts, we made four more in the afternoon; and in the evening, the Tartars, who were along with us, roaſted one of their horſes, which they had killed, becauſe it was likely to die, and they ſeemed to eat it with much pleaſure. On the fifteenth we travelled ſeven leagues, and encamped near a ſtanding pool, made by the overflowing of the ſea, but the water was ſo much corrupted, that we could not drink it without holding our noſtrils. On the ſixteenth we travelled ſeven leagues farther, and had the good fortune to encamp near a ſmall brook of freſh water, near the banks of the ſea.

On the ſeventeenth, we travelled eight leagues, and encamped near a pool of freſh water, formed by the Wolga, but the taſte was ſo nauſeous, that few of us could drink it. This day ſome of our Tartars having been in purſuit of wild boars, killed ſeveral of them, and brought them to us in the evening. In this place we found an eagle's neſt, with two young ones not quite fledged, which we conſidered as a very great curioſity. On the eighteenth day we travelled eight leagues, and pitched our tents within ſight of Aſtracan; and the next day we came to the banks of the Wolga, juſt oppoſite to that city. It was ſurpriſing to ſee ſome of our people who had not taſted freſh water from the time they left Terki, running into the river to quench their thirſt. We were no ſooner arrived here than ſome of our friends came from Aſtracan, and brought us freſh proviſions, which were received by us with a hearty welcome, and we continued encamped till we could learn whether the governor would provide us lodgings.

Having obtained permiſſion of the governor, we croſſed the river, and had lodgings aſſigned us in a long ſtone-houſe without the city, near the river ſide, where we were furniſhed with plenty of proviſions, ſent us by the duke of Holſtein's reſident. The ambaſſador, for reaſons we were not then acquainted with, ordered all the baggage to be put into one room, which was done accordingly; which ſo exaſperated ſome of our retinue, that they burſt open the doors, and took away the cheſts, in ſpite of the centinel who was to guard it. The governor of Aſtracan treated us with the utmoſt politeneſs, and ſent us beef and mutton, with all ſorts of poultry that the country afforded, together with beer and other liquors, in recompence for a preſent we had made him.

About this time, a miſunderſtanding took place between our two ambaſſadors, in conſequence of Baron Brugman being apprehenſive of being called to an account for his conduct, for during the whole of our journey, he had treated us in a very indifferent manner. He became moroſe and ſulky at table, and would ſcarce ſpeak to any of us, and often broke out into injurious and offenſive expreſſions. This happened in a remarkable manner one day, after dinner; for not content with quarrelling with his domeſtics, he broke out into the moſt abuſive language againſt me, whom he wanted to charge with the whole of his miſconduct. I ſaid a few words in my own vindication; but this, inſtead of allaying the heat of his paſſion, enraged him ſo much, that he laid hold of a knife, and would certainly have ſtabbed me, had I not riſen from table and left the room. He treated the chaplain of the embaſſy with ſo much cruelty, that he was often in want of the neceſſaries of life; and one day, while he was adminiſtering the ſacrament, the Ruſſian governor took notice that he had nothing under his caſſock but a pair of drawers. The governor ordered cloaths to be made for the poor miniſter; but although he was in ſuch want of them, yet he durſt not accept of them, leſt Brugman ſhould have treated him with ſtill greater ſeverity. This Ruſſian governor did all he could to ſoften the temper of Brugman, but all to no purpoſe, for he continued to increaſe in his ſeverity every day, and even laid a plan for ruining his colleague. Nor did the Ruſſian governor, who had treated us with ſo much tenderneſs, eſcape his cenſure, for he even wrote to the emperor concerning him, accuſing him with things he had never been guilty of; which had ſuch an effect upon the poor gentleman, that he poiſoned himſelf.

While we remained at Aſtracan, a German, whoſe name was Andrew Reuſner, provided with letters of recommendation from the duke of Holſtein to the king of Perſia, came in a caravan from Moſcow to Aſtracan, where in a little time he entered into ſo ſtrict a friendſhip with Brugman, that he relinquiſhed his deſign of going to Perſia, and engaged to return with the ambaſſador to Holſtein. We had an opportunity while we were at Aſtracan of ſeeing a public feſtival, which is obſerved annually in memory of the Ruſſians having taken the place, which was on the firſt of Auguſt, 1554. Maſs ſaid in the morning, then the great guns of the caſtle were fired off, and the evening was concluded with much drunkenneſs and debauchery. Several perſons were killed; for ſuch is the licentious diſpoſition of theſe Ruſſians, that they will intoxicate themſelves, and then fight like ſo many wild beaſts.

A Muſcovite caravan, conſiſting of two hundred perſons, went by land from this place to Moſcow, which induced Andrew Reuſner to embrace that opportunity for his departure. Some of our retinue were alſo ſent at the ſame time, and every thing was got ready for our departure, it being the ambaſſador's deſign that we ſhould go by water to Caſan. A few days before the time fixed for our departure, ſome Ruſſian Tartars brought to the ambaſſadors two young girls, one of ten, and one of ſeven years old, whom they propoſed to ſell. The firſt was the daughter of a Tartar of Frecos, taken by the Coſſacks, when they took poſſeſſion of Azoph, a place of conſiderable ſtrength, ſituated near the mouth of the river Don. The young one of ſeven years old had been ſtolen from a village not far from Aſtracan, and the wretches had put her into a bag, like a pig. She had on her cheeks two large marks, to be known by her parents, from which circumſtance, two things are to be learned; firſt, that the practice of ſtealing children is common in that country; and ſecondly,

that however barbarous people may be in their manners, yet a lover of their offspring is to be found throughout the whole human race. The ambaſſador Brugman purchaſed both the girls, the eldeſt for twenty-five, and the youngeſt for ſixteen crowns, and after his return to Holſtein, he preſented them to the ducheſs, who had them inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion, and baptized.

Much about the ſame time the Perſian ambaſſador, a man of ſeventy years of age, bought a wife for 120 crowns. This Perſian ambaſſador was a man of a fine appearance, and a vigorous conſtitution, owing, as he told us, to his living chiefly on hemp-ſeed, baked in the embers. The lady he purchaſed was the daughter of a Tartarian prince; and one of our interpreters, nearly related to her, had embraced the Chriſtian religion. His ſiſter endeavoured to perſuade him to go with her to Perſia, but nothing could prevail with him; and being afraid leſt he ſhould be trepanned and taken away, he ſeldom went out of the ambaſſador's apartments. In the mean time the Perſian ambaſſador received orders to viſit the duke of Holſtein, and therefore it was propoſed that we ſhould all ſet out together in boats on the Wolga.

Such is the preſent ſtate of that vaſt extenſive country in Aſia, ſubject to the Ruſſians, or at leaſt pretended to be ſo; for, as we have already taken notice, the Tartars in moſt parts of the Ruſſian empire look upon themſelves as free, although for their own intereſt they ſometimes ſubmit to the name of vaſſals. And now the grand queſtion before us is, "Is it conſiſtent with ſound policy in the Ruſſian government to attempt the cultivation of one part of the empire, and pay no more regard to the other than juſt to conſider the inhabitants as beaſts of burden?"

A proper anſwer to this queſtion is of much importance to the inhabitants of thoſe European nations who are continually ſeeking to extend their conqueſts over ſavage nations, without conſidering whether it will ever be of any ſervice to them. It would be happy for us in the preſent caſe if we could draw a parallel line between the Roman empire and that of Ruſſia; but this cannot be done, the circumſtances being in many reſpects different; to which may be added, "We know what Rome was, but we know not what Ruſſia will be."

The Romans were at firſt a band of robbers, but having formed themſelves into ſome ſort of ſociety, they gradually, from time to time, ſubdued the inhabitants who lived in the villages around them, till at laſt they laid the foundation of a city, which has for many ages been the admiration of the world. When Rome was built, the territories of the Romans did not exceed in extent one of our Engliſh counties, nay, it was leſs than ſome of them; but the love of power, ſo peculiar to the human mind, ſurmounted all difficulties, and moſt of Italy ſoon became ſubject to them. From Italy they extended their conqueſts into Gaul, now called France; into Iberia, now called Spain; into Africa, part of which they ſubdued; into all the known parts of Aſia, and Greece ſubmitted to their victorious arms. But of that grandeur there remains nothing at preſent but the name.

Had we been as well acquainted with the origin of the Ruſſians, as we are with that of the Romans, many rational conjectures might have been formed; but as they have no writings to throw any light upon the actions of their predeceſſors, we are obliged to ſit down contented with what has been tranſmitted to us by travellers, without having recourſe to antient writings. It is common to conſider all nations as emerging from a ſtate of obſcurity, and doubtleſs Ruſſia did ſo; for it was formerly divided into many principalities, although at preſent it bears one general name. Their extending their conqueſts into Aſia, was partly from motives of ſelf preſervation, and partly from the love of power.

The Tartars invaded them ſo often, and drove away their cattle, that it was found neceſſary to make reviſals. This happened in early times, when the Ruſſians were little better than ſavages, and utterly unacquainted with commerce; but as circumſtances have taken a different turn, different objects ſhould be kept in view. Every man of common experience will grant, that it is more for the intereſt of a prince to be the ſovereign of a ſmall country well cultivated, and its inhabitants civilized, than to have the vain empty name of being the lord of barren deſarts inhabited by ſavages. This will in every reſpect apply to Ruſſia, and to all thoſe other nations in the world, where there are more inhabitants than the civil power can take notice of. And here we would ſuggeſt a few thoughts that have often occurred to us in the peruſal of the hiſtory of different nations in the world.

The conduct of Peter the Great, in attempting to civilize his ſubjects, was truly laudable, and his endeavours to extend commerce gave a proof of his good ſenſe; but, like moſt other human beings, he had his weak ſide. One grand object he had in view, was, to equal any of the European princes in glory, to become a mediator in all quarrels amongſt them, and in war to take part with thoſe whoſe cauſe he eſpouſed from motives of policy. This part of his conduct is not mentioned merely on account of its being blameable, but to point out that he attached himſelf too much to it; becauſe by purſuing it with unwearied aſſiduity, he neglected the interior parts of his empire. This might have been rectified, and his errors amended, had his predeceſſors adopted the following plan, and carried it into execution with perſeverance.

Had the ſucceſſors of Peter continued to extend the cultivation of the Empire, in the manner it was begun at St. Peterſburgh, they might before this time have carried it on as far as Moſcow, which is an extent of territory reaching ſix hundred miles in length. To have effected this valuable ſcheme, it would have been proper for the ſovereign to have given every ſort of encouragement to huſbandmen. This is not yet too late; and until it is put in practice, little good can be expected in Ruſſia, either from commerce or conqueſts. Let the government conſider the peaſants as the moſt uſeful members of ſociety, and beſtow upon them lands in proportion to their ability to cultivate them. This would carry civilization to a great height; for men become in love with the ſpot of ground they have cultivated, and, where they have brought up their children. It would prevent them from roving about in idleneſs, and their neighbours next to them in ſituation would chearfully copy their example. It is true, this would be the work of time, but if once begun, perhaps a ſingle generation might ſee it accompliſhed. As Mr. Pope ſays of refined ſelf-love, it would gradually extend itſelf to all the provinces of the empire.

Another thing to be attended to is, that along with encouragement given to the cultivation of the lands, the ſame care ſhould be taken to improve the minds of the riſing generation; knowledge expels barbarity, as light ſwallows up darkneſs.

It is ſaid of the preſent Empreſs, that ſhe gives every ſort of encouragement to the liberal arts and uſeful ſciences; but it is much to be feared, that her benevolence is confined to ſuch ſorts of learning as can only be of ſervice to her military and naval officers. This conveys a moſt unnatural idea to the mind, for it is like beginning a ſtructure where it ſhould end.

To give encouragement to the liberal arts and ſciences, is laudable in every country; and the neglect of this, is what has kept the Turks ſo many years in a ſtate of ignorance; but to diſregard the improvement of the minds of the vulgar, is like a father who having twenty ſons, ſuffers nineteen of them to continue in ignorance.

It is of little ſervice for the Empreſs to ſay, that ſhe has academies, which ſhe ſupports at her own expence, while the greateſt part of her ſubjects remain in a ſtate of profound ignorance. It would be much to her honour to have ſchools eſtabliſhed in the province of Livonia, at her own expence, and this ſhe could

could the more eaſily do, becauſe ſhe is under no reſtriction with reſpect to the uſes to be made of the public money: it would be a noble and generous exertion of her regal authority, and ſerve to point out that even abſolute power, when employed in a proper manner, might be of ſervice to mankind. The general objection to be made againſt what is here laid down is, that ſovereigns are diſcouraged from undertaking what they may never live to ſee accompliſhed; but this objection is no more than a ſilly excuſe: with the ſame reaſon might a man ſay, I am afraid to begin building a houſe, or to undertake any thing whatever, becauſe I may die before it is completed. It is our buſineſs, in whatever ſtation we are in here below, either to begin ſomething beneficial to ourſelves, or to carry on that which has been already begun.

The Ruſſians, by confining their attention to the provinces near Peterſburgh for ſome time, would be of great ſervice to the reſt, eſpecially thoſe which lay more to the eaſt, for it would ſtimulate the inhabitants to ſeek for the ſame uſeful arts to be eſtabliſhed among themſelves. There are many parts of Great Britain as barren and mountainous as many of the provinces of Ruſſia, and yet who can ſay that we have a ſavage amongſt us; nor was this the work of a day; it required time, and we may now ſafely ſay, that the pooreſt of our peaſants are as civilized in their manners, as ſome of the chiefs in other nations. Upon the whole, it is probable that Ruſſia will never make a very great figure, until learning is encouraged among the lower ranks of people. This, with agriculture, would civilize their manners, humanize their minds, lead them off from antient prejudices and ſuperſtitions, and might even, in the end, reach as far as thoſe inhoſpitable deſarts in Siberia, Tartary, and many other parts which we have already deſcribed.

TRAVELS IN CHINA, BY THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR, FATHER NAVARETTI, FATHER DUHALDE, FATHER LECOMPTE, &c.

THE vaſt Empire of China, of which we have no accounts in ancient hiſtory, is bounded on the north by the great wall which divides it from Weſtern Tartary. On the weſt by Tibet and Ava; on the ſouth by the Laos Tong-king, and the Chineſe Sea, or Oriental ocean; and by the ſame ocean on the eaſt. It is remarkable, that notwithſtanding the vaſt diſtance of China from us, and the ſentiments of the people ſo oppoſite to ours, in politicks as well as in religion, yet by the unwearied induſtry of the miſſionaries from the ſociety of Jeſuits, the dimenſions have been well aſcertained, and from them we are enabled to diſcover how it is ſituated. China lies between an hundred and fifteen and an hundred and eighty-one degrees of eaſt longitude, and between twenty degrees twenty-five minutes of north latitude. It is in ſhape almoſt ſquare, being in length, from ſouth to north, about 1270 miles, and 1100 in breadth.

China is, by many travellers, reckoned the fineſt country in the world; being exceeding fertile, and the mountains are cultivated even to the tops. In many parts it produces two crops of rice annually, with all ſorts of other grain, beſides a variety of fruits and herbs. It abounds with horned cattle, ſheep, and all ſorts of game; and it has many fine rivers, ſtored with all ſorts of fiſh. Its mountains yield mines of gold, ſilver, copper, and many other metals, and in every province there is plenty of coals.

The provinces of Pe-che-li, Kyang-nan, and Shang-tong, are in moſt parts flat, and cut into canals like Holland; but the northern provinces are more mountainous, being of great extent; the ſouthern parts are hot, and thoſe to the north cold, but in both the air is generally pure and wholeſome. It exceeds all other nations or empires we know of, in the number of its inhabitants, cities and towns; and its temples, according to their mode of architecture, are the moſt magnificent in the world. Their laws are founded upon principles of morality, and their courts of juſtice are regulated with the ſtricteſt care.

The commerce of China, conſiſts in gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, porcelain ſilks, cottons, ſpice, rhubarb, beſides tea and many other articles. The trade of the provinces with each other is ſo great, that the empire could very well exiſt without any commerce with Europeans. The Jeſuit Lecompte tells us, that there are in China one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-two rivers and lakes, and upwards of two thouſand remarkable mountains. Beſides oranges, lemons, and citrons, which come from thence, there are the varniſh tree, the tallow tree for candles; the iron wood, of which anchors are made; and here we find the muſk deer, the man ape, the gold fiſh, very beautiful, and another fiſh called the Hay-ſong, very hideous.

The public works in China are extremely numerous, and ſome of them are curious, others ſtupendous, particularly the great wall already mentioned. According to the account which the Jeſuits procured from the moſt learned men in China, this wall was built two hundred and fifty years before the incarnation of Chriſt, and it was done in order to prevent the inroads made by the Tartars.

It is in length one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy miles, about twenty-five feet high, and broad enough for ſix horſes to travel abreaſt. The great canal extends three hundred leagues in length, quite through the empire, from Kanton to Peking. It was cut about four hundred years ago, and is conſtantly crouded with ſmall veſſels, carrying goods from one place to another. There are upwards of three hundred bridges on this celebrated canal, one thouſand one hundred and fifty-nine towers and triumphal arches, erected in memory of great men; two hundred and ſeventy-two libraries, and above ſeven hundred halls; thirty-two palaces for the emperors, and thirteen thouſand ſix hundred grand houſes for the nobility and magiſtrates. All along the banks of the canal are vaſt numbers of fine gardens, laid out in the Chineſe taſte; and theſe are adorned with ſummer-houſes, pleaſant walks, and the moſt refreſhing groves. In theſe the nobility, and people of high rank in office, divert themſelves during the heat of ſummer, as the delicious fruits which grow in them ſerve to heighten their pleaſures.

The cities in China are generally all built on the ſame plan, although many of them are different in grandeur. Where the ground will permit, they are ſquare, ſurrounded with high walls and towers built at proper diſtances from each other, and they have

ditches, either wet or dry, according to the ſituation of the place. Within their cities they have temples, for the worſhip of their gods, with grand triumphal arches, in memory of ſuch perſons as have been of ſignal ſervice to the ſtate. Their ſtreets and ſquares are broad and open, but few of the houſes have any more than the ground floor, and none of them more than two. In theſe ſtreets are their ſhops, and before the doors of each their goods are piled up ſo as to make a grand appearance. Before the door is a pedeſtal, with a board fixed upon it, either painted or gilded, with three characters, by way of a ſign. On this board are painted the names of three or four ſorts of goods, and underneath that of the ſhopkeeper himſelf, with the following words, Pú hú, that is, "he will not cheat you."

We ſhall not pretend to ſay whether the Chineſe always act conſiſtent with principles of honeſty, but probably they do as much ſo as their neighbours, and it is certain that their laws are well calculated to promote ſuch a ſalutary purpoſe. That which the Romans called the lex talionis, was long attended to in China, but at preſent it is in a great degree fallen to decay. Thus the murderer was put to death in the ſame manner as he had murdered the deceaſed; and a thief was ſold as a ſlave, to make a recompence for the loſs of the ſtolen goods. Of old, and even during the laſt century, the puniſhments they inflicted upon criminals were attended with circumſtances of the moſt horrid barbarity; but whether by their connections with the Europeans, or by ſome other means, this much is certain, that the ferocity of their manners begin to wear off, and at preſent they are in many reſpects, more civilized than the Ruſſians, only that they are ſtill jealous of permitting ſtrangers to ſettle among them. With reſpect to their titles of nobility, they are not hereditary in families; for although a ſon may, and frequently does ſucceed to his father's eſtate, yet he does not enjoy his honours, for theſe are beſtowed upon other perſons; for the emperor gives them away to whomſoever he pleaſes. Perhaps it would be much better if this was attended to in other nations, for by ſuch a practice none could have reaſon to expect honours, but thoſe whoſe merits entitled them to the enjoyment of them. This method makes the Chineſe youth ſtudious to tread in the ſame ſteps with their anceſtors; and when they do ſo, the emperor generally reſtores them to their father's titles. All the princes of the blood royal enjoy titles, but they have no power annexed to them. Each of them is allowed a palace, with proper officers, and every thing becoming their rank; but although the people treat them with the greateſt reſpect, yet they are not permitted to poſſeſs any place at court, either of honour or profit.

But notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid, the emperors of China are far from being backward in rewarding merit, even when they find inſtances of it in foreigners. In 1678, Father Verbieſt, a Flemiſh jeſuit, happened to be in China, and being well acquainted with every thing in aſtronomy, the emperor ſent for him, and deſired him to draw out tables of the celeſtial motions of the heavenly bodies, and calculations of eclipſes for two thouſand years backwards. This the jeſuit completed in thirty-two volumes of maps, and preſented them to his majeſty, whoſe name was Kang-hi; and the emperor was ſo much pleaſed with them, that he cauſed them to be placed among the archives of the palace; and to reward the jeſuit for his extraordinary ingenuity, he made him preſident of the college of aſtronomy, with the title of Tau-ſin, which in Engliſh ſignifies, "Great Man:" ſuch a title as this is ſeldom conferred, even on the moſt deſerving of the natives; but when it is, it extends to all their kindred, even of the moſt remote degree of conſanguinity.

Although Verbieſt had no relations in China to enjoy this honour, yet all the miſſionaries paſſed for his brethren, and were conſidered under that title by the mandarins. This title of great man, gained the Jeſuits an eaſy admiſſion into the court, and moſt of them had it inſcribed on the doors of their houſes. In every city in China, there are ſchools, with teachers to inſtruct the youth in the ſciences, and the ſons of people of faſhion have tutors to attend them. In theſe ſeminaries of learning, the youth are inſtructed, firſt in the fundamental principles of their language; from that they proceed to hear lectures on morality, according to the doctrine of Confucius; and laſt of all, they are made acquainted with the laws of their country.

The employment of a ſchool-maſter is counted honourable; and whenever the parents of the youth meet them, they give them the right hand, and ſay, Syew-ſeng, "Our maſter, our doctor:" and their pupils have the higheſt reſpect for them as long as they live, and generally make them valuable preſents.

Although there are no univerſities in China as in Europe, yet every city of the firſt diſtinction has a place ſet apart for the examination of thoſe who have been brought up at the public ſchools, and moſt of theſe places are built in the ſame manner. They are encloſed with high walls, the entrance is magnificent, and before it is a large ſquare, one hundred and fifty paces wide, planted with trees, having benches and ſeats for the captain and ſoldiers who do duty during the time of examination.

The entrance is firſt into a large court, where the mandarins ſit in ſtate, attended by a numerous retinue, and at the end of this is another wall, with folding gates. Theſe gates being opened, there is a bridge over a canal, which leads to a third gate, where guards are planted, who let none in without orders from the proper officers; paſſing through this gate, there is a narrow paſſage leading to a broad open ſquare, on both ſides of which are a vaſt number of little chambers cloſe together, four feet and a half long, and about three and a half broad, for the ſtudents to lodge in, who are on ſome particular occaſions above ſix thouſand in number. As all theſe ſtudents are obliged to compoſe their themes without any aſſiſtance from others, that there may be no deception with reſpect to their knowledge, they are ſtopped when they come to the gate, and ſearched, leſt any papers ſhould be found upon them: if in ſuch caſes any fraud was diſcovered, the youth would not only be excluded from all connections with the learned, but he would alſo be puniſhed as an impoſtor. When every one is examined, the gates are ſhut up, and the public ſeal affixed to them; and there are officers appointed to ſee that every thing is conducted in a proper manner, and that the ſtudents may not go out of their chambers to ſpeak to each other; for this would in all reſpects deprive them of the benefit of their degrees.

At the end of the narrow paſſage above mentioned, there is a tower erected upon four arches, and flanked with four turrets or a ſort of round domes; from which, if any diſturbance is perceived, a drum is immediately beaten to alarm the guards, that the diſorder may be remedied. Near this tower there are ſeveral apartments, and a great hall, in which thoſe aſſemble who are to be preſent at their firſt examination. Paſſing through this hall, there is another nearly adjoining to it, but more magnificently furniſhed, with divers apartments for the preſidents and principal officers. There are alſo galleries, a garden, and many little apartments for the mandarins, ſecretaries, and other inferior officers whoſe buſineſs it is to attend. In the apartments are beds, fire places, kitchen furniture, with every thing neceſſary for the reception of the examiners; becauſe many of them come from very diſtant parts, and therefore it is but reaſonable that they ſhould be ſupported at the public expence.

The preſidents before whom the youth are examined, are the Fu-ywen, the Chi-fi, and the Chi-byen, who are governors of provinces and cities, of the firſt and third rank. As ſoon as the ſtudents have paſſed the examination of the mandarins, they muſt begin with that of the Chi-byen, in whoſe

juriſdiction

juriſdiction they were born. In every province there is a mandarin, who is ſent to reſide in the palace by the emperor, and at the end of three years he returns to Peking. When theſe mandarins arrive in the province allotted for them, the firſt thing they do is to offer up ſacrifices to Confucius; for although this celebrated perſon is allowed to have been a human being, yet divine honours are paid him. After this all the ſtudents are brought together, along with their teachers, and examined with reſpect to the progreſs they have made in learning; and if they are approved of, then they are ſent up to the chief city in the province, to receive their degrees.

But the moſt remarkable thing is, that the ſame mandarins who examine the ſtudents in the common ſciences, likewiſe examine the cadets in military diſcipline; and theſe military cadets cannot be admitted into any office, nor have a commiſſion in the army, till they have given the utmoſt proof of their abilities in riding, ſhooting, fencing, and ſuch like manly exerciſes. This mandarin, whoſe title is Heyo-tau, delivers themes to the ſtudents, who are obliged to return anſwers within a limited time, otherwiſe they will be expelled from the ſeat of learning; he is alſo obliged to viſit every city, town, and village, in the province, and tranſmit to Peking an account of what comes under his notice. This is ſuch a plan of excellent policy, as ought to be imitated by all thoſe nations who ever heard any account of it.

The mandarin generally divides his ſtudents into ſix claſſes, whom he viſits once every year; and if at the third examination any ſhould happen to be abſent without aſſigning a reaſonable cauſe for it, they will be in danger of loſing their degrees. All thoſe who have had their degrees, go once in three years to Peking, to hear the public examinations, unleſs they are in office, and then they are excuſed. On theſe occaſions the emperor is preſent, and dictates queſtions to the young gentlemen.

In China, the huſbandmen are treated with great reſpect, and conſidered, as they always ought to be, as worthy members of ſociety. They are preferred to all ſorts of merchants and mechanics: their profeſſion being accounted the moſt neceſſary in the ſtate. Moſt of their children are brought up at the public expence, for they look upon the cultivation of the earth as the principal means of human exiſtence. Great part of their huſbandry conſiſts in rice, and they manure their land extremely well; gathering, for that purpoſe, all ſuch things as can be of any ſervice to it, ſuch as rotten herbs, linſeed oil, and many other things. This ſort of manure, which in ſome countries would burn up the plants, is of great ſervice in China, where they have the art of tempering it with water, before they uſe it. They gather the dung in pails; which they commonly carry covered on their ſhoulders; and this contributes very much to the cleanneſs of their cities, the filth being taken away every day. The induſtry of thoſe huſbandmen is almoſt incredible; but ſuch is the kindneſs of the ſoil, that it repays them amply for their trouble, by producing generally two crops in the year of different ſorts of grain.

The number of merchants and traders in China is exceeding great; for into whatever town one enters, there ſeem to be more ſellers than buyers: they are all very obliging, and will not refuſe money, ſo as they can be in the leaſt gainers. When they once tell the loweſt price of their goods, they will not abate any thing; notwithſtanding all the arguments that might be uſed for that purpoſe. We are told by Le-Compte, that there are no people in the world better acquainted with trade than the Chineſe: for they are very inſinuating in their manners, and their eagerneſs to get money puts them daily upon the invention of ſome new ſchemes. They turn every thing to advantage, and undertake the moſt difficult voyages for the leaſt hope of gain. They have a mean opinion of foreign merchants, it being a maxim with them, in their commerce, that all thoſe who come to trade with them, would have their goods for as little as poſſible, or even for nothing at all if they could.

Having ſaid thus much concerning China in general, we ſhall proceed to give a more particular account of it in the words of the travellers themſelves.

"The firſt place we came to (ſays Brand, ſecretary to the Ruſſian ambaſſador) was a fortified town on the confines of the province of Dauri, inhabited by the Tanguts, a rude people, formerly without any form of government, but now ſubject to the Chineſe; for all that part of Dauri lying on the other ſide of the river Argum, is ſubject to the Ruſſians. We found moſt of the people here employed in huſbandry, and we ſaw large crops of barely, oats, and tobacco. After we had ſpent three days more in travelling through the deſart, we came to the village of Suttegat; where being met by the Adogeda, or miniſter, who had along with him about fifty perſons, he invited us to his tent the ſame evening, where he treated us with milk-tea, and ſome ſweetmeats and preſerves. Next day, the adogeda having invited the ambaſſador to dinner, he met him at ſome diſtance from his tent, and, after a mutual ſalute, conducted him thither.

The dinner was ſerved up, on a ſmall table, without a table-cloth; the ambaſſador, and the adogeda, having each his own diſh, as had every one of the reſt. Our diſhes were filled with ſoup and mutton; and the ſecond courſe was pottage with a kind of pudding in it, long and thick like a gut. There being no knives or forks, we were at firſt greatly at a loſs, till we ſaw the adogeda take two ſtraight ſticks of ebony, tipped with gold and ſilver at the end, and about a quarter of a yard in length; with theſe he took the victuals out of the diſhes, and having bit a large mouthful, let the reſt fall into the diſh again. After dinner, two ſilver cups filled with brandy were brought in, one for the adogeda, and the other for the ambaſſador, which they both drank off; and we who attended, were ſerved in China cups with the ſame liquor, which we were obliged to drink to the bottom, and then we had a diſh of ſweetmeats ſerved up.

Having reſted ourſelves two days longer, till September the 14th, the ambaſſador invited the adogeda to dinner, and we found that our proviſions ſeemed as ſtrange to them, as theirs did to us. After dinner the adogeda and ambaſſador, by the help of the interpreter, converſed very friendly together, and then we found what our allowance was to be from the court. The emperor had ordered the adogeda to furniſh us with carriages and all ſorts of proviſions that we ſhould want, ſuch as bread, mutton, brandy, and milk-tea, ſo that we were not in want of any thing. We found all the inhabitants in this part of the country the groſſeſt pagans we ever met with; for they worſhipped the devil in the night, with the moſt horrid outcries. Their houſes are both convenient and neat, and moſt of them procure a ſubſiſtence by planting tobacco. On the 16th, the ambaſſador ſent the adogeda a preſent of forty ſables, fifty ermines, with two fine looking glaſſes, and ſeveral other things; but it was difficult to perſuade him to accept of them, for the Chineſe have very high notions of honour, it being a maxim with them never to accept of a preſent without making a double return.

September 21ſt, the adogeda ſent the ambaſſador ſix tables with ſweetmeats, and ſeveral bottles of brandy; and invited us to dinner on the 23d, as we did him on the 24th. On the 29th, our carriages being got ready, we proceeded on our journey, and ſpent the two next days at a village, where we were treated with great hoſpitality; for it ought to be mentioned, to the honour of the Chineſe, that they are very obliging to ſtrangers. We found many inſtances of this, for all the while we paſſed through the deſart, we were accommodated with very convenient lodgings, and where-ever we arrived at night, ſervants were ordered to attend us with what kitchen utenſils we wanted, and in the morning they conducted us part of our journey. We were ſure to have freſh horſes every other

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CHINESE HUSBANDMEN *with their manner of* TILLAGE

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day, and we were conſtantly guarded in the night by perſons who had bells to give the alarm if there ſhould be any neceſſity for it. Our converſation with the adogeda turned moſtly upon politics, which ended chiefly in praiſe of the Chineſe; for, like moſt other people, they are extremely fond of flattery.

The chief difficulty we had to ſtruggle with was, the ſcarcity of water, for it is very muddy in the deſart, ſo that whenever we met with any that was freſh, we were obliged to fill our leather bottles with it.

We frequently diverted ourſelves with hunting; which I was once in danger of having paid dear for. Having gone out one morning with a particular friend of mine, to ſhoot ſome ſheep, we miſſed our caravan, and rode about the deſart two days and nights, till coming within ſight of ſome Tartarian huts, we were much afraid, and ſought to conceal ourſelves, leſt they ſhould have murdered us. But we had formed too harſh notions of thoſe people; for no ſooner did they ſee us, than they conducted us to their cabins or huts, where, beyond our expectations, they treated us very obligingly, and having by ſigns made them underſtand that we belonged to the Ruſſian ambaſſador, they ſent a meſſenger to give him notice of our being there; and that we waited for his coming, which we accordingly did till the caravan paſſed that way."

From what is here related by the ſecretary, we find that Europeans are apt to uſe too harſh expreſſions in calling all heathens ſavages; for although their manners are not ſo refined as ours, their vices are not ſo numerous. Notwithſtanding ſome of them may commit robbery, and murder travellers, yet we muſt not ſuppoſe them all equally guilty; and probably thoſe who do commit ſuch crimes, are ſuch as their own laws would puniſh. We have but too little reaſon to condemn them, while ſuch crimes are daily committed amongſt ourſelves, of which it would be in vain to produce inſtances. In all accounts of theſe people, we ſhould judge in the moſt candid manner; for if the Chineſe have not been able to civilize thoſe Tartars ſubject to them, neither does it appear that we have made many improvements in the manners of thoſe heathens where we have ſettlements.

October 15, we arrived near the banks of the river Caſumur, which falls into the river Naun; where having refreſhed ourſelves for twenty-four hours, we continued our journey, and on the 16th paſſed in ſight of the ruin of ſeveral antient cities, the remains of them having ſome ſtrange figures upon them, very different from any that are to be found in Europe. They told us that thoſe places had been deſtroyed by Alexander the Great; but although Quintius Curtius tells us, that the Grecian conqueror extended his conqueſts into India, yet no man, who has the leaſt knowledge of the country, on recollecting the ſhort time that hero lived, who died in the 33d year of his age, will ever believe that he went ſo far as China. At the ſame places we ſaw large ſtone pillars, with bells hanging on them, which made a noiſe as often as the wind blew upon them. A little beyond theſe we diſcovered the ruins of ſome places, with the figures of men, women, and beaſts cut on ſtone, but could not learn for what reaſon they had been ſet up. The moſt probable conjecture we could form was, they had been ſet up in memory of ſome illuſtrious perſons, whoſe names are not recorded in hiſtory, and that all this devaſtation happened when the Tartars invaded China, or when the Chineſe fought againſt each other, as was frequently the caſe.

There were vaſt numbers of wild ſheep, deer, and hares, all the way along as we croſſed the deſart, and we had leave to ſhoot as many of them as we thought proper. There were likewiſe vaſt numbers of pheaſants, but as they did not ſit upon the boughs of the trees, ſo we found it a difficult matter to catch them; but the talios, or ſecretary, whom the adogeda had brought along with him, was very expert in that exerciſe, and we were ſurpriſed to ſee how eaſily the Chineſe could ſhoot any fowls flying. We obſerved that the nearer we approached the Chineſe wall, the country appeared more and more populous; and our laſt three days journey, before we got ſight of it, was by a road cut very conveniently through the rocks, in the midſt of which was a city, cut out of a mountain, called Rora-Ratou. In this place we were allowed hogs inſtead of ſheep; and it may not be improper to obſerve, that although the Chineſe hogs are not large, yet they are ſo fat, that their bellies hang down to the ground. As theſe rocks through which we paſſed, are infeſted with tygers, leopards, and panthers, it was ordered that none ſhould leave the caravans, unleſs there were at leaſt three in company, and fire-arms along with them; for nothing is more common than for thoſe wild beaſts to devour ſingle paſſengers, of which there will be many inſtances recited in the courſe of this work.

Having paſſed theſe rocks, we had a good journey to the Chineſe wall, and here we had an opportunity of making ſome inquiries into the ceremonies of the Mongul Tartars, who inhabit thoſe parts. They have their domeſtic idols, to whom they offer up ſacrifices; but they believe there is one Supreme Being, although they have very confuſed and groſs notions concerning him. When they bury their dead, they place a cock upon the lid of the coffin, and this induced us to believe that theſe heathens have ſome notion, from tradition, of a reſurrection. The crowing of the cock is generally a ſign of the approach of the morning; and probably they do this to point out the morning of the reſurrection. This however is only mentioned by way of conjecture; becauſe we found many other things of a ſingular nature, which we could not eaſily account for. Indeed the moſt remarkable thing we met with here was, a Mongul nun, and ſhe was frequently at her prayers, with her book in her hands. Being aſked, by the ambaſſador, to whom ſhe offered her prayers; ſhe anſwered, "To the ſame God, who being excluded from heaven by your God, will at laſt return, and put your God out of his place, and then you will ſee prodigious alterations on this earth."

Mr. Brand, the ſecretary, has made no remarks upon this expreſſion of the nun, which is the more to be wondered at, becauſe he is for the moſt part very judicious, and ſeems to have been a man of very extenſive knowledge. Let the intelligent reader but attend only a few minutes to the words, and he will find that they have a near affinity with the pagan mythology, which teaches, that the rebellious gods were driven out of heaven; nay, it may be added farther, that this tradition itſelf was no other than a mutilated account of the fallen angels. But to return to our traveller.

"October 27, towards evening, we got ſight of the famous Chineſe wall, and it was the moſt ſtupendous work we had ever ſeen. Near the firſt gate we entered at, the wall ſeemed rather decayed; and a little farther we paſſed through another gate, which was fortified, in the form of a baſtion. We paſſed two more gates, and over the third was a guard of ſoldiers, who are conſtantly placed there in order to ſpread an alarm, in caſe the Mongul Tartars ſhould attempt to make an attack. Scarce had we paſſed a mile within theſe gates, when we came to a ſtrong town called Galyra, and near it we met with the firſt idol of the Chineſe, of which they have vaſt numbers, not only in the empire at large, but likewiſe in every city, town and village. The idols we ſaw at this place had a moſt dreadful aſpect, having ſpears in their hands, and ſurrounded with all the implements of war.

October 28, we paſſed by another Chineſe city, and in the evening arrived at the city of Xantuning, where we were ſplendidly entertained by the governor, and officers both civil and military, in the ſame manner as we had been in all the places through which we paſſed. Muſicians were ordered to divert us, and the evening was ſpent in the moſt agreeable manner.

On the 29th we came to the city of Xun-gu-kou, where we were diverted with a farce, on a ſtage erected

for that purpoſe. Here we ſaw, in one of their temples, a goddeſs of ſtone, 128 feet high, with 700 hands; and as we frequently went into their temples, we found all their idols richly dreſſed, but with the moſt frightful countenances. Near this place were many ſepulchres of the dead; and on the 30th of October, meeting a great many men and women on the road following an idol, preceded by pipers, drummers, and other muſicians, we aſked the adogeda what they meant by it? He told us that they were going to perform their devotions at a ſepulchre, and that they were obliged to take their god along with them. We learned afterwards, that this is a common practice in China, much in the ſame manner as it was with the Greeks of old, and other heathen nations throughout many parts of the world, as appears by the teſtimony of travellers.

The ſame day we came in ſight of a ſpacious place called the Red City, and famous for being the burying-place of many of their princes and emperors in antient times. We lodged that night in a village, and as ſome extraordinary buſineſs detained the adogeda in the place, we ſet out in the morning without him; but before we had travelled far, his ſteward came up, and deſired us to tarry a little in the place where we were; his maſter being on the road to overtake us, we ſpent this time in taking a view of one of their temples, where we ſaw three of the adogeda's ſervants proſtrating themſelves before an idol that ſtood in the middle, and two others that ſtood on both ſides of it. We were much ſurpriſed to find a people, who in many things are undoubtedly ingenious, and more acquainted with learning than either the Mahometans or many other people in the world, ſuch groſs idolators; for wherever we went, we found temples erected, and the number of their gods ſeemed almoſt endleſs.

November the 2d, we came to the city of Tunko, famous for its traffick in Porcelain, and here we were again ſumptuouſly entertained with all ſorts of muſic, and we had a play acted in the evening; the actors being in the richeſt dreſſes we had ever ſeen.

The next evening we came near to the ſuburbs of Peking, the capital city of China, where we were met by many perſons of high rank from the emperor's court. November the 4th, the ambaſſador made his public entry into Peking, in the following order: About one hundred peace officers to clear the ſtreets; theſe were followed by a party of the emperor's guards, with drums, trumpets, and other ſorts of martial muſick. Behind them walked the adogeda, who had conducted us from the borders of China. And then the ambaſſador himſelf, with two of the emperor's officers of ſtate on each hand. And we, who compoſed his retinue, cloſed the proceſſion. We were all lodged in the court, as is the cuſtom for ambaſſadors from Ruſſia to China. Here we lodged till November the 12th, when the adogeda came to inform the ambaſſador, that he was to have an audience the next day, and therefore deſired him to have his credentials ready. He aſked him at the ſame time, Who were to carry the preſents? The ambaſſador told him, the Coſſacks; which did not ſeem to pleaſe the adogeda; for he would rather have had them carried by Chineſe ſervants; but this the ambaſſador would not comply with.

It was, however, November the 14th, before we could get every thing ready; and then we proceeded to court in the following order: Fifteen Coſſacks carrying the preſents, followed by one of the maſters of the jewel-office to the Emperor of Ruſſia; and he was followed by myſelf as ſecretary of the embaſſy, carrying the credentials: the ambaſſador came next, attended by four adogedas; and in the rear marched the reſt of the gentlemen belonging to the embaſſy. Coming to the caſtle, we alighted from our horſes, and walked in through a long narrow paſſage, arched on the top, and at each end was a ſtrong folding gate. Within the inner gate, we came to a ſpacious ſtone bridge, about ſixty paces in length, and on each ſide was a wall not above three feet high; but adorned with a great number of images cut in ſtone. Beyond the bridge we paſſed through a broad ſpacious court, where we ſaw two large pillars wrought very artificially, and adorned with a variety of figures. Beyond this court, we were conducted into the moſt ſpacious and elegant hall I have ever ſeen; and there we ſaw tables placed, with bolſters on the ground for us to ſit on, which is the cuſtom in China, particularly with ſuch as are treated with more than ordinary reſpect.

We had not been ſeated above ten minutes, when we ſaw the great miniſters of ſtate enter the hall, and the emperor walking behind them, and into his own hands the credentials were delivered. The preſents were given to the adogeda, who ordered them to be laid upon the tables; and then the four great officers of ſtate walked forwards, and ſaluted the ambaſſador. They enquired very particularly concerning the health of the czar; and told the ambaſſador, that the credentials ſhould be immediately tranſlated, and an anſwer given to them. This ceremony being over, we were re-conducted to the ambaſſador's lodgings in the ſame manner we came; and within three hours after, two adogedas came to let the ambaſſador know, that the czar's letters had been received with more than ordinary ſatisfaction at court, and that the emperor had ſent all ſorts of moſt delicious proviſions for him and his retinue for that day, becauſe we were to dine with the emperor on the day following. This was an honour we did not expect, and the adogeda did not fail to let us know that few ambaſſadors had ever been indulged with ſuch a privilege.

Next day we went in proceſſion to the palace in the ſame manner as before, and being ſeated again on pillows, in the hall already mentioned, the emperor, attended by the ſame officers as before, came forwards, and welcomed the ambaſſador with a very hearty ſalute. Four tables were immediately brought in, two of which were covered with forty ſilver diſhes, filled with all ſorts of ſweetmeats, for the ambaſſador; and the other two which had likewiſe ſweetmeats on them, and mutton, were for us who belonged to his retinue. After dinner we were treated with the liquor called milk-tea, in wooden diſhes, which, when we had drank off the liquor, were re-delivered to the ſervants with a low inclination of the head. The ambaſſador was no ſooner riſen from table, than all the ſweetmeats were given to the Coſſacks, who carried them away when we left the palace. The whole of this entertainment was conducted with ſo much decorum and ſobriety, that we could not help forming very high notions of Chineſe politeneſs. It is true, there were many ceremonies obſerved, but they were not impoſed on us, nor did they blame us for not complying with what we did not underſtand. Two days after we had dined with the emperor, his firſt miniſter of ſtate, accompanied by ſeveral of the officers of court, waited on the ambaſſador, who entertained them with very good muſick, to their no ſmall ſatisfaction and pleaſure. The ambaſſador likewiſe preſented the dorgamba, or chief miniſter, with a large looking-glaſs, two ſmaller ones, two watches, with ſome other things, ſuch as ſables, black foxes ſkins, ermines, and other Siberian commodities, which were accepted of in the moſt obliging manner.

November the 18th, two heralds came from the palace, to invite us to dine again with the emperor; and we were conducted to the hall where we had dined before. The ambaſſador, with fourteen of his retinue, being ſeated on the pillows, the officers of ſtate already mentioned, came in; and after the mutual compliments were over, aſked the ambaſſador, if he could ſpeak Latin? He anſwered, he could not; they then aſked if any one in his retinue could, and being told there was one, but he was afraid he could not hold a long converſation, they went away, leaving us to wait for the emperor. We waited in the hall five hours, when the adogeda came, and conducted us through three fine gates, and as many ſpacious courts. In the middle court was a beautiful

fiſh-

fish-pond filled with clear water, and over it a noble bridge, supported by five lofty arches.

As soon as we entered the presence chamber, we found the emperor seated on his throne; and the ambassador was conducted by the adogeda, and seated beside him on his right hand.

The room, which was very lofty, and adorned with many marble statues, was filled with vast numbers of courtiers, carrying the emperor's arms on their breasts and backs wrought in gold. Just opposite the door of this room we had a view of the seraglio on the one hand, and the imperial temple on the other. The ambassador's retinue stood behind him, and opposite the four chief ministers of state. Near the throne stood a guard of forty persons, all dressed in one uniform manner, holding in their hands halberts, pikes, and battle-axes. We had not sat long when we saw a table brought in, covered very thick with large dishes of gold, filled with sweetmeats, grapes, apples, pears, chesnuts, China oranges, citrons, and other fruits. Every one took care to observe when the emperor began to eat; and having gently inclined their heads, they eat likewise.

Several tables were set for the ambassador's retinue, with large dishes of silver, filled with sweetmeats, and such other things as had been served up for the emperor. The persons who waited at table were richly dressed, which surprised us much; but we learned afterwards that these were officers of rank at court.

After dinner, which lasted three hours, two very large cups of brandy being presented to the emperor, he commanded the dorgamba, and another of his chief ministers, to conduct the ambassador to the throne; and he being come upon the steps, the dorgamba gave one of these cups to the ambassador, desiring him to make a low bow with his head, and then drink it off at one draught. This being done, several jesuits came into the room, and spoke in Latin to the ambassador, and he answered them in Italian, that he was not well acquainted with Latin. It happened that one of the jesuits understood Italian, and by order of the emperor, he asked the ambassador several questions; as, How long he had left Moscow? what wars were carrying on in Europe? and whether the Czar was engaged in any of them? with many others of a similar nature. All these being answered and explained to the emperor, the ambassador was re-conducted to the throne, and we in our turn ordered to stand before the emperor, and drink a gold cup full of brandy each. Returning to our seats, we had milk-tea set before us to drink. The tables being removed, the adogeda conducted us into another room, that we might not see the emperor descend from the throne, that being contrary to the laws of China, because by that is pointed out his being dethroned, which notion likewise prevails in other parts of the east.

The royal family of China are descended from the Mongul Tartars, and the emperor who treated us with so much magnificence, was of a brown complexion, tall, and about fifty years of age. After he left the throne, he came into the room where we were, and ordered all that was left of the sweetmeats to be given to the servants. By this time it was drawing towards evening, and we were re-conducted to the ambassador's lodgings, where we made our remarks upon Chinese magnificence and hospitality, nor did we know which to commend most.

In this manner we spent the time in a continual round of feasting, till December 11, when we were invited to be present at a grand solemnity, it being the day on which the Chinese lords pay their homage to the emperor. They prostrated themselves several times before him, and knocked their heads against the ground. This ceremony being over, we were again entertained as before, and in the evening the adogeda conducted us to see a play acted. It was somewhat like our European opera, there being much music in it, and the action was tragic, but it was impossible for us to know upon what it was founded. After the play was over, there was something acted like a farce, consisting chiefly of legerdemain tricks, and several other feats of dexterity.

The jesuits, of whom there were eight in Peking at that time, treated us with a fine dinner, and the ambassador returned the compliment within a few days afterwards. We continued at the court of Peking upwards of four months, when having settled every thing relating to our embassy, we were re-conducted out of the empire to the borders of Russia, in the most honourable manner, having had carriages, horses, and provisions allowed us."

Such is the narrative of Mr. Brand, who returned home to Russia with his ambassador. And we shall now give a description of the imperial city of Peking, from the learned jesuits, Father Du Halde, and Father Le Compte.

It is called Peking, which signifies the Court of the North, it being the ordinary residence of the emperor's, who removed from the south to settle here, about the year 1405, in order to watch the motions of the Tartars. It is the capital of the empire, situated in a most delightful plain, twenty leagues from the great wall. It is almost square, and is divided into two equal parts. That where the emperor's palace stands is named Lau-Ching, or the Old City. It is also called the Tartar city, because the houses are inhabited by the Tartars, as are likewise the lands around it; and they have ever been exempted from taxes since the present royal family came to the throne, the emperor being descended from those people.

The second is called Lingo-Ching, or the New City; because the Chinese retired from the old city, and settled here when the present family took possession of the empire. Both these cities, taken together, are about eighteen English miles in circumference, and are encompassed with strong walls. Those of the old city are stately, and worthy of the greatest capital city in the world; but those of the new city are narrow, and have nothing in them remarkable. The walls of the old city are made with an ascent; and there are houses for the soldiers to do duty in, at proper distances from each other.

The ditch is dry, but very broad and deep, and every thing is kept in the same order as if they were continually in fear of an enemy. The gates of the city are nine in number, and they are high and well arched, with pavilions over them. Their pavilions are nine stories high, and each story is furnished with loop-holes; the lower story forming a great hall for the officers and soldiers. Before each gate there is an open area, or parade, of above three hundred and sixty feet, which serves as a place for arms, and it is encompassed with a semicircular wall, like that of the city. The entrance into these parades is never on that side which faces the great road leading into the city, for the Chinese are very jealous of the country people's wives with the soldiers.

The road is also defended by a pavilion, with cannon upon it; so that it would be no easy matter for an enemy to get into the city. At each gate, on each side, are two other pavilions, facing each other, much lower than that over the gate; and these having likewise cannon placed upon them, no city in the world can be better guarded, both against an enemy, and also to suppress insurrections among its own inhabitants.

Almost all the streets are built in a direct line, the largest being about one hundred and twenty feet broad, and three miles in length. In this, and in the other large streets, they have many shops for selling their silks; and as different pieces are hung out, these, with their gilded signs, give the whole a most beautiful appearance. Their signs have the figures of all sorts of animals painted upon them, and many other things, in the same manner as in Europe. The little streets run all from east to west, and divide the space between the large ones into so many equal and proportionable parts.

The amazing multitudes of people who throng these streets,

ſtreets, without one woman, and the confuſion occaſioned by the vaſt numbers of horſes, cattle, and carriages, is aſtoniſhing. Perſons of diſtinction would be ſtopped every moment, if they had not a man on horſeback to go before, and call to the paſſengers to make way. Many people are carried through the ſtreets in chairs, but moſt commonly they ride on horſeback, or on mules. One may hire a horſe or a mule the whole day for ſix-pence; and there are books ſold, which give an account of the wards, ſtreets, or places, where every perſon lives who has any public employment.

The houſes bear no proportion to the beauty of the ſtreets, being neither lofty, nor well built; except the emperor's palace: the former are extremely mean, the noblemen's being but one ſtory high, like the others. But the numerous apartments they have for themſelves, their wives, and their domeſticks, make ſome amends for other deficiencies. Their courts of juſtice are no better than their houſes; except that they have lofty gates, with ſome curious emblematical figures upon them; but neither the halls, nor rooms, have any thing in them worth notice. All their temples are built at the expence of the emperor; who alſo allows ſomething for the ſupport of the prieſts, the ſchools, the judges, and other officers, whether eccleſiaſtical or civil.

The governor of Peking is always choſen in from among the Tartars, and is called Kyú-men-tí-tú, or General of the nine gates. He has under his juriſdiction the ſoldiers as well as the inhabitants, in all civil matters; and nothing can exceed the policy obſerved here. It is amazing to ſee the perfect tranquillity that reigns among ſo many people. For ſeveral years together a houſe is not broken, nor a murder committed; for it would be almoſt impoſſible for the criminals to eſcape being puniſhed.

All the great ſtreets, which run in a line from one gate to another, have ſoldiers day and night, with ſwords by their ſides, and whips in their hands, to chaſtiſe all without diſtinction who make any diſturbance; and to confine thoſe who reſiſt; the leſſer ſtreets have, at each end, wooden gates, with openings in them, ſo that the ſoldiers can ſee what is tranſacting. Theſe wooden gates are ſhut at night, and not opened till morning; unleſs a perſon wants a phyſician, or ſome other thing abſolutely neceſſary. As ſoon as the firſt ſtroke of the watch is given on a great bell, two or three of the ſoldiers walk from one guard to another, playing with a ſhort piece of wood upon a thing reſembling a bowl.

They ſuffer none to walk the ſtreets at night, and even queſtion thoſe whom the emperor ſends upon buſineſs; who, if they cannot give a good account of themſelves, are immediately taken into cuſtody. That the ſoldiers may be conſtantly upon their duty, the governor orders ſome of his officers to go round the ſtreets, at the time they are leaſt expected; and this keeps them conſtantly upon their duty. It is true the empire is put to great expence on this account; for part of the ſoldiers are employed for nothing elſe, but to take care of the ſtreets; and they have large pay. But what ſignifies the expence, while the place is well governed, and crimes prevented inſtead of being puniſhed? If ſomething on a plan ſimilar to this was adopted by us, we ſhould not have ſo many houſes broken, nor ſee ſuch numbers of wretches executed.

Beſides theſe ſoldiers watching day and night, it is their buſineſs to ſee that every one ſweeps that part of the ſtreet before his own door; and waters the place morning and evening in dry weather. The ſoldiers themſelves clean the middle part every morning for the carriages; which is the more neceſſary, becauſe the ſtreets are not paved, and the ground is rather ſoft.

After the ſoldiers have taken up the dirt, they beat it, and mix it with dry earth; ſo that within two hours after rain, the ſtreets become dry. Du Halde, ſpeaking of the Obſervatory at Peking, gives the following deſcription of it. "We firſt entered a pretty large court, where thoſe who took care of the place lodged; going in, we found a very narrow ſtair-caſe, which led to the top of a ſquare tower, contiguous to the wall of the Tartar city, and raiſed but ten or twelve feet above the bulwark. Here the Chineſe aſtronomers had placed their inſtruments, which although but few, yet took up the whole room. Thoſe inſtruments were inferior to what we have in Europe; ſo that when we inſtructed them how to make others, according to the lateſt diſcoveries, the emperor ordered all the old ones to be locked up. But though the inſtruments we taught them to make, were extremely good, yet they could not be permitted to uſe them, till an order from the emperor came for that purpoſe."

The city bell for ſtriking the watch, or hour of the night, is reckoned the biggeſt in the world; and the ſound of it is heard at a great diſtance in the country. It was carried up to the tower by engines, contrived by the jeſuits, to the aſtoniſhment of the whole court, who had never ſeen any thing of the nature before.

We have already given an account of the manner in which the Ruſſian ambaſſador was treated at Peking: but Brand the ſecretary has given us but a very imperfect account of the emperor's palace; tho' this is not to be wondered at, eſpecially when we conſider that even the ambaſſador himſelf was not admitted into any parts of it but the hall of audience, and the dining room. It is to the two learned jeſuits, Du Halde and Le Compte, that we are indebted for a proper deſcription of that magnificent ſtructure. Theſe jeſuits had gained the affections of the Chineſe ſo much, that they were admitted into every place, except the ſeraglio, where none are permitted to go beſides the emperor and his eunuchs.

This ſpacious palace ſtands in the middle of the old Tartar city; is of a ſquare form; the eaſt, north, and weſt ſides, being equally diſtant from the wall. The ſouth ſide forms the front, and has many curious figures upon it. It is divided into two, one being called the outer, and the other the inner palace. The outer palace is an oblong ſquare, about four miles in circumference, and ſurrounded by a wall, with gates, at each of which a guard is kept.

The ſouth gate is the gate of the palace itſelf, being about one hundred fathoms from the great gate of the city, and is called the gate facing the noon day ſun. The inner wall, which immediately encompaſſes the palace where the emperor reſides, is extremely high and thick, built with large bricks, and embelliſhed with battlements, well contrived. It has four gates with large arches; thoſe to the ſouth being three-fold, but the others on the ſides are ſingle. Upon theſe gates, and upon the four angles of the walls are eight towers, or rather halls, of an extraordinary bigneſs, and very curious workmanſhip, varniſhed with a moſt beautiful red, adorned with flowers of gold, and covered with tiles painted yellow, which when the ſun ſhines upon them, appear as if they were of ſolid gold. In the reigns of the Chineſe emperors, twenty eunuchs kept guard at each of theſe gates; but ever ſince the Tartars ſubdued the empire, ſoldiers have been appointed in their room. All the officers of the palace, with the mandarins, are allowed entrance within theſe gates; but all others are prohibited under the ſevereſt penalties, unleſs they ſhew a tablet of ivory, with the name of the mandarin upon it to whom they belong. Round this inner wall is a deep moat filled with water.

Cloſe by the eaſtern wall on the outſide, runs a river, over which are built ſeveral very fair bridges all of marble, except the arch in the middle, where there is a draw-bridge, which is never let down but when ſome of the officers are to paſs. The whole palace is divided into a great number of apartments, each being for a ſeparate uſe, particularly for the great